

Shanghai Strikes Show Growing Unrest in China

By Li Fu-juen

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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Cardinal Spellman -- Strikebreaker

An Editorial

Taking advantage of the Stalinist trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary, the Catholic hierarchy in this country has taken the lead in creating an atmosphere of lynch-hysteria against "communism." Now American workers, including those misguided Catholic workers who have been lured into the "anti-communism" campaign, can better understand against whom and what this campaign is ultimately aimed. The real target is organized labor itself, its right to strike and picket, its basic democratic rights.

This was spelled out by Cardinal Spellman, supreme authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America, by his conduct in the eight week strike of CIO cemetery workers for the 40-hour week at two Catholic burial grounds in New York. Under the cloak of religion, Spellman has demonstratively mobilized priests and seminary students as scabs against these strikers.

The Cardinal went all out in lending the odor of religious sanctity to the foulest crime against the working people -- strike-breaking. For when he boasts that he is "proud" to be called a strikebreaker and deems it a "thing of honor" to scab-herd against the CIO cemetery strikers, he is actually laying down a line of "morality" and conduct for 25 million Catholic communicants. He is demonstrating in action the policies and program of the entire Catholic hierarchy. He is revealing the real aim of the "labor" program which this hierarchy is trying to foist on the American unions through its more than 100 "labor" schools, its army of professional "labor" priests and its Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Even the ACTU Is Embarrassed

The striking workers -- almost all devout Catholics themselves -- have denounced the Cardinal as a strikebreaker in a resolution condemning "the union-busting tactics of any employer, including the Catholic Church, when it acts as an employer." Even the priest-ridden ACTU, the Vatican's power machine inside the American labor movement, has been forced to disassociate itself publicly from Spellman's actions lest the ACTU, too, be thoroughly exposed and discredited in the eyes of Catholic and non-Catholic unionists alike. The ACTU leaders seek to divorce the Cardinal's actions as "employer" from his position as the authoritarian head of the Catholic hierarchy in America. But he does not speak and act as an individual; his words and deeds carry the full weight and authority of the Roman Church itself. That is what gives his strikebreaking its especially evil character.

In trying to break this strike, the Roman Catholic hierarchy -- trafficker in a thousand profitable enterprises from commercial real estate to sales of grave lots -- has vast material interests at stake. It employs tens of thousands of lay workers, mainly non-union, at notoriously low wages and long hours. A victory for the cemetery workers would set an example for the others.

Emboldened by the "anti-communist" hysteria around the Mindszenty case, the Catholic hierarchy now feels free to fling "communism," as a deadly epithet, at any individual or idea that does not conform to its special interests, aims and dogma. Even Catholic workers, engaged in elementary union defense of their rights, are smeared with this label. And it does them no good to deny the charge -- as the cemetery workers have done by their disaffiliation from their international union at the behest of the Cardinal. He has only sneered at them -- "They're getting repentant kind of late!" -- and asserted that even if they are not "communists" then "their tactics certainly are communistic."

He Calls the Strike "Immoral"

Merely daring to strike and picket for the 40-hour week that has long been a legal standard for American workers -- this is what the Cardinal calls "communistic" as well as "morally unjustifiable." Even the promoters of the Taft-Hartley Act didn't dare to go to such extremes.

By his own strikebreaking, Cardinal Spellman has demonstrated just what program and service he is now offering, in the name of the Roman Catholic Church, to the American capitalist class. The Catholic hierarchy, fearful for its own vast properties and investments, is showing what it can do for American capitalism in return for the latter's protection. By singling out a group of Catholic workers as the first victims of his open strikebreaking, Spellman has simply issued a voucher to the American plutocrats that he will draw the line at nothing in aiding their assault on labor.

The Eleventh Commandment

Are American workers now to be governed by what this hierarchy, linked by immense property interests to capitalism, chooses to call "moral" or "immoral" in the way of union activity?

In the past 15 years, the American workers have established their own standards of morality. They have added an 11th Commandment: "Thou shalt not commit strikebreaking." Whoever violates it casts himself out from the respect and society of decent men and women, be he private employer, government official or Prince of the Church.

American workers of all creeds, the leaders of organized labor, the unions of every affiliation should make known in no uncertain terms their rejection and abhorrence of the latest violation of this 11th Commandment.



Cannon Pamphlet On Minneapolis Trial Reissued

NEW YORK--Pioneer Publishers, at 116 University Place in New York City this week announced the publication of a third edition of "Socialism on Trial" by J. P. Cannon, Nat'l Sec'y of the Socialist Workers Party. This new edition of the most popular pamphlet in the history of American Trotskyism contains 120 pages and sells for 35 cents.

Socialism on Trial is the official court record of Cannon's testimony as a defendant in the famous 1941 Minneapolis trial of the SWP leaders under the thought-control Smith "Gag" Act. Cannon's testimony, in the lively form of questions and answers during a court battle, covers the whole range of Marxism and serves as a simple and clear introduction to the principles and tactics of revolutionary socialism.

STRIKING CONFIRMATION

Farrell Dobbs, one of the 18 Minneapolis defendants who served prison terms during the war, has written a special new introduction for the present edition of Socialism on Trial. Dobbs, who is National Chairman of the SWP, explains the background of the Minneapolis case and relates the government's present prosecution of the Communist Party leaders to the precedent-setting trial of the Trotskyists under the same Smith Act and on similar charges. "This new prosecution," Dobbs points out, "is a striking confirmation of Comrade Cannon's prediction, in the Minneapolis court, that the assault on civil liberties which began with the prosecution of the Trotskyists would be later directed against other organizations."

FEAR OF DEPRESSION IS VOICED AT TRIAL OF 11

By Farrell Dobbs

NEW YORK, Mar. 8 -- Mass fear of threatening economic depression today walked among the jurors brought into the courtroom where the Stalinists are on trial.

A clerk employed by an eastern railroad wished to be excused because he couldn't be away from his job for the long period of the trial.

"Do you mean to say such a big company can't find somebody else to do your work?" the judge asked.

The clerk replied that they could and for that reason he didn't want to be away from the job. "They are already laying off a lot of people," he added.

A different approach was taken by an agent for a big insurance

company who walks a neighborhood beat selling nickel-a-week policies and collecting premiums. He was willing to serve on the jury if the judge would make the insurance company promise to put him back to work when the trial ends.

"Can't you find out about that?" the judge asked.

"It will be better for me, judge, if you write a letter or telephone the company," he replied.

Both the clerk and the agent were excused, as were an accountant and a grocery salesman who feared they might be included in a lay-off while they were doing jury duty.

SALESMAN WORRIED TOO

Also excused were a number of salesmen working on commission who said sales competition is stiffer than it has been for a long while. They feared other salesmen would grab their customers while they were on the jury.

A stock broker was excused because he didn't want to lose close touch with the shaky stock market.

Worry about "all the talk of a recession" won dismissal for a corporation head who plans to tour his empire in order to "shape a new policy." At every stop on his tour the corporation's employees will no doubt be anxiously scanning the seniority lists wondering who will get the axe.

(See page 4 for a report on the selection of the jury for the trial of the Stalinists.)

Minimum Wage Bill Undergoes Surgery

In the first stage of House action on the proposed new minimum wage law, the House Education and Labor Committee has approved amendments to exclude millions of the lowest-paid workers.

Agricultural workers, employees of retail and service establishments doing less than a \$500,000 annual business, home newspaper deliveries and certain categories of telegraph employees will continue to be denied minimum wage law protection.

These exemptions were adopted by a 13-12 majority of the Democratic-controlled committee. During the last election campaign, Truman and the Democrats had promised a broad extension of the minimum wage law coverage.

World-Famous Scientists Aid James Kutcher

CIO Lawyer Seeks Right to Attend Veteran's Hearing Loyalty Board Sets Mar. 30 for Review

NEWARK, Mar. 8--Sol Kapelsohn, official counsel for the New Jersey CIO Council, has petitioned the Loyalty Review Board of the U.S. Civil Service Commission for permission to appear as "a friend of the Board" in the forthcoming three-man panel hearing at which James Kutcher will ask for a reversal of his dismissal from the Newark VA. The date for this next step in Kutcher's fight for reinstatement has been set for Mar. 30, and the hearing will be held in New York City.

In his petition in the name of the New Jersey CIO Council, Mr. Kapelsohn pointed out that "a great many thousands of employees in various industries are members of the CIO, have served in the armed forces of the USA and are veterans in such service. Many of them have employment with the Veterans Administration and with other federal governmental agencies."

"DIRECTLY CONCERNED" He urges the Loyalty Board to grant the CIO the opportunity to participate in the Kutcher hearings on the ground that "the rights and interests of its members in New Jersey, totaling upwards of 250,000 members, and of the members of the CIO in this country, totaling many millions, are directly concerned in these proceedings and the ruling to be made and principles to be established by them."

The New Jersey State CIO Council, of which Carl Holderman is president, was the first of the many labor organizations to rally to Kutcher's defense.

Call for Defense of Legless Veteran in Civil Rights Case

CHICAGO, March 7 -- Five world-famous scientists and scholars, including Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and director of the U. S. War Research

Atomic Bomb Project, today called on their colleagues at the University of Chicago to join them in defending the legless veteran, James Kutcher, in order to combat "a frightening atmosphere that cuts the nerve of independent thinking." Kutcher is seeking reinstatement in his clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration, from which he was discharged last October solely because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

The five signers of the appeal are: Prof. Anton J. Carlson, former president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Prof. Richard P. McKeon, dean of the Division of Humanities and former chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies. Prof. Malcolm P. Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School faculty and noted authority on civil rights. Prof. Harold C. Urey, winner of the Nobel Prize in chemistry and director of the War Research Atomic Bomb Project (1940-45). Prof. Louis Wirth, president of

both the Sociological Society and the American Council on Race Relations in 1947.

Their letter warns their colleagues that "whether you know it or not, you are involved in one way or another in developments on the civil rights front. What is happening often appears to be a series of dull, legal events seemingly beyond the competence of non-specialists in the field. But behind this the whole fabric of American justice is being tampered with in a severe way. "Administrative agencies have been and are dealing with government employees in procedures which violate the basic decencies of notice and hearing which are part of our tradition of due process of law. People are being fired from jobs and are being forced to suffer various indignities, not the least of which is immurement of character. All of this at the hands of administrative officials and other non-judicial bodies proceeds from the 'doctrines of guilt by association' and 'subversion' arbitrarily defined."

The letter links the case of Dr. Edward Condon with that of Kutcher, "a legless veteran of World War II who has decided to stand up and make a fight," as outstanding instances of this type of arbitrary treatment.

"James Kutcher was fired from his job in the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, a fact he openly acknowledges. Kutcher challenges the administration's right to deprive him of his job without a public hearing for himself and his party, and demands the right to defend himself against the administration's 'star chamber' proceedings which have condemned him without trial."

The signers of the letter state that the Kutcher case "goes beyond sect or party" and "involves every type of man and group concerned with civil liberties and freedom of conscience."

An accompanying statement to be signed by faculty members protests the denial of genuine freedom of association and freedom of thought in Kutcher's case and urges that Kutcher be granted the public hearing he has asked for. It also supports the efforts of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to win justice for the victimized veteran.

Next Week:

A new threat to civil liberties! The Militant analyzes the anti-Communist, thought-control bills now pending in Congress and state legislatures.

Six men in a Trenton death cell. The shocking story of police brutality, stony justice and race hatred behind the conviction of six innocent Negroes in the "Northern Scottsboro" case.

"Four of the Unemployed" by Theodore Kovalesky. A column that packs a wallop--two who couldn't find jobs and two who didn't care.

"Which Plan to Build Homes in America?" by Milton Alvin. Is Walter Reuther's housing proposal as realistic as the plan suggested by the Socialist Workers Party?

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, for extra copies. Only 3c each in bundles of five or more.

Is the 30-Hour Week Program a "Dream"?

By Art Preis

Walter Reuther recently pooched the program of the 30-hour week at 10 hours pay as "idealistic and a dream at this time." Thus, the head of the CIO United Auto Workers dismisses today a program which his union, along with most other unions, had advanced some ten years ago as the immediate answer to unemployment. Why is this decade-old program a "dream" now?

Certainly, it cannot be claimed that unemployment is no longer a menace. The U.S. Census Bureau on Mar. 4 reported that the number of jobless nationally rose by 550,000 last month to a 7-year peak of 3,231,000. The unemployment compensation offices in Reuther's own state, Michigan, are being besieged by thousands of laid-off auto workers. The trend is shown by the announcement on Mar. 2 that the Hudson Motor Car company was laying off indefinitely, effective Mar. 7, 4,500 workers in line with a 17% cut in production.

Reuther is undoubtedly aware

of the threat of mass unemployment. This dismissal of labor's key programmatic answer to this problem must be taken then as an attack on the soundness of the demand or its realizability. What arguments can he raise? Only that the employers "can't afford" this program or that organized labor is too weak to achieve it.

A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE

The struggle for the shorter work-week and work-day at higher pay has been continuous from the earliest beginnings of the labor movement. At every stage of this struggle, the capitalists and their apologists have fought against shorter hours on the grounds that they couldn't afford it, that it would "ruin" them. "More production" was their cry, even when millions walked the streets--and by that they meant more speed-up, more output from each worker for the same or less pay.

A century ago, the capitalists determined the "normal" work day by the extreme limit of physical endurance -- anywhere

from 12 to 18 hours daily. And if the capitalist didn't work their wage-slaves seven days a week it was because, as they claimed, even the Lord had to rest from His labors on the seventh day and they wanted to follow Him in all His ways.

Karl Marx, in Capital, his scientific analysis of the laws of capitalist development, devoted a special section to a detailed description of the struggle of the English working class to win the 10-hour day during the first six decades of the 19th century. He told of the extension of this struggle to America, citing the resolution of the General Congress of Labor in Baltimore, Aug. 16, 1866: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all States of the American Union."

THE FIRST NECESSITY

Twenty years later, the American labor movement made a great leap forward in the historic 1886

strike struggles that led to the eight-hour day. Those pioneer fighters of American labor did not heed the Reuthers of their day who claimed that the eight-hour day was "idealistic" and a "dream." Nor did they heed the capitalists' complaint that the eight-hour day would be the "ruination" of the economy.

A half-century later the rising industrial union movement of the CIO continued the battle for the shorter work week and won the establishment of the legal 40-hour week under the Fair Labor Standards Act. Was that battle "idealistic" or a "dream"?

The reduction of the work week and work day has been accompanied by ever increasing labor productivity. Since 1940 alone, the average worker in this country has increased his hourly output 25%. But his real wages, relative to output, have declined 20%. It is this widening gap between wages and output that is once more leading to "over-production," the glut of goods that cannot be sold, and to unemployment.

When Reuther says that the program of the 30-hour week at 10-hours pay is a "dream" he really means that it can't be secured without a real fight. But if the weak, inexperienced labor movement of 1886 could win the eight-hour day, if the young and far smaller CIO of 1936 and 1937 could triumph in the fight for the 40-hour week, then today's giant and tested labor movement can achieve the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay--if it fights for it.

OUTCOME RESTS WITH US

The tremendous increase in productivity and the approaching crisis of "over-production" have once more put the issue of the shorter work week on the order of the day. The outcome rests with organized labor and its will to fight. For, as Marx wrote over 75 years ago, "the determination of what is a working day [or a working week] presents itself as the result of a struggle between collective capital, that is, the class of capitalists, and collective labor, that is, the working class."

GEORGE NOVACK'S TOUR GETS OFF TO NOTABLE START IN PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH, March 7 — George Novack, national secretary of the Kutch Civil Rights Committee, opened up a six weeks' speaking and organizational tour on behalf of the legless

members of his own union. He stressed the threat to unionism when the rights of free speech and free political affiliation are denied.

On Sunday Novack addressed members of the Slovenian Hall on the case and led a discussion on local work with the members of the committee.

LOCAL SUPPORT

In conjunction with his visit, the local committee announced that the following organizations had endorsed its work: The District Council of Electrical Workers, representing 60,000 members in Western Pennsylvania, Local 601, 610, 623, and 526; the Pittsburgh Fur Workers Union; Teamsters Union, Local 609; the Baptist Ministers Conference; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and the Terrace Village Chapter of the AVCC.

Novack also met with local leaders of the AFL and CIO and plans were made for other unions to go on record for support of Kutch. His visit acted as a welcome stimulus to the local committee's work.

Additional Groups Support Kutch

NEW YORK — Among the latest supporters recorded for James Kutch are:

Mechanics Educational Society of America, Detroit; Slovene National Benefit Society, Fontana, Calif.

Detroit District of the Workmen's Benefit Fund.

Chapter 102 of the Workmen's Benefit Fund, West New York, N. J.

Local 119 of the UE, Philadelphia.

Local 506 of the UE, Lawrence Park, Erie, Pa.

UAW Local 212, Detroit.

United Rubber Workers Local 61, Erie.

Local 71 of the Textile Workers, San Francisco.

Local 1147 of the UE, Duluth.

Labor Union Trends

History and Program of UE Opposition

By Bert Cochran

Last week we went into the record of 13 years of Stalinist misrule in the UE—a record of bureaucracy and betrayal of the best interests of the CIO Electrical and Radio Workers. The Stalinists had it easy in fastening their dictatorial grip on the UE because in contrast to the auto and steel unions, most UE locals were not built in the fire of battle, but were strictly "NLRB babies." They were successful in preventing the formation of any serious opposition until 1941. Then James Carey, at that time president of the UE, broke with the Stalinists, with whom he had worked check-by-jowl up to that time. What was the fight all about?

Unfortunately, it had nothing to do with Stalinist bureaucracy, conciliation toward the corporations and class collaboration on the economic and political fronts. Carey did not disagree with any of this. It was the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. And Carey, under strong prodding from the Catholic Church, broke with the Stalinists because they were giving aid and comfort to the Kremlin, while Carey was lined up with Murray and the Roosevelt administration in backing England. The fight between the two sides was not over the issue of keeping "outside influences" out of the union, but over which "outside influence"

to follow. Matles and Emspak were for the Kremlin. Carey wanted to line up the union behind the U. S. State Department.

THE FIGHT BEGINS

At the Camden, N. J., convention in September 1941, where the fight was first thrashed out in the open, the Carey group was completely overwhelmed by the Stalinist steamroller. Not only did the Stalinists have a far superior machine, but Carey and his supporters made a very bad impression on the convention and antagonized the most progressive elements.

Beyond demonstrating that the Stalinist leadership switched its position on the war after the Nazi invasion of Russia, Carey and his supporters had nothing to offer except flag-waving and red-baiting. Many independent progressives figured that the Stalinists were nevertheless the better union builders and consequently threw their support in that direction. That the opposition was not an inconsequential one, just the same, is seen by the fact that Carey received 539 votes for the presidency against 635 for the Stalinist-backed candidate, Albert Fitzgerald.

This oppositionist flare-up died down shortly afterwards when Carey went to Washington to assume his post as CIO Secretary and the Stalinist leadership in the

UE joined hands with Murray and Carey in all-out support for the war effort. Indeed, the Stalinists were even more frenzied in their flag-waving than Murray.

After the war, the opposition in the UE came to life again when the U. S. began its "cold war" with the Soviet Union and Murray broke his alliance with the Stalinists inside the CIO. This time they went about it in more serious and systematic fashion. They formed a national caucus called the Committee for Democratic Action and issued a national paper, *The Real UE*.

Unfortunately, they had learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1941. The Stalinist sell-outs of the war period? They found no fault with that. Bureaucratism? That was OK with them. Progressive union program? They had none. It was the same old story—wrapping themselves in the American flag, plus anti-communism and red-baiting. The spiritual advisers of the opposition were the "labor" priests of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, whose sole interest is kicking all radicals and militants out of the unions, eradicating all manifestations of a class struggle policy and making of the union a tame and harmless thing.

But a strong anti-Stalinist wind was blowing up throughout the labor movement at this time and the UE leadership was getting worried. They determined to crush the opposition by main force before things went too far. In March 1947, the UE General Executive Board declared the opposition "a dual movement" and ordered it to dissolve. The UE Boston convention in September 1947 ordered the expulsion of the opposition forces if they did not comply with the cease-and-desist order. You have to go some to find a more brazen display of bureaucracy in a CIO union!

But the convention adopted this anti-democratic resolution by a vote of 3817 to 596. The overwhelming size of the vote is not explained solely by the entrenched power of the Stalinist machine. Progressive independent elements throughout the union were simply disgusted and fed up with the red-baiting of the opposition and wanted no part of it.

Doesn't this vote indicate that a big majority of the membership was satisfied with the Stalinist leadership? Nothing of the kind, as we will easily prove. As a matter of fact, conditions in the UE were rotten ripe for the formation of a widely-supported opposition, because there was

much discontent in the membership with the Stalinist sell-out policies of the war period. But the Carey-Block opposition was so discredited that independent progressives were afraid to have anything to do with it for fear of getting smeared themselves.

After the 1947 convention, the opposition gave up its paper and folded up temporarily as an organized national caucus. Despairing of breaking the Stalinist grip by a frontal attack, the ACTU crowd then worked up its "secession policy." In collusion with the Reuther leadership of the auto union, it began calling for Taft-Hartley-NLRB elections in all plants where it had influence. Of course, this was a rotten union-splitting scheme. But the fact that 9 times out of 10 the workers voted against the UE proves pretty conclusively that the Stalinists had no real support in the ranks, that their leadership had no legitimate basis in the membership.

The secession movement reached alarming proportions. But after the Portland convention of the CIO in 1948, where Murray rode roughshod over the Stalinist forces, the word went down to cut out the secession game. The opposition now grew more hopeful of getting national CIO aid in ousting the Stalinists and the speech of UE President Fitzgerald at the Portland convention denouncing Molotov and Vishinsky as "war mongers" set off speculation that he might split with the Stalinists and head the opposition, following the trail previously blazed by Curran in the NMU and Quill in the Transport Union.

Since the Portland convention, despite the lack of a national organization or coordinating apparatus, and despite the fact that Carey, its titular leader, was scarcely near the UE but running all over Europe selling the Marshall Plan — the opposition has won victory after victory in the local union elections. The ACTU, which is the strongest single force in the opposition and knows more about the mathematics of UE politics than anybody else in the opposition block, declares that "The recent victories mean that the anti-red camp has practically doubled its strength and now represents about 140,000 members while the Stalinists retain the support of 280,000, a 2 to 1 margin." (Labor Leader, Jan. 17, 1949.)

As a matter of fact, these figures under-estimate, if anything, the full strength of the opposition, as many local leaders

them to preserve order (which means submission to Kuomintang military rule, and to maintain production (which is for the benefit of the capitalist exploiters). The Stalinists have made themselves the protectors of bourgeois property. Thus the proletariat, for the time being, is politically disarmed in the face of its mortal foes.

SUMMARY EXECUTIONS

Shanghai is the economic center and the revolutionary heart of China. The tenseness of the situation there is revealed in the previously mentioned Times dispatch: "With the strikes of bus drivers and railway workers forcefully suppressed by the army in recent days, the fear had arisen of mass disorders. Thursday night some soldiers seized three demonstrating bus drivers, court-martialed them summarily and executed them by firing squad for violating the anti-strike proclamation."



Past a heap of uncollected garbage outside the Polish Community Center in Yonkers, N. Y., marches a picket of the American Federation of Musicians. How did he get in this picture? Some 500 AFL and CIO city workers went on strike in protest against the firing of sanitation workers who refused to cross this AFM picket line. City officials fired the 500 — but rehired them eight days later. Now City Manager Peterson says he will enforce Condon-Wadlin law that provides loss of seniority and of pay increases for public workers who go on strike in New York state.

"Armored cars moved through the milling street crowds. Helmeted soldiers with tommy guns and fixed bayonets were seen throughout the city. The military police, wearing shiny helmets, crowded into trucks and rumbled through the financial district where bankers and merchants could see them."

Gen. Tang En-po is stated to be in command of some 250,000 troops in the Shanghai area. The size of this "garrison" testifies to the extreme importance which the ruling class attaches to the city. Yet most if not all of these soldiers could be won over to the side of the people, to the workers, if the Communist Party were a revolutionary party pursuing a revolutionary program and policy. The soldiers are underpaid and ill-fed. They remain "loyal" to the Kuomintang regime and to capitalist rule only because they are presented with no revolutionary alternative.

How shaky and unreliable is this garrison as a prop of the remnants of the Kuomintang regime is revealed in a N.Y. Times dispatch from Shanghai on Feb. 17. Here it was reported that Mayor K. C. Wu, another of Chiang Kai-shek's henchmen, was pressing merchants to contribute 300,000,000 gold yuan monthly for Gen. Tang En-po to provide his soldiers with "better food."

The Mayor gave threatening hints of possible dire results of failure to contribute when he addressed a gathering of merchants' representatives and was "reported to have said that the troops were underpaid and to have added pointedly that they have been behaving well so far and had not as yet taken over any industrial premises." For the capitalists, the garrison certainly demonstrated its good behavior in smashing the bus and rail strike and killing militant strike demonstrators.

While this repressive action was taking place, the "Red" armies were sitting tight on the north bank of the Yangtze where they have paused now for over two months while the Stalinist leaders dicker with "liberal" Kuomintang

include such policies as industry-wide bargaining and common termination dates for all contracts in order to bring the full weight of the union behind its demands in negotiations with the employers, to equalize wage rates from locality to locality and ensure that any pension program adopted will have industry-wide application, and a worker will not lose credit for years served if he has to change jobs from one corporation to another.

They include such policies as democracy and rank-and-file control of union affairs; a determined campaign to eliminate incentive plans, bonus plans, piecework and all other speed-up schemes in the plants; a real campaign of action — not just lip-service — for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay; for a Congress of Labor to fight for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and for the passage of necessary social legislation, as against the Stalinist proposal of signing petitions; for the formation of an independent Labor Party as against the pro-Truman PAC policy, and the block-buster — "Support of National CIO Policy." One can imagine what they are going to do and how they intend to conduct themselves when and if they actually take over the leadership of the UE.

Of course, the opposition is not all reactionary. In a number of the local groups, for example, in the big Westinghouse local at Pittsburgh and other places, the opposition includes progressive elements who managed to inject some worth-while ideas into the local election contests. But the fact remains that the tone of the opposition is set not by them but by the ACTU crowd and the "National CIO Policy" boys.

Now the big question is: What position should the militant independent adopt in the battle for control of the UE? They are caught in the cross-fire of two powerful machines, both reactionary. Can they nevertheless find a way to work with the opposition in cleansing the UE of its Stalinist virus and thus providing the basis for the rehabilitation of this union?

The big trouble with the independent militants in the UE is that they lack a commonly-accepted minimum program and any recognized spokesmen. They lack, in other words, what the militants in the auto union always had, to one degree or another. Therefore, the first task the UE militants face is to work out a necessary program of action for the UE and to solidify their forces around it.

The outlines for such a program are already at hand and the main planks have been adopted at different times by some of the local unions. They

politicians for "peace" and a coalition government. China's ruling classes and their political representatives welcome this lengthy breathing-spell and are making the greatest possible use of it. Little did they dream that on the very edge of the precipice, face to face with their doom, they would be given another chance — by the "Communists."

All of China south of the Yangtze (except for small rural pockets held by Stalinist guerrilla forces) is still under Kuomintang control. This territory includes the country's greatest and richest cities. From his place of "retirement" Chiang Kai-shek is working night and day to firm up control of this vast area. He is in constant telephone communication with his provincial generals, press reports assert. Troops are being moved about freely and readied for action.

Both Shanghai and Nanking are held by troops whose top commanders are Chiang's henchmen. The triple cities of Wuhan (Hankow, Wuchang, Hanyang) are held by large troop formations under Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, an old ally of Chiang. On the is-

land of Formosa still another of Chiang's generals, Sun Li-jen, is directing a large military training camp where "30,000 Nationalist soldiers are undergoing GI-style training with what United States equipment he (Gen. Sun) can procure." (N. Y. Times, Feb. 19). "I am not the kind of man who gives up," Gen. Sun told the correspondent. "Now we need American moral and material aid."

Chiang is also directing the policies and moves of the rump Kuomintang government at Canton. And since it is the troops of his general, Tang En-po, which are in control of Nanking (in addition to Shanghai), he probably has more than a finger in the doings of the "caretaker" government over which Gen. Li Tsung-jen (the Vice-President) presides in the former capital. Chiang is pursuing a clever strategy. Through the Canton government he bellows defiance at the Stalinists. Through the Nanking government he plays at negotiating with them. Behind the scenes, while gaining all the time he can, he prepares a military counter-stroke.

It is freely being predicted that in the not distant future Chiang will step forth openly on the stage again and take command of all the forces which he is now busily welding together. If Chiang can demonstrate his ability to hold the Stalinists and perhaps drive them back, and at the same time hold South China as a firm salient of capitalist-landlord rule by ruthlessly suppressing the masses, the American imperialists may again come to his aid. The present ground-swell of reactionary activity could easily develop into a tidal wave of counter-revolution.

For the present ominous developments, for the bloody suppression of the workers at Shanghai, the Stalinists will bear full responsibility before history. They and they alone are making possible the reassembling and the rearmament of the nearly-defeated forces of capitalist-landlord reaction. The crime of crimes for a supposedly revolutionary party is the pursuit of a non-revolutionary, compromising policy in a revolutionary situation. This is precisely what the Stalinists are doing.

At the same time they are deliberately holding the revolutionary forces in check and giving the class enemies of the workers time in which to prepare a counter-stroke. They are helping Chiang Kai-shek to slay the third Chinese revolution as 22 years ago they helped him to slay the second.

CP Oppositionists Reported Active in Hungary, Germany

According to a special N. Y. Times dispatch from Vienna, Mar. 2, a group of dissident Hungarian communists are issuing a multi-graphed oppositional newspaper. Four previous issues, the editors assert, had been published in Hungary, but the activities of the secret police made necessary a transfer to Vienna. The Hungarian dissidents are anti-Stalinist, anti-capitalist and express themselves in favor of Tito. They claim that "the loyal soldiers of Comrade Tito and 100,000 French and Italian comrades stand by our side."

The Stalinists are also reported running into unexpected difficulties in the Eastern German zone. According to an Associated Press dispatch Mar. 4, the official Stalinist newspaper, *Neues Deutschland*, recently carried an article "praising Leon Trotsky's role in the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations of 1918." The Political Bureau of the German Stalinist party denounced its own organ for "fostering anti-Bolshevik sentiments," and ordered the elimination of the "discussion section" where the article lauding Trotsky had appeared.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Recent Issues Meet With Warm Response

Recent issues of *The Militant* have met with a warm response from members of the Militant Army.

Mass., doubled its bundle order for the Mar. 7 issue. "Many good comments from our friends on the exposures of the Stalinists," write P. and J.; "also on the exposure of the collusion between the UAW official and California employers. Let's have notice in advance of coming important articles. We find it good in contact work."

Detroit ordered an extra 200 copies of the Mar. 7 number for distribution.

Minneapolis took an extra 25 "for concentrated work with Stalinist trade unionists and students," according to C.E.S. "Some copies of these papers will be mailed out; others will be handed out personally by comrades who are in touch with Stalinist workers." C.E.S. likewise appreciates "the advance notice of coming articles."

St. Paul similarly sent in for 25 extra copies of the March 7 issue "containing the articles directed against Stalinism."

Literature Agent Harry Gold of New York reports that an attempt to sell the paper to col-

lege students brought "very good results." Comrades Edith Bartell, Sarah R. Kitty Green and Betty Valey sold 17 Militants as well as seven copies of the Trotskyist monthly magazine *Fourth International*. Harry Ring, Bertha J. and Leah D. braved a snow storm to try the response of workers entering a union meeting. They sold 19 Militants in about a half hour.

Event of the Week was an order from A Railroader in Minnesota for 400 copies of the issue telling about the Greek puppet government murdering a Jehovah's Witness because his religious convictions prevented him from serving in the armed forces. "From time to time," he writes, "I may send for a large bundle of certain issues."

Taking a bundle of extra copies like this is in the crusading tradition of native American socialism. In Debs' time it was a universal practice to spread the word about socialism by distributing extra papers. This was one of the means that gave the Appeal to Reason a steady circulation of hundreds of thousands of copies. We hope A Railroader started something with his order.

Comrade Singman of Pine Bush, N. Y., came in with a subscription for a friend of his. "It pays to advertise," this old supporter of *The Militant* told us. He left his copy of the paper on the table for visitors to see. When this friend saw the headline about the killing of the Jehovah's Witness in Greece, he said: "Pop, I want to get a sub to *The Militant*."

Comrade Singman promised to send in \$2 to help get out *The Militant* even though the high cost of living makes it difficult to get by on the little he was able to save when he was younger.

Bob D. of New York dropped in to let us know that a Jehovah's Witness distributing the *Watch Tower* was glad to see that *The Militant* "gave them a break by featuring the murder of one of their Greek members in a headline. Most newspapers played up the Misdzentzy case but didn't have a word to say about this case of religious persecution."

PHILADELPHIA
JOHN G. WRIGHT
on
SEDITION TRIALS AND
THE WAR DANGER

An analysis of the trials and purges in Stalinist-dominated Eastern Europe and the red-baiting trials and purges in the U. S. and their relationship to the preparations for World War III.

Friday, March 18 8:30 P.M.
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Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year; \$2 for 6 months. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

THE MILITANT

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Vol XIII - No. 11

Monday, March 14, 1949



TROTSKY

The processes of great changes must be measured by scales which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist society will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition is under the hostile pressure of the capitalist states. The October Revolution has shown only the first stages of its realization. Edison's first lamp was very bad. We must learn how to discern the future.

Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932



LENIN

The Foster-Dennis Statement

Stalin's efforts to counteract the completion of the North Atlantic Pact are undoubtedly at the bottom of the statements against the imperialist war plans by his foreign puppets—Thorez in France, Togliatti in Italy, Polit in Britain and Foster-Dennis in the U. S. These statements came after the rejection by Washington of Stalin's bids to negotiate a new deal, and are not likely to be more effective than those "peace" bids in preventing the continuation of Washington's war preparations.

The essence of the Foster-Dennis statement is the declaration: "If, despite the efforts of the peace forces of America and the world, Wall Street should succeed in plunging the world into war, we would oppose it as an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war, as an undemocratic and anti-Soviet war, destructive of the deepest interests of the American people and all humanity . . . we would cooperate with all democratic forces to defeat the predatory war aims of American imperialism and bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace."

The significant thing about this statement is not what it says, but rather the fact that such a sensation could be stirred up by its being made. No informed persons would be surprised by a consistently Marxist party opposing the third imperialist war; such opposition would seem natural and logical if it came from a party which had opposed previous imperialist wars. But coming from the Stalinists, such a statement can produce a hubbub, even among their members and sympathizers, precisely because of their past record and their past violations of elementary

internationalist obligations — particularly their support of the second imperialist war, their spreading of nationalistic conceptions among the workers for many years, and their endorsement of the presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace, who openly stated during the 1948 campaign that he would support the government in any war it conducted no matter how reactionary he thought it was.

Least of all does this statement signify the transformation of the Stalinist Party into a revolutionary internationalist organization. What the Stalinists are now trying to palm off as "internationalism" is nothing else but blind adherence to Russian Stalinist nationalism. The Stalinists everywhere subordinate everything else to the Kremlin's temporary diplomatic needs. It was these that dictated the American Stalinist "opposition" to World War II in the days of Stalin-Hitler Pact; their switch overnight to support of the same war after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union; and the issuance now of their statement promising to oppose American imperialism in World War III. The very same needs, under different conditions in the future, can make the American CP leaders switch once more to support of American imperialism.

Stalinism flies in the face of what internationalism really stands for. True internationalism means opposition to imperialism not just some of the time (when it suits Stalin) but all of the time. True internationalism means not only opposition to imperialism but also to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which has strangled as many socialist revolutions in its time as even the American imperialists can boast of.

Truman and the Filibuster

Truman said on March 3, after the Senate filibuster was under way for several days, that he favors a closure rule to permit the ending of debate by a simple majority vote. This is a fine sentiment. But what is he doing to put it into effect?

He has allowed his own wing of the Democratic Party in the Senate to put forward the proposal requiring a two-thirds vote for closure. This stiff requirement would still make it almost impossible to end a filibuster by a determined minority.

We have seen how Truman acts on any measure he is seriously concerned about. On matters like the armaments budget or the Marshall Plan, or the North Atlantic Pact, Truman does not permit his political associates to put forward something different from what he wants.

On the contrary, he sees to it that an appropriate bill covering precisely what he has in mind is drafted and pushed in Congress with the full energy and weight of the administration and its congressional supporters. And he cracks down heavily on any legislator of his own machine who fails to toe the mark

on measures Truman earnestly wants passed.

In the case of the filibuster and closure, Truman has no serious intention of forcing the issue and making a real battle for ending debate by a majority vote. He is once again merely making the record with a cheap gesture.

This has become standard technique with him. He maintains his reputation for liberalism with verbal endorsements for liberal proposals that never get beyond the newspaper headlines, while his colleagues in Congress help to put over different and reactionary measures.

In this way, Truman provides a liberal smokescreen for the reactionary conduct of the political machine of which he is the acknowledged leader.

Union and Negro leaders who hail these platonic gestures are helping to play Truman's dirty little game. The political task for labor and the Negro people is to disperse Truman's smokescreen, expose the reactionary aims it conceals and organize a militant independent fight for civil rights and other needed measures.

An Analysis of Union Leaders' Role

THE NEW MEN OF POWER by C. Wright Mills. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948. 323 pp., \$3.50.

By Paul Schapiro

The New Men of Power by C. Wright Mills, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and director of the university's Labor Research Division of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, is a study of America's labor leaders. In it Mills has tried to show their collective physiology and psychology and their relation to the unions and to the social system.

An "independent left intellectual," to use his own terminology, Mills has evidently learned much from the ideas of Trotskyism. He sees clearly the internal contradictions of American capitalism, the drive towards war and world domination, the permanence of the war economy and the inevitably growing militarization of America, the trend toward the integration of the labor bureaucracy into the state apparatus, the danger of fascism if the working class is unable to carry through a social revolution in a revolutionary situation, the revolutionary potential of the American worker.

LEADERS' DUAL SIDES

In his depiction of the role the labor scene Mills too is more or less directly influenced by Marxist analysis. His introduction graphically sketches this role and explains it in terms of how unions operate under the conditions of capitalism. He shows how the labor leader is at once a guerrilla chieftain in the class war and a parliamentarian intent on maintaining his elected post, a political boss holding power by dispensing patronage and an entrepreneur selling the labor-power of his members to the capitalists, a constant challenge to capitalism by virtue of the kind of organization which he heads and a stabilizing factor in capitalist society by virtue of his own needs.

"All the time that he is the leader of a live and going union, the labor leader is in conflict with the powers of property. . . in his timidity and fear and eagerness to stay alive in a hostile environment, he does not admit this . . . but the fact remains that he is. . . Yet even as the labor leader rebels, he holds back rebellion. He organizes discontent and then he sits on it, exploiting it in order to maintain a continuous organization."

In the remainder of the book Mills presents the factual material he has gathered from various special studies and from his own research, mainly in the form of questionnaires sent to members of the bureaucracy, in the light of his analysis.

He shows the differences between the AFL and the CIO leaders (the CIO leaders are, among other things, younger and better educated); the reasons for the continued split (too much power to be lost by too many leaders); the differences between higher and lower bodies (lower bodies are more militant); the reasons for labor racketeering (it flourishes in small-scale industries in the service trades, where the little businessmen welcome and encourage it as the only means to form an industry-wide cartel to eliminate cut-throat competition); the social origins of the labor bureaucrat (he is a

One Democrat to Another



Senate majority leader Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) talks with two of his southern colleagues, Senators Russell and George of Georgia, who are engaged in the filibuster to halt change in Senate rules on closing debate that would block filibuster on civil rights bills. Are they discussing the so-called "compromise" on civil rights that will give the Southern Democrats everything they want?

"self-made man," mainly of American stock, the way capitalists are supposed to be according to legend but no longer are, and he has a good deal of the individualistic psychology of the "self-made man").

Finally, Mills shows how the labor bureaucrats think: their stupefaction by the concept of labor-capital cooperation and their lack of clear awareness of the dangers and opportunities which lie ahead for labor and what it can do about them.

While offering all of these things, however, Mills' book does not wholly live up to its promise. There is a certain lack of substance to it. The chapters are short, slick, journalistic summaries which require development and detail. One feels constantly the need for concrete illustrations and instances from the internal life of the unions that would give color and animation to Mills' facts and figures. In trying to draw a collective portrait of America's labor leaders Mills has succeeded only in drawing the outlines for a portrait—although, to be sure, such a sketch is not without value.

WHERE HOPE LIES

The book ends, moreover, with a false conclusion. Mills finds hope for the unions to lie in their producing a group of "union-made intellectuals," "men who combine solid trade union experience, preferably of militant character, with the degree of self-awareness and wider consciousness associated with the best sense of the term intellectual."

"The existence of such a stratum of 'union-made intellectuals' would create a team of power and ideas which would change the nature of the leadership, set the labor movement on the right track and make it 'capable of carrying out the program of the left,' that is, of achieving socialism."

"Union-made intellectuals" working by themselves without a revolutionary party cannot, however, accomplish this. Lenin long ago showed by precept and example that the vanguard of the working class must be united in a party dedicated to the socialist revolution and organized as a combat force, with the fullest democracy for arriving at decisions and the highest degree of centralization for carrying them out, if it is to lead the workers to socialism. Such a party, with its cohesiveness and discipline, is a defense against its members succumbing to the forces which sap the militancy of independent radical unionists.

Firmly integrated in the unions, it acts as a constant leaven, opposing to the bureaucrats' ideas of class-collaboration and business unionism those of class-struggle and the class solidarity of the workers, and rallying around it all militants. And when the situation is such that the bureaucrats can no longer hold back the workers' discontent, it harnesses that discontent to a program to change society. Such a party is the party which the Socialist Workers Party is building.

PHILADELPHIA COPS RAID INTER-RACIAL MEETING

PHILADELPHIA, March 6 — Last night a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party warned a gathering of Negro and white workers at a private house party that police mishandling and framing of Negroes, will be extended to all of them, unless it is checked by mass protest. It did not take long for them to see how correct he was.

Less than one hour later, shortly after midnight, six policemen forced their way into the house, arresting 39 workers, including ten women, jamming them into three waiting patrol wagons. Large quantities of SWP literature, "disappeared" in the raid, along with a collection of \$25 contributed toward the SWP's activity in behalf of Bayard Jenkins, a 19-year old Negro youth of this city who is under sentence to the electric chair for a murder to which a white gravedigger has confessed.

The prisoners were locked up at two ancient station houses with "black hole" conditions. The 29 men were jammed into two cells, each of which was about 6 x 8 feet in size. The women too were incarcerated in small unsanitary cells, guarded by male turnkeys. This experience was made even more terrible for the women by the fact that in their cell, they found a young Negro girl lying on the floor within a pool of blood, her head wounds still gushing from a beating given her by the guards before their arrival. They forgot their own worries as they tried to help the young girl who had been denied medical treatment.

THEIR "CRIME"

The basis for the raid became evident at the hearing this morning before Magistrate John F. Daly. The police based their charge of disorderly conduct on the basis that it was a "mixed" gathering.

When questioned by attorney Saul Waldbaum, a well-known union lawyer, who represented the 39, as to any actual evidence of disorder or trouble, the magistrate interrupted that he was not particularly concerned with the

CABINET-POST SHUFFLES BY TRUMAN AND STALIN

Who is Louis Arthur Johnson, Truman's choice for Secretary of Defense to replace Forrestal? Like Forrestal, the corporation lawyer Johnson is a multi-millionaire, a notorious reactionary. There is one difference—Johnson is also a machine politician with a 30-year record of subservience to the Democratic Party bigwigs. His new job is a pay-off for personally underwriting Truman's 1948 campaign fund to the tune of \$250,000.

Johnson knows how to make politics pay. As Assistant Secretary of War from 1937 to 1940, he was responsible for placing army orders. He campaigned for a bigger air force, bigger bombers. Today he is a director of the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation.

During the war the Alien Property Custodian handed him the posts of director general of the Aniline and Film Corp. and president of General Dyestuffs Corp., subsidiaries of the great chemical cartel, I.G. Farben. Johnson still serves as a director for both these corporations, and his law firm, Steptoe and Johnson, is their legal counsel.

SOLD OUT VETS

In 1932, Johnson was chosen National Commander of the American Legion. He pushed forward its red-baiting program and its opposition to recognition of the USSR. Under his dictatorial rule, two Legion posts were expelled for having liberal tendencies. His last act as Legion Commander was to sell out the veterans by accepting Roosevelt's program for a 25% cut in veterans' pensions.

From that time on, he climbed fast in the Democratic Party ranks. He had become a member of the West Virginia House of Representatives in 1917, and a delegate to the party's National Convention in 1924. But he was relatively unknown. In 1936 however he was chairman of the Veterans' Advisory Committee of the Democratic Party, and in 1942 was Roosevelt's choice for a mission to India. His task was to secure supply bases for the U. S. while helping Britain hold the Indian nationalists in check.

Now his loyalty to Pendergast politician Truman has put him in the Cabinet where he can still more effectively serve both Wall Street and the Democratic Party.

The second most important post in the Soviet government is that of Minister of Foreign Affairs.



LOUIS A. JOHNSON

On Mar. 5 Stalin appointed to this key post 66-year old Andrei Y. Vishinsky. This individual who figures so prominently in the sudden reshuffle among the Kremlin high command is one of the most obscure and sinister personalities from among those who have risen

to the highest posts under Stalin's patronage.

A son of a well-to-do notary, Vishinsky began his political career in the ranks of the Russian Mensheviks where he played a minor role among the extreme right wing. Throughout the October Revolution and the years of



ANDREI Y. VISHINSKY

the Civil War he remained a bitter opponent of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. He played a minor part in the camp of the Russian White Guards, fought arms in hand against the young Soviet republic. Vishinsky announced his "conversion" to communism toward the close of the Civil War when victory was assured to the Red Army.

Official Soviet biographies still refer to his Menshevik past and date his party membership back to 1920. What they omit is that Vishinsky began, by singing praises to Zinoviev. But he made his shift to Stalin in ample time and for the next fifteen years held various minor posts, remaining just one of a legion of toadies who worked hand in glove with the secret police.

His close tie-up with the GPU became apparent when in 1935 he received the appointment to the post of Public Prosecutor. This was the year when Stalin made the preparations for the monstrous Moscow Trials and the multi-millioned blood purges of 1936-38. In all this a key role was played by this former White Guard. There are very few individuals in the USSR who are unaware of the ominous significance that attaches to the name of this modern "grand inquisitor."

HATCHET-MAN

In 1943, during the days of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, Vishinsky was elevated to a post of international prominence, becoming a deputy in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Since then he has attained the position of ranking Soviet diplomat, carrying out many important assignments for the Kremlin.

His department included the special problem of the Soviet "buffer zone" in Eastern Europe. In particular, in the execution of the Czech coup of a year ago, Vishinsky played an important behind-the-scenes role. It might be noted that a few weeks prior to his recent promotion Vishinsky was reported as "convalescing" in Czechoslovakia.

READ

Fourth International

Letters from Our Readers

Favors Relief for Cemetery Strikers

Editor: After considering all the facts as related in the daily press, I suggest that union workers everywhere support the striking cemetery workers in New York and provide them full strike relief (in money) and thereby keep "straw boss" Spellman where he is indefinitely and also keep his crew of strikebreakers working at this useful occupation. And although I am a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and not affiliated with either the AFL or the CIO, I would gladly donate several dollars per month for said relief to the strikers who have shown the courage to go against the wishes of their "spiritual" overlords. A Railroad worker, Minn.

Jim Kutcher Thanks 'Militant' Readers

Editor: I would like through The Militant to thank the many readers of our paper for their thoughtful expressions of sympathy in the letters sent me while I was in the hospital. I have left the hospital, am practicing walking again on my artificial limbs and

expect to resume my activity in the fight for civil rights in another few days.

James Kutcher,
Newark, N. J.

Liked Article on Jehovah's Witness

Editor: Although I can see that it is not your desire or purpose to propagate the educational work or position of the Jehovah's Witnesses in regards to the racketeering and selfish religions of this world, nevertheless, I fully appreciate and understand the purpose of your Feb. 21 headline and main article concerning us. It was excellently and timely written. It served its purposes, and it will bring results. There will be no peace on this earth until this planet is rid of demonized religion and its cohorts, the warmongers. I hereby desire to express my sincere thanks for said article.

I have recently permitted my subscription to The Militant to lapse, but that doesn't mean I have ceased to have respect for those men with whom I became acquainted while at Sandstone [the prison where Trotskyist defendants in the Minneapolis Trial were imprisoned during the war,

along with many conscientious objectors]. It is because I have entered the pioneer ranks of Jehovah's Witnesses, and since we pioneers serve without pay, I do not have much money any more to spend as I please. I am sure that those of you who are acquainted with our work will understand.

I would be glad to join the ranks of the SWP if it wasn't for my so-called Christian convictions, but that as yet stands in my way. I don't desire to proselyte the Trotskyites to our ranks; I simply want you men to keep on being honest and considerate to all men regardless of race, religion so to speak, or nationality. F. S. Minneapolis, Minn.

Workers Should Vote On Work-Day Length

Editor: The program to make jobs for the unemployed should ask for four 8-hour days in plants having continuous operation. In other plants where operations would not be affected, workers should be allowed to vote on whether they work four 7½-hour days or five 6-hour days. Three 8-hour days would be more in keeping with the productive capacity of

American industry.

A thought occurred to me which I believe could be proven. I think that American labor gets less of what it produces than the workers of any other country. If the give-away-to-foreign-countries - programs were stopped, you would soon see what I mean if the powers that be haven't yet been successful in launching the third world war.

L. K.
Walnut Park, Calif.

CORRECTION

The Militant regrets the typographical errors which completely distorted the meaning of the final paragraph in last week's editorial on "Liberals and the North Atlantic Pact." The paragraph should have read as follows: "The old-time liberal, with all his weaknesses, was at least a principled defender of the people against any encroachments on the democratic processes. Today's liberals and Social Democrats are termites undermining democratic processes and the already limited constitutional safeguards against abuse of governmental power. Such 'anti-totalitarian' are really totalitarians under the skin."

NEWARK

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BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 623 Main St., 2nd fl., Phone MADison 3680. Every afternoon except Sun. 7-9 p. m.

CHICAGO — 777 W. Adams (corner Halsted), Phone DEarborn 2-4767. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 32nd St. (off Wade Pl. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 P. M.

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FLINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES — Militant Pub. Ass'n., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St., Phone VAnDyke 9061.

SAN PEDRO — Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Pub'l Ass'n., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE — 10 So. 4th St., Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m. - 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) — Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p. m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

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ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forum, Thurs., 7:30-10 p. m.

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TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, second Saturday, 8 p. m., Kappa Hall, 413 Summit, Rm. 5.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.

YOUNGSTOWN — 254 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1335. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

A Matter of Opinion

By James Kutcher

When I met with Attorney General Clark in his Washington office last September to protest my dismissal from the VA, I think I offended him by asking what assurances we had that a new Attorney General appointed after the Nov. 2 election might not have different ideas than he has about what is subversive. It wasn't my intention to offend him; I was only trying to show the arbitrariness of a blacklist system that rests on the opinions of just one man.

I remembered this because on March 3 the Phi Beta Kappa Association of Essex County held a dinner in Newark where Thurman Arnold strongly denounced the "loyalty" program. Among other things he called it "a reign of terror," in which jobs and reputations are destroyed "by an unconstitutional process, through secret evidence, association and hearsay."

Now Thurman Arnold is a former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, and for a long time it was believed that he was slated to succeed Biddle as Attorney General. Yet his attitude to the government purge seems to be the opposite of Clark's although they hold essentially the same political views. Isn't that a good illustration of how arbitrary the purge really is?

But that isn't my main point. After Arnold finished speaking, another man at the dinner got up to answer him. His name was John Kirkland Clark, and he happens to be not only a national Phi Beta Kappa official but also a member of the Loyalty Review Board, which is in charge of the purge. He said: "I don't think there is any consideration fairer than that these [loyalty] boards give these cases. Whether or not it is desirable to have people working in our government who are against the government is a matter of opinion."

By people "who are against the government" he means those who favor a form of government different from that advocated by the Democrats and Republicans. People like myself, for instance, who favor a socialist form of government rather than a Big Business form. Leaving that side, however, I want to emphasize his amazing statement that it is "a matter of opinion" if such people should be retained in their jobs or purged. If it is a matter of opinion, then it is not a matter of law, and therefore there is no legal sanction for the purge in general or my dismissal in particular!

If that is the case, what right has the Truman administration to fire workers with differing opinions? What right has Attorney General Clark to issue a "subversive" blacklist? What right has the Loyalty Review Board to publish its Memorandum 32 making it mandatory to purge members of the SWP and other organizations?

I am a great believer in freedom of opinion and expression. I am in favor of letting Tom Clark and John Clark have their opinions about what is and what is not subversive. But I am decidedly not in favor of letting their opinions become a substitute for law while at the same time they deny me and other government employees the right to have our opinions.

My appeal, asking for the restoration of my job and the abolition of the blacklist system, is scheduled to come before the Loyalty Review Board on March 30. I hope John Clark will be there and repeat what he said at the dinner in Newark. And then I hope he and the Loyalty Review Board as a whole will try to square this statement with the contention of the party in power that it has the right to blacklist an opponent party and fire its members out of government employ.

Police Boss Sets Ominous Pattern For Detroit Press

By Howard Mason

DETROIT — Facing almost solid resistance from Detroit newspapermen, Police Commissioner Harry S. Toy (dubbed Headline Harry by the papers) has partially retreated from his original adamant stand requiring Detroit reporters to sign non-communist affidavits in order to obtain 1949 press cards.

In January, taking his cue from the national red-hysteria drive, Toy issued the order requiring the affidavits, with no exceptions permitted, not even the Hearst paper. Last month he announced he had stationed armed guards at Police Headquarters, and that all newsmen who had not signed the affidavits would be barred from entering between the hours of 6 P.M. and 8 A.M. Later, finding that no reporters from the three main daily papers in Detroit had signed, he relaxed the order to the extent that he would accept the personal word of the editors of the three newspapers, Free Press, Times and News, as to the loyalty of their employees.

The reaction of the reporters to the required oaths was expressed by Norman Hull of the Windsor Star when he said, "I know what we'd do to do that in order to get a press card. We'd tell them to go to hell."

Toy's "backing down" in regard to the three main papers is in a sense a retreat. But it also is an action that sidesteps a fight against those men who are in the best position to fight his actions, because of the great circulation of the papers they write for, in order to better press the fight against the smaller papers of Michigan.

DANGEROUS MOVE

This attack on the freedom of the press, and it is just that, for it limits the actions and beliefs of the men who gather news for the papers, has a very conscious purpose. For one, Toy seeks to establish the practice of making all men in a position of responsibility towards the people to attest their loyalty to the government. For another, he seeks to make difficult the functioning of the smaller newspapers of Detroit (the Communist Party publishes a state paper in Michigan). Perhaps most important of all, he is attempting to establish the notion that any man who does not believe in this "free enterprise" system should not enjoy the same rights and privileges as one who does.

The attitude of Detroit's Mayor, Eugene Van Antwerp, is typical of capitalist politicians. Asked if he thought the order "interfered with the freedom of the press," he replied, "I don't know." When asked further, "Had there been any instances of newspaper men misusing freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution?" he replied, "I won't answer that."

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mar. 7.—Once again the CIO Auto Workers Union here is a battleground between the tight-knit Reuther machine and the opposition forces. Election returns for local union officers, while not complete, indicate that Reuther will retain control of this largest concentration of GM workers. But the opposition still represents 40% of the members in the area.

This campaign has opened the eyes of an ever-widening group of workers to the true character of the Reuther group. It stands exposed as a conservative caucus, devoid of principles, grasping for immediate advantages. In Buick, its leaders accused the opposition of anti-unionism because their members turned down strike action last year, while in Chevrolet the opposition is accused of wanting to lead industry-wide strikes at every opportunity.

GM locals in this area are seething with dissatisfaction over speedup. It is almost as bad as in pre-union days. In Flint, particularly Chevrolet, the opposition took the leadership in the fight against the speedup and brought the facts to the attention of the whole union. The Reuther administration did nothing to defend established standards. It stifled any attempt at defense by refusing to authorize strikes.

THE MILITANT

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How Jury is Being Selected In Trial of Stalinist Leaders

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Mar. 9 — So far three jurors called for the thought-control trial of the Stalinists have been dismissed for bias against the defend-

ants; one because he knows two members of the indicting grand jury; another for bias caused by membership in the Catholic Holy Name Society; and a third who loudly proclaimed his "absolute contempt" for the Stalinists.

Another 87 jurors were excused on the ground that jury duty in the long trial would impose a hardship. One was a Chinese, employed by the FBI as a translator.

Among the hardship pleas was that of a prospective bridegroom who thought the jury box a poor place for a honeymoon. Amid uproarious laughter, the judge excused him with a wave of the arm.

Since Judge Medina over-ruled the defense challenge of the jury system, there is much interest in the composition of the panel from which the trial jury will be drawn. A check of the 87 excused jurors gives a partial picture.

JURY COMPOSITION

The 87 include 21 junior and senior corporation executives, 11 small businessmen, 12 salesmen, 9 engineers, 8 housewives, 5 salesmen, 5 clerical workers, 3 stock brokers, 3 architects, 2 private secretaries, 2 manual workers, an editor, a teacher and a translator. Two of the 87 are Negroes.

Jurors are called to the jury box in groups of 12, while scores of other jurors sit in the courtroom listening to the questioning. All questions are asked by the judge who permits the lawyers to pass him suggestions in writing.

After checking to find if the jurors know any defendant, defense lawyer or prosecutor, the judge puts the prosecutor's questions. Do you know such lawyers as Lee Pressman, O. John Rogge,

Carol King, etc.? Or Congressman Vito Marcantonio, Rev. William Melish or Paul Robeson? Or Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers or Elizabeth Bentley?

Have you read any Communist Party newspaper or book? Do you know any Soviet diplomat? Have you had any association with organizations on Attorney-General Clark's blacklist (which is read in full, including the Socialist Workers Party)?

DEFENSE QUESTIONS

Then comes the defense questions. Do you know Louis Budenz, Sidney Hook, Michael Quill, etc.? A Stalinist lawyer passed up a note and the judge asked, do you know Farrell Dobbs?

Have you had any association with the NAM, American Legion, ACTU, Liberal Party, ADA, etc.? Have you read any books by Budenz, Gitlow, Kravchenko, Martin Dies, etc.?

Next the judge reads the Smith Act and the indictment, asking if any juror is prejudiced against that law. Then he inquires if any juror is biased from exposure to the press and radio, or from association with any organization or from any statement he has heard or read.

Twelve jurors now seated in the jury box claim they have formed no opinion about the case and would render a verdict solely on the basis of the evidence.

When the questioning has been completed, those jurors not dismissed by the judge will be subject to peremptory challenge by the prosecution and defense. However, only 16 challenges are allowed—ten by the defendants, six by the prosecutor. Thereafter, the judge's decision in the selection of jurors is final.

Main L. A. Election Issue-- Who Should Run the Govt.?

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 5 — The mayoralty race here bubbled merrily this week, with one candidate, Ellis E. Patterson, suspending his search for buried pirate treasure in the Cocos Islands to reach out for another pot of gold—the \$18,000 a year mayoralty job.

Patterson, backed somewhat hesitantly by the IPP Wallaceites, has issued as yet no program dealing with problems of Los Angeles workers, but seeks support on the basis of his "progressive" past. The IPP platform includes planks on FEPC, slum clearance, abolition of the loyalty oath, all of which are wholeheartedly supported by workers.

But like all the other parties except the Socialist Workers Party, what the IPP shies away from is the fundamental issue now facing the workers and the minorities, namely: Whom will

the government represent? Is it to be their government or ours? In contrast to all other candidates, Myra Tanner Weiss, in her campaign speeches as well as in her SWP platform, now being widely distributed, stresses the need for the independent political action of workers and minorities. In Los Angeles, as elsewhere in our country, only this can begin to solve the burning problems facing the working class today.

This basic fact—the need for electing labor's own representatives—has been stressed by Comrade Weiss. But it is either not understood or purposely evaded by the IPP. Neither the IPP nor the Stalinists seem to have learned anything from their dismal experiences in the past. They continue to run after "liberals" in the capitalist camp.

In the recent 19th district election for Congress, Chet Holifield was their choice. Today, their fair-haired boy is Patterson. The IPP, after carefully pointing out that he is not a member of their organization, hasten to add that they will give Patterson "energetic" support "to the extent" that he deals with issues of importance to the people of this city.

Patterson's 10-year record in and out of public office is not one to inspire confidence among workers or minorities. He has shopped around quite a bit, starting out as a Republican in the State Assembly, then switching to the Democrats, and in 1940, during the Stalinist era of the "Yanks are not coming," breaking with the Roosevelt New Dealers. More recently he lost out in the race for U.S. Senate, and still more recently he apparently forsook politics temporarily to hunt for pirate's gold.

CAMPAIGN TALKS

Myra Tanner Weiss, meanwhile, is taking the SWP platform to the workers. Campaign meetings are being held weekly in four working class sections. Militant readers are urged to attend them and to help bring out a large Weiss for Mayor vote. Campaign headquarters are located at 1008 S. Pacific, San Pedro; 124 W. 6th St., Room 325; and 1653 Longwood Ave.



Francis Cardinal Spellman, Roman Catholic archbishop of New York, directs scabs recruited from a seminary in digging graves in an attempt to break the eight-week strike of CIO cemetery workers at Calvary Cemetery run by St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City. The striking workers, all Catholics, demanded a 40-hour week with overtime pay for Saturdays.

PLACE ON BALLOT WON BY OAKLAND CANDIDATE

OAKLAND, March 5 — The campaign to spread the program of socialism is picking up full steam in this city now that Filomena Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman-at-Large in the forthcoming election, has been officially placed on the ballot. Almost three times the number of necessary petitions were collected for her candidacy.

Already the SWP candidate has received more newspaper publicity than any other candidate in the councilmanic election. But her campaign supporters are not going to rely for publicity only on the capitalist press. The SWP program will also be spread far and wide by a series of speeches before the trade unions, Negro organizations and women and youth groups. An attractive new campaign headquarters, located at 1408 Webster, in the heart of downtown, has already been obtained. From all indications, it will be one of the best in the campaign.

Filomena Goelman appeared before the Oakland City Council on Mar. 3 to present the SWP statement of policy on FEPC. She is scheduled to appear before the CIO-PAC Mar. 7 and before the Negro Ministerial Alliance Mar. 8. She is also scheduled to speak Mar. 12 at the "Meet - the - Candidate Social" which will open up the new Oakland SWP headquarters to the public.

In filing for the campaign, the SWP candidate appended the following statement:

"I come from a working class family and know the problems facing working people. A former member of the United Auto Work-



FILOMENA GOELMAN

Heated Elections in Flint UAW

By Emmett Moore

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This campaign has opened the eyes of an ever-widening group of workers to the true character of the Reuther group. It stands exposed as a conservative caucus, devoid of principles, grasping for immediate advantages. In Buick, its leaders accused the opposition of anti-unionism because their members turned down strike action last year, while in Chevrolet the opposition is accused of wanting to lead industry-wide strikes at every opportunity.

GM locals in this area are seething with dissatisfaction over speedup. It is almost as bad as in pre-union days. In Flint, particularly Chevrolet, the opposition took the leadership in the fight against the speedup and brought the facts to the attention of the whole union. The Reuther administration did nothing to defend established standards. It stifled any attempt at defense by refusing to authorize strikes.

Just prior to the local elections, the four top international officers printed a statement of policy in the official union paper, minimizing the speedup problem. In specific reference to Chevrolet, they admitted there was a wildcat strike but did not mention that it occurred only after they had refused to authorize a legitimate strike which the membership demanded by a 7-to-1 vote, with some 8,000 workers voting. They concluded the Chevrolet incident by saying everything was settled satisfactorily.

The statement of policy is an outright lie. For every Chevrolet worker knows the fight was lost. To this day the workers are turning out the increased production demanded by the company. Reuther attempted to stifle the complaints and bitterness over speedup by a national wage and pension program — and red baiting.

The GM contract is closed to economic demands until 1950. This created a problem for the Reutherites who were advocating pensions this year. Reuther gave his forces a formula with which they could deceive the GM workers. He contended that public opinion would force the company to negotiate this year.

This deception was bolstered deliberately by the capitalist press for three consecutive days on the

eve of the voting. They heralded Reuther's press statements with banner headlines.

The opposition insisted throughout the campaign, as it did last year, that negotiations be handled on an industry-wide basis. They insisted this was the only way GM workers could be brought into the struggle for pensions this year.

Reuther and his representatives rejected this necessary tactic and proposed again to renew their ineffective "one-at-a-time" strategy.

With the capitalist press working full time for Reuther, it was a simple matter to turn on the spigot of red-baiting and smear the whole opposition. The Buick leadership was branded as Communist-controlled, the Chevrolet opposition as Trotskyist.

The militants who politically support the Democrats or Wallace recall with bitterness how in 1937 they defended Reuther's right to be a "Socialist" when he was under attack by George Boyesen, head clubman for the GM vigilantes.

Reuther "anti-ism" campaign was revealed as an attempt to suppress all militant opposition. Don Chapman, regional director, wrote that those who were fighting speedup in Chevrolet were Trotskyists or led by them. Reuther claim that any one who op-

poses the wage cuts are reds.

In a meeting of officers and committee men in Flint a day before the voting, Reuther bluntly told the opposition that constitutional changes would be made at the next convention to prevent them from opposing his policies in the union. He said he didn't oppose their right to criticize and fight to change the leadership but they didn't have the right to fight against policies of the international executive board.

In the local contests the picture is as follows: Buick progressives trail in the primary but are in the runoff. This is a loss over last year. The Chevrolet opposition is in the runoff for the shop committee and two board posts, receiving 40% of the vote. Bob Carter's group in the AC local was defeated by a narrow margin of 300 votes out of 3,000 cast. Thus, there is no change in Chevrolet and AC over last year. Fisher Body No. 2 was carried by the opposition. Larry Finnan, head of the left wing in Fisher Body No. 1 was defeated by six votes. Last year he fell short by light votes.

The Reutherites still control the region but it is clear that a year of their administration has not materially strengthened their hold on GM workers. A small shift from right to left could change the picture substantially.

Two Million Lost Childhoods

By Ruth Johnson

"The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The little children at their work
Can see the men at play."

Just an echo of the past? Not at all! I remembered the poem and the whole struggle against child labor when I came across an article in the February issue of Woman's Home Companion. The author, Edith Stern, shows that "one out of every six of our 14 and 15-year olds is now at work," and over two million boys and girls had jobs during the last school year.

That's a slight improvement over the height of this crime-against youth. During the Second World War, with the agreement of the labor bureaucrats and the blessing of the patriotic "liberals," as many as five million children were employed. Under the pretext of speeding the war effort, the states watered down the protective laws won through decades of union struggle. The states promised, of course, to restore the laws when peace returned. But like the wartime pledges of full employment, decent homes and the four freedoms, these promises to repair the child labor laws are ignored.

"Five states have extended wartime relaxations of child labor restrictions supposed to expire in 1945," Miss Stern warns. Nine states have killed proposed bills that would have set even the inadequate minimum of a 16-year working age dur-

ing school hours. Texas has favored the cannery bosses with exemptions that allow them to work 15-year old girls more than 54 hours a week. And so on!

In the canneries, in the huge "factories in the field" owned by agricultural barons; in department stores, laundries, bowling alleys, and delivering newspapers for the boss press, children do man-sized jobs while parents swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Deprived of all chance to play and grow, the boys and girls are put at tasks beyond their strength. Their health is undermined. They suffer twice as many permanent injuries through industrial accidents as adult workers do. Forced to accept less than adult wages, they in turn depress the living standards of the whole working class, and force more parents to send more children to work to feed the families.

For all who thought capitalism would at least wipe out this blot on its record of oppression, the last few years should be proof that free enterprise will not reform. From its first years, as Marx proved in Capital, the profit system has thrived on the misery of children. It squanders future generations as not even slave-holders could afford to do — for under capitalism, even the young are "free."

Socialism alone will wipe out the tragedy of the little quattrin. It will take all children out of the mill and give them at last a place in the sun.

Sidney Hook--Then and Now

By George Breitman

Most of the intellectuals who were attracted to movements of rebellion against capitalism by the crisis of the Thirties have signed their separate peace with Big Business and entered into its service. Hypnotized by the power of capitalism in its last real stronghold and blind to the potentially greater power of the working class, they devote themselves nowadays to defending the same reactionary practices and institutions which they used to oppose ten or fifteen years ago. A good illustration of this transformation is afforded by the leading article in the Feb. 27 N. Y. Times Magazine, written by Sidney Hook, head of the Philosophy Department of New York University and contributing editor of the Social Democratic New Leader.

As part of the cold war against democratic rights in this country, the ruling class has decided to drive from the schools all teachers in any way critical of Wall Street's preparations for war and world domination. The signal was given with the purge at the University of Washington, and while many educators are reluctant or truly puzzled about what to do, the Social Democrats have jumped into line.

Over 90% of Hook's article is an aggressive defense of the witch-hunt, along the following lines: Purging "communist" teachers is in accord with the best and highest tradition of academic freedom, rather than a violation of it, because they are under the pressure of their party's discipline to preach its views and therefore are not free to teach the objective truth. (What about all the other teachers who are subjected to pressures and prejudices, social and economic as well as political, which drastically impede their presentation of the truth? Hook can't seem to get worked up over them, especially when their concepts of the "objective truth" jibe with the interests of capitalism.)

To the objection that this is an attack on the right of teachers to hold dissident political opinions, Hook replies that the purge is warranted because membership in the CP is "an act, not merely an expression of opinion." But what good is the right to hold opinions if you cannot exercise this right in organizational as well as mental terms — that is, by association with other people sharing your opinions in a party which, after all, it is still legal to belong to in this country? Teachers harboring "dangerous thoughts" can still keep their jobs in the Soviet Union so long as they don't express them; is that "academic freedom" too?

Hook's zeal in logic-chopping leads him to denounce even the "civil libertarians" who cling to the old-fashioned notion that all teachers, regardless of political affiliations, "must be judged by their individual actions in the classroom." Their position has "two fatal difficulties," he says: 1. It would "require spying in every classroom to detect the party line, and disorganize or intimidate. . . the entire faculty." (Thus academic thought-control turns out to be really just a laudable bulwark against intimidation of ALL teachers!) 2. It would be "very difficult" to decide when a teacher defended a conclusion because he "honestly believed it" and when he was merely

following the party line. (Why bother with such "difficulties" when a purge is so much simpler?) But the most interesting thing about Hook's article is its conclusion, advancing some mild and tentative reservations to an all-out purge. He is not satisfied that the proper formula has been found for dealing with "the more difficult and involved question" of the "fellow-traveler." Furthermore, "Although the exclusion of Communist party teachers from the academic community seems justified in principle, this by itself does not determine whether it is a wise and prudent action in all circumstances. . . If removal of Communist party members were to be used by other reactionary elements as a pretext to hurl irresponsible charges against professors whose views they disapprove, a case might be made for suspending action."

In other words, Hook recognizes the very clear and present danger that the witch-hunt against the Stalinists will be extended to encompass other dissident elements. He wants a purge but he wants it regulated so it won't hit at teachers who couple their support of capitalism with criticism of some of its aspects. And he even suggests a solution: "If the execution of the policy were left to university faculties themselves, and not to administrators and trustees who are harried by pressure groups, there would be little ground for complaint." In short, let the purge be conducted under a bastardized form of "workers control" — control by the teachers, who have control over nothing else in the universities — and then it will be a nice, safe, effective purge, with little ground for complaint.

What accounts for these reservations? For one thing, a few anti-Stalinist teachers, including some of Hook's own blood-brothers, have already felt the axe in the purge's first stages. But something else is worrying Hook, something of a more personal nature, and here is what it is:

In 1934-5 the Hearst press ran a rabid red-baiting campaign to clean the "subversives" out of the colleges. And one of Hearst's specific targets was Hook himself. (At that time Hook was a member of the organization led by A. J. Muste, which merged with the Trotskyists in December 1934 to form the Workers Party, a forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party.) Hearst's campaign became so virulent that a mass meeting denouncing it was held under the auspices of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense in the Central Opera House, New York, on Feb. 3, 1935, with Hook as one of the main speakers before an audience of 2,500.

Hook is still haunted by that memory. Although he long ago gave up all pretence of being a revolutionary Marxist, he knows there is no telling where a witch-hunt in high gear will stop, and he is thinking about his own neck. But his reservations don't change the fundamental nature of his position — namely, that he is now proposing in the name of "anti-totalitarianism" to do to his political opponents precisely what Hearst tried to do to him in the name of jingo-patriotism. And his pleas for special privilege will have no effect at all in retarding the machine of reaction, whose engine he has fueled and whose wheels he has greased.