

LAST WORD NOT SPOKEN ON ROSENBERG CASE

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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German Political Revolution Has Already Begun

Statement of the International Secretariat, Fourth International

June 25 — The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today issued the following declaration on the events in East Germany and the present general situation in the European "People's Democracies" and the USSR.

On the basis of information and precise reports sent to us from a number of different sources including our own members active in Berlin and the East German zone, and on the basis of the programmatic considerations and political line characterizing our world movement founded by Leon Trotsky, we are in a position to give the only objective analysis of the recent events in East Germany and to draw from them conclusions and perspectives which concern the entire international working class movement.

FALSE EXPLANATIONS

Up to now the press and the direct or indirect pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist spokesmen have sought to explain the events as a revolt of the German working masses against "the Communist regime," against the USSR, in order to more vigorously resume their propaganda for the counter-revolutionary war they are preparing. Behind these events they have tried to mask their own difficulties, their crimes and their plans for a reactionary and counter-revolutionary war which has nothing in common with a genuine defense of the material,

cultural and political interests of the working masses of the whole world.

The cries of indignation from the Social Democratic leaderships sound no less false. Almost unreservedly arrayed by the side of the capitalists in all their foul enterprises of colonial wars or of anti-Soviet war under American leadership, as defenders in practice of the capitalist status quo and disrupters of working class actions, they are in no position to preach sermons to their competitors in bureaucracy, the Stalinist leaderships.

On the other hand the press and spokesmen for the Kremlin, the satellite governments in the European "People's Democracies" and the Communist Parties in the world, upset, taken by surprise and gripped with fear by the gigantic uprising of the working masses in East Germany, have plunged into a series of contradictions.

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Police Murder Three Negroes, Go Scot-Free

Three killer cops, each of whom took the life of a Negro — one in Alabama, one in Florida and one in New York — were whitewashed by court and government officials and are free to continue their murderous gunplay.

In Birmingham, Ala., David (Little Eddy) Garrett, 27-year-old Negro coal miner, was shot and killed on June 14 by police patrol wagon driver R. G. Luttrell, his "crime," according to Luttrell, was that he rammed the patrol wagon from the rear with his car and "resisted arrest" after a chase when he was ordered out of his car. The cop claimed that he shot David Garrett because the latter drew a "switch-knife" and "threatened to kill" him.

Garrett is the fifth Negro shot to death by Alabama police this year. In Miami, Fla., Emmet Jefferson, a 30-year-old Negro, was shot and killed on Christmas Day last year in the yard of his home by policeman Paul V. Minnick. Minnick charged that Emmet Jefferson eluded a road block set to trap him for "reckless driving" and that he "resisted arrest" when he was caught in his yard.

As in the Alabama killing, the cop claimed that he fired his pistol because Jefferson came at him with an object in his hand that he "thought" was a weapon. He was acquitted in federal court on June 26 of the charge, filed by

the NAACP that he had deprived Jefferson of his life without due process of law.

In Rosedale, N. Y., Fred North, 34-year-old Negro butler, was shot and killed on June 25 by Bruce Wermelinger, a probationary cop on the police force for five months, who was off duty and in civilian clothes. The "crime" in this case also occurred on an automobile road. According to the killer, North was driving a station wagon and cut in front of Wermelinger's car. The cop pursued North's station wagon, ordering him to stop and get out. The cop's story is that North complied but threatened to kill him. He said he shot North because North grappled with him as he tried to pull out his pistol and kept lunging at his pistol arm.

Wermelinger was exonerated by Assistant District Attorney Cullen who declared the killing to be "justified." The case will be turned over to a Grand Jury; meanwhile, the cop continues on his job.

These killings are part of the grim pattern of "legalized" police murder attacks on the Negro people that is taking the place of the earlier lynchings that have drawn widespread attention and protests.

What Berlin Strikers Told CP Leaders

European reports on the East German uprising were, as usual, more complete and revealing than those permitted in the U.S. press. Pierre Gousset, special Berlin correspondent of the French weekly L'Observateur (June 25), reported the following incident about the June 16 demonstration by East Berlin building workers who demanded cancellation of an unpaid 10% increase in work norms.

When the workers reached the government building, Stalinist Minister of Mines Selbmann addressed them, saying he agreed that the increase should be revoked and that the workers should have confidence in him and the government and return quietly to work.

But the workers interrupted him: "We no longer have confidence in you, we want guarantees."

"THE TRUE COMMUNISTS"

Then this dialogue took place: "But I've been a worker for a long time myself."

"You've forgotten about that. You are not our comrade now." "How could I forget, me, a communist worker for so long?" "You aren't the true communist — we are."

"ALL BUT A SCORE"

Writing in the Manchester Guardian Weekly (June 25), correspondent Terence Prittie, sent the following report on one aspect of the June 17 events:

"A good illustration was given to me today of the universality of the strike action by an executive of the big Farben Fabrik chemical works in Wolfen-Bitterfeld. This man helped to canalise a strike which, he said, had embraced all but a mere score of the 7,000 members of this plant. So quick were the workers here to decide that they would strike that they began their spontaneous demonstration on June 17 at 7:30, only half an hour after the first morning shift had started.

"Simultaneously, but without any form of co-ordination, the employees of the other two principal plants in Bitterfeld — the Filmfabrik Wolfen and the Elektrochemisches Kombinat — stopped work and marched towards the center of the town. The number of demonstrators swelled to around 40,000, roughly three-quarters of the whole population. The prisons were opened and all public buildings were seized. Bitterfeld was an apt example of a place where the revolution was successful and the 'revolutionaries' were actually in complete control until the Soviet troops arrived that evening."

Another interesting article, from Le Monde, is summarized on page 3 of this issue.

Liberty Put to the Stake



Librarians, Educators Denounce Book-Burning

America's leading organizations of librarians, book publishers and educators have issued scathing denunciations of book burnings and attacks on academic freedom by government witch hunters.

The American Library Association, with a national membership of 21,000, on June 25 in concert with the American Book Publishers' Council issued a manifesto, "On Freedom to Read." It assails all attempts to limit the circulation of books and the free expression by authors of their views, however controversial and unorthodox.

In addition, the librarians' organization in a separate action sharply scored the State Department's purge of hundreds of books, a number of which were burned in Nazi style, from the U.S. Information Service libraries abroad. The association threatened to discontinue support to the overseas library program if full literary freedom were not restored. The book burnings have been carried out at the behest of Senator McCarthy, who is conducting a probe of 30,000 titles for "Communist" ideas or authorship.

TEACHERS AFRAID

A report declaring that American school teachers are fearful to consider controversial subjects in the classrooms, based on a survey of 522 school systems in all parts of the country, was released by the opening session on June 28 of the ninety-first annual convention of the National Education Association. This association has a membership of 450,000 teachers, and an affiliated membership of 950,000.

In his presentation of the report to the convention, Dr. Martin Essex, superintendent of schools at Lakewood, Ohio, and chairman of the Association's committee on tenure and academic freedom, declared:

"You cannot rear a child in a vacuum and then expect him to become competent in citizenship. We should permit and encourage the discussion of controversial issues in the classroom. Teachers

should express their points of view and read whatever books they want to. It is an authoritarian concept that permits a select few to determine what you can read or how to think. That surely is not the American way of life."

Dr. Essex further urged local school boards to resist the demands for suppression of academic freedom by "false super-patriots and the fear groups that militantly prevent free inquiry."

This same view was emphasized by the convention's keynote speaker, Dr. Walter F. Tunks, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Akron, Ohio. He denounced the current congressional committees which are trying to invade the schools and churches as well. He charged:

"MORE TO BE FEARED"

"Far more to be feared than any radicalism in our schools is the tyranny that would force education into a strait-jacket of conformity."

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Eisenhower Could End Slaughter by Order to Bring the Troops Home

By Joseph Keller

While Eisenhower and his State Department envoy continue to haggle with their own South Korean ally, American boys in Korea are being killed and wounded at a rate two or three times greater than their losses prior to Dictator Syngman Rhee's provocative moves to blow up a truce.

For the week ending July 1, U.S. casualties rose 650 over the previous week's total. The previous week saw a rise of 833. The impression being given that only the South Korean troops have been suffering from the recent intensified attacks by the Chinese-North Korean forces is false. American troops are suffering heavy losses too.

If Eisenhower were seriously concerned about ending quickly this suffering and slaughter of American boys, there is a simple measure he could take: Order the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Korea and their return home.

He doesn't need an act of Congress. The U.S. troops were sent to Korea in the first place by a mere presidential order, without a by-your-leave to Congress, let alone to the American people. A mere presidential order now could promptly stop the unpopular U.S. intervention in Korea, and the terrible flow of U.S. casualties and halt as well the ghastly destruction of Korean lives and homes by U.S. bombs, shells and napalm.

WHERE BLAME BELONGS

Eisenhower and his agents, backed by the capitalist press, are now trying to foist the sole blame for the suffering of American troops and prolongation of the war on the Rhee dictatorship. True enough, Washington's own chief ally has been shown to be the present main road-block to the truce. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the real responsibility for the American



DICTATOR RHEE

losses in Korea lies in Washington.

Who sent the U.S. troops to Korea in the first place to back a brutal, bloody dictator — Syngman Rhee — in a civil war that began years before the outbreak of full-scale war on June 25, 1950? Who stalled a truce for two years over the phony issue of "voluntary repatriation" of prisoners? Is Syngman Rhee keeping the U.S. troops in Korea by force? The capitalist government in Washington bears full blame for sending and keeping the U.S. troops in Korea.

The truth is, as the Scripps-Howard newspapers recently admitted, Syngman Rhee has always been a "high-handed dictator." In 1949, before the war became all-out, Rhee had "proclaimed publicly his intent to invade North Korea and win unification by force if necessary." Wall Street and its Washington agents knew this, but they dragged the

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PUSH NEW SENATE BILL TO AID UNION-BUSTERS

The Senate Internal Security sub-committee, headed by the notorious witch hunter Senator William E. Jenner, Indiana Republican, is speeding special hearings in July

Relations Board certification to labor unions against which the employers lodge complaints of "communist domination."

Under the terms of the bill introduced last April by Senator John Marshall Butler, Maryland Republican elected with Senator McCarthy's direct aid, the NLRB will be required to deny collective bargaining recognition or elections to a union merely under "investigation" by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Jenner's subcommittee revealed it has set up a special "task force" of three, including Senator Butler and Senator Pat McCarran, Nevada Democrat, to start early hearings on Butler's bill despite the planned adjournment of the Senate next month. McCarran is the chief author of the infamous McCarran-Kilgore Internal Security Act under which the Subversive Activities Control Board was set up.

AUTOMATIC BAN

The Butler bill provides that the NLRB must deny recognition to a union that the SACB rules is "communist-dominated." Under the bill, if the board merely agrees to "investigate" a complaint, the union's bargaining rights would be automatically suspended. This ban would become permanent if the board "finds" against the union. The union would have the right of appeal to

the regular courts, but until and unless a court removed the ban, it would remain in effect.

It is apparent that if this bill becomes law, it will be duck soup for employers to block recognition of any and all unions merely by complaining about their being "communist dominated." It might take months or years, if ever, before a union could get clearing by the SACB. Meanwhile the workers would be impotent to get government certification of the union of their own choosing.

BROAD AS A BARN

The bill is so devised that it makes no difference if the official leaders of the union are well known as conservatives and anti-communists. It would suffice, under the bill, to charge that "non-official Communists" or "fellow travelers" or merely followers of the "party line" were influencing the union to make it subject to non-certification. If a union is designated "communist dominated" the NLRB is required to hold an election of another union as the bargaining agent.

It would not be difficult to find in almost any union members and even leaders who have what the reactionaries call "communist" ideas — from support of equal rights for Negroes to advocacy of public power systems like TVA. This could become the basis for busting their union under the Butler bill.

Lessons for U.S. Labor from East Germany

By George Breitman

Tribute to the courage of the East German workers was paid by AFL President George Meany, CIO President Walter Reuther and other American labor leaders shortly before they left for Stockholm to attend the World Congress of Free Trade Unions.

"Courage," of course, is the mildest word to describe the behavior of the East German workers who risked death and imprisonment to demonstrate their opposition to a dictatorship backed up by Soviet occupation forces. "Heroism" is a more accurate term for their inspiring display of solidarity and militant resistance to despotism.

But in the mouths of Meany and Reuther, words about the East German workers' courage strike a false and hollow note. Because courage is one of the things — one of the many things

— that sharply distinguishes the East German workers from the American labor leaders.

The courage of the East German workers is not a purely physical quality, important as that is. It is also, and primarily, a political thing.

POLITICAL CONTRAST

The East German workers are forbidden to form a party of their own, and if they have one, it has to function underground. Yet they dare to show in action that they are uncompromising opponents of the ruling party, they openly defy their government, and they declare their political independence of their rulers.

Meany and Reuther, on the other hand, stand at the head of a strong labor movement representing millions of well-organized workers. Yet they cling to the coat-tails of the conservative Truman administration in the 1952

election campaign, they behave like a "loyal opposition" to the Eisenhower administration today, and they are still afraid to call for the formation of a Labor Party through which the workers could elect candidates they could rely on to defend labor's interests.

The contrast becomes all the more striking, and all the more unfavorable to Meany and Reuther, when we recall that every show of resistance to the East German regime is punishable by imprisonment or execution. No body could even accuse the AFL and CIO leaders of acting "illegally" if they broke with the capitalist parties and helped form a Labor Party.

THE REAL TEST

The real test of political courage is the willingness and ability to oppose the government in your own country on its reactionary policies, both domestic

and foreign. The East German workers meet this test. Meany and Reuther don't.

The East German workers are not fooled or satisfied by the Stalinist government's many declarations that it favors and is striving for the unification of Germany. They know that one of the obstacles to unification is the presence of Soviet troops, and their demand — "Ivan go home" — is directed to getting rid of that obstacle.

Meany and Reuther, on the other hand, accept as good coin the U.S. government's many declarations that it favors and is striving for the unification of Germany. They grant 100% support to Washington's false claim that the way to unify Germany is by keeping U.S. occupation troops in Western Germany, and they oppose the withdrawal of those troops.

The East German workers, by

fighting the policies of their government, really promote the unification of Germany. The AFL and CIO leaders, by slavishly supporting the policies of their government, obstruct the unification of Germany.

Nothing is cheaper or safer than opposing the crimes of a government that is far away. The East German workers, in the face of tanks, oppose their own government. Meany and Reuther oppose — the Kremlin and its agents. Nothing is more respectable in Washington today. In fact, the U.S. State Department is highly grateful to Meany and Reuther for going to the Stockholm ICFTU conference to oppose "neutrality" — that is, any tendency to refuse to line up behind the U.S. war machine.

Under the circumstances the East German workers would be completely justified in telling Meany and Reuther:

"Please praise our courage a little less, and imitate it a little more. If you want to help us get rid of the Soviet occupation, you can do so by fighting to withdraw the U.S. occupation from our country. If you want us to overthrow our oppressors, you can help by withdrawing your support of your own government's policies and war preparations, which our Stalinist rulers utilize as a pretext for keeping us in oppression. If you really want the workers of Europe and Asia to follow an independent road, then you should set an example for them by denouncing your own rulers and forming a Labor Party to take the political power away from them. Otherwise, your praise of us is hypocritical and not worth a wooden pfennig."

And that is what the American worker ought to tell their leaders too.

THE LAST WORD ON ROSENBERG CASE IS NOT YET SPOKEN

By Art Preis

No one breathed bigger sighs of relief when Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were finally electrocuted than many of the so-called liberals. The Rosenberg case was a distinct embarrassment to them. They were fully aware of the brutal and relentless determination of the government to make an "example" of the Rosenbergs, regardless of their innocence or degree of guilt. They also knew that world opinion by and large considered the execution of the Rosenbergs a monstrous crime. Yet, they feared to take a forthright stand in defense of the Rosenbergs lest they be accused of "protecting Communist spies."

This feeling of relief that the Rosenberg case would not plague the liberals any more finds veiled expression in the June 28 column of Max Lerner in the N.Y. Post. He calls it "my balance sheet of the Rosenberg case and my farewell to the whole topic." He presumes to speak the last — and, of course, the most objective — word on this savage legal murder. Nimble as a tight-rope walker, he skips over the various aspects of the case, juggling the issues as he goes along. But when he gets through, his "balance sheet" adds up to an apology for the trial and its verdict and for the subsequent judicial proceedings that put the final stamp of legality on the burning of the two witch hunt victims.

With an air of impartial scientific judgment, Lerner asserts that "I don't see how there can be much question that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were involved in a spy ring having to do with atomic secrets"; that "I consider their guilt proved," although maybe they didn't give the Russians "the whole atomic secret, or even a very crucial part of it"; and, after all, "they did have an unusually high number of appeals and reviews."

If Lerner considers the Rosenbergs' guilt "proved," he is claiming more knowledge of the case and greater certainty about the "due process of law" pursued than at least three members of the U.S. Supreme Court, Justices Douglas, Black and Frankfurter.

Justice Black pointed out the indisputable fact that we have seen not an "unusually high number of... reviews" of the case, as Lerner falsely claims, but an unusually high number of refusals by the Supreme Court to review it. The final reconvening of the Court, ostensibly to consider one point regarding the legality of the death sentence, was in reality an obscenely hasty move to set aside a temporary stay of execution issued by Douglas and to speedily pull the death switch, in a juridical sense, on the Rosenbergs.

The truth is, as Black said in his written dissent, the Supreme Court "has never reviewed this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial..." Five times — if the last session of the court is included — the court declined to consider the central question in this case: Did the accused get a fair trial?

Had that question been reviewed honestly by the court, it would have had to say: "In the atmosphere of the anti-communist witch hunt that pervades this country and with the power and prestige of the U.S. government behind the prosecution and with a judge anxious above all to prove his patriotic zeal and diligence, it is impossible for anyone charged with spying for the Soviet Union or of other crimes allegedly committed in association with so-called communists, to get a fair trial."

Does Lerner deny the existence of this atmosphere? He himself voices his disturbance at the "sadism and emotional purging" that manifested itself around the case. "I was dismayed by the sadistic savagery of a small minority of the American people, who were calling for blood." This "small minority" who demanded blood, however, was virtually the whole capitalist class and its government, from its courts of low and high degree to Congress and the White House itself. Is it possible that these agencies, pressing ruthlessly and with deliberation for the slaying of the Rosenbergs and inciting the more backward elements of the population, could have rendered "due process" for any purpose other than a legal cover for a political assassination?

Lerner's "balance sheet" is not an honest and impartial evaluation of the Rosenberg case. It is an attempt to justify before progressive world opinion the unsavory role in the Rosenberg case of so many American liberals, including himself — and, perhaps, to save his conscience. Lerner may think he is rid of the Rosenberg case and now that he has said his "farewell to the whole topic," the rest of us will do likewise. But there are tens of millions here and abroad who recognize this case for what it was — a bestial act of capitalist class terrorism intended to help intimidate into silence all who would criticize or oppose Wall Street's policies abroad or at home. These millions will yet say the last word on the Rosenbergs and the evil class system that committed their murder.

China's First Five-Year Plan

By Harry Frankel

When Hitler threw the power of his Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe against Russia in June 1941, he was in effect testing the progress of the Russian Revolution. He was demanding proof of the claimed superiority of nationalized economy over capitalism, and he got it. Three years of war in Korea have likewise provided a most convincing demonstration that the Chinese Revolution has already reshaped China.

Americans who have been brought up on chauvinism and superstition about the Chinese people have in recent times been reading the (to them) amazing stories of Chinese piloting jet fighters, of an organized, disciplined and semi-mechanized Chinese army, of a Chinese military drive from the Yalu down to the 38th parallel where, despite great difficulties and pressure, they have held a huge and modern American army at bay for two years.

To the average American, who has learned about things Chinese from casual contact with the Chinese in America in service

trades, this is as fantastic as it would be for him to learn that his laundryman has suddenly become an atomic physicist without benefit of college degree. Joe Doakes is learning that there is more truth than he ever knew to the patronizing catch-phrase that he has been using all these years: "Damn clever, these Chinese."

Stupendous as the achievements of the Chinese people in their revolution have already been, the greatest things are just beginning. This year is the first of the initial Chinese five-year plan. Although little information has become available, there is enough to enable us to undertake the task of depicting industrial development in China under the new regime and of attempting to assay it.

COMPARISON WITH USSR

We must first make some comparisons with the other great example of industrial progress under a nationalized economy: the Soviet Union. The first important fact is this — that while it took Russia a full decade to restore industrial production to pre-

revolutionary levels, in China industrial production exceeded the highest levels attained before the revolution by 1952, or in other words within three years.

Of course, Chinese production did not suffer the extreme blows felt in Russia. It has been estimated that Russian production fell during the civil war, to almost nothing; a mere 10 or 15% of Czarist levels. Chinese production also was cut drastically. Pig iron production in 1949 was only 11% of the previous maximum, and steel down to 13%. But on the whole, industrial production did not suffer as much as in Russia, since heavy industry managed to maintain 30% of pre-war production, and light industry 70%.

In addition, after 1949 the warfare on Chinese territory was ended, and despite the enormous drains of the Korean war, that conflict has at least taken place outside the Chinese production area, while in Russia civil war continued to devastate the country until 1921. Further, China enjoys some technical aid from the Soviet Union. Although China must pay for this help which therefore assumes the place of foreign trade with an industrially developed nation in China's national accounting, this nevertheless constitutes an important breach in the blockade which Russia did not enjoy.

REPAIR RAVAGED LAND

Despite these differences, the Chinese achievement in outstripping all previous levels of production in less than one-third the time required by the USSR is indeed enormous. The difficulties were extreme. Ravage of warfare had to be repaired, bridges, roads, railways, industrial plants, homes and cities rebuilt before production could be restored in many places.

Consider for example the experience of Taiyuan, capital of Shansi province. When the People's Liberation Army took the city after a siege-battle in which thousands were killed, two-thirds of the modern portion was a complete ruin; fires were burning all over the city. Fire-fighting and de-mining were the first important jobs. From this city, about the size of Buffalo or Denver, no less than 140,000 mines left behind by vengeful Chiang Kai-shek forces had to be removed! Most of the present city of Taiyuan is either rebuilt or completely new, and the new portions are built according

to a long-range plan which provides a sector for university compounds and other educational and cultural institutions, with the factories laid outside the city wall.

CHINA STARTS LOWER

The second big fact in our comparison with Russia is that the USSR started on a much higher level. Czarist Russia produced in 1913, for example, 4.7 million tons of pig iron annually, while the highest level of Chinese pig-iron production before the revolution was about one-fifth of that amount. When one considers that the Chinese population was about three times that of Russia, and that Russia was one of the most backward countries of the globe, these figures which show a Chinese per-capita iron production only one-fifteenth of Russia's is an index to the extremely poor industrial heritage with which the Chinese must start today.

This extreme backwardness is also to be seen in the scanty railroad facilities, power installations, machine-building plants, flood-control works, and in other factors of currency instability and market chaos that show the terrible conditions of disorganization that had to be overcome.

RUNNING START

An index of industrial production for 1952 covering a dozen basic industrial products shows only one (coal) that remains below the highest levels achieved under capitalist rule; most of the others are 30-60% higher, and one, automobile tires, is over five times as high as the best record set under Chiang Kai-shek. The chief Chinese diet staple, rice, and the chief industrial raw material, cotton, both had to be imported before the revolution; now they are supplied domestically almost in full. New products, radios, machine tools, locomotives, electronic devices, blast furnaces automatically charged and electrically controlled, products such as these never before produced or engineered in China, are now being built.

This is a great running start to the first five-year plan. What is being planned is gigantic, but the achievements that have already been recorded show that the plan, given time, will take on full reality.

(Next Week: The Plan and Preliminary Achievements.)

LETTERS FROM READERS

They Would Not 'Sing and Dance'

Editor:

Mister Velde and his career-wrecking committee have left their mark on Hollywood — but good. Recently the press told of three instances of entertainers who dared to be different, who refused to "sing and dance" to the off-beat of the House Un-American Activities Committee. As a result of these people's refusal to be pressurized, the radio-TV unions have dropped them from membership. And the closed shop of these industries insures their absence from microphones and TV — for good.

We told you last year how it is out here — how those of us who try to make viewers and listeners laugh are caught in a web of chill circumstances. It perhaps sounded corny at the time. And now? Remember?

"We in the entertainment industry are waiting... tense, frightened. Like laboratory specimens in wire cages."

The entertainment unions are headed by people who "go along" with the bosses. It's "the thing to do."

Those in the membership class of these unions are made to realize that to think differently, to speak independently, to question the decisions at the top level is sudden death for a career.

The three entertainers of whom you read are but a fraction of the vast number of us who stand condemned.

Because we dare freedom.
B. P.
Los Angeles, Calif.

After the Tornado: Relief and Looters

Editor:

You wouldn't think so, but even the aftermath of a tornado is part of the class struggle. The workers of Flint are finding this out.

The tornado that hit a working-class section of this industrial city killed 114, injured approximately 1,000 and made 1,000 homeless.

A Red Feather relief fund was set up. The Red Feather has been a General Motors-controlled charity outfit since the pre-union days here when auto workers were forced to contribute to it or lose their jobs. It gives very little except to causes approved by GM. It is staffed and managed by people who in one way or another

are connected with GM management.

General Motors gave \$100,000 to the fund. Actually, in recent years, the profits of this giant corporation have exceeded \$2,000,000 per day, so that \$100,000 represents less than 1/20 of a day's profit. But the Flint Journal, reactionary local paper subservient to GM, made this donation a headline story, and praised the corporation for its "generosity." It reminded old timers of the praise lavished on Andrew Carnegie when he gave back part of what he stole. Even this \$100,000 will be largely written off in taxes.

The CIO United Auto Workers gave \$150,000 to the fund. The Journal put this news into a side column at the lower part of the page and ignored it editorially. It is unfortunate that the union leadership did not give this relief money directly to the needy victims of the tornado instead of through the company-controlled fund. The victims could have been spared any shelling, any humiliating investigations, and they could have been made aware that their union was actively helping them.

All the Democratic and Republican politicians from the state flew into Flint to get their picture in the paper. Senator Ferguson and Postmaster General Summerfield crowded that they had persuaded the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid the ruined homeowners. Some aid! They're making loans, business as usual, at 3% to 5% interest. This pound of flesh, extracted from these grief-stricken and ruined working class homeowners, will no doubt be used to make up part of the deficit caused by the recently exposed multi-million-dollar gift of the RFC to the Kaiser-Willys Company.

Governor Williams announced that he was sending in policemen from all over the state to protect damaged homes from looters. So far, the only looters caught are three Detroit policemen who have been apprehended red-handed for taking watches and cameras from wrecked homes and a few wallets off dead bodies.

Flint will recover from the tornado, but I'm not sure whether we'll be able to survive all these professional vultures and hyenas sent here by the capitalist system to rehabilitate us and preserve law and order.

Fred Perry
Flint, Mich.

Victims of the War



Two of Mrs. Carmen Salcido's sons arrive in Chicago from Korea but it is not a joyful reunion. Pfc. Arthur Salcido (l.) tries to comfort his mother as she weeps at casket bearing body of his brother Armando, killed in the war that has already cost nearly 140,000 American casualties.

United Action Can Stop Speedup Gls Suffer Heavy Casualties As Dictator Holds Up Truce

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Mich. — Walter Reuther, president of the CIO United Auto Workers, hailed the workers for their courage in striking against the speedup in far off East Germany. But, as our article showed last week, he discourages and gets in the way of the workers when they try to fight against speedup in the General Motors plants here in Flint.

In the days before the umpire system, 13 years ago, speedups were settled on the spot. Under the present setup, it takes fully a month for the union to comply with the contract before a strike can take place. During this time the back of 99 out of 100 speedup fights is broken. This is particularly the case when the speedup occurs on a moving line involving tens and hundreds of workers. A single weak union man becomes the Achilles heel of the struggle. The plants today are filled with apple-polishers and backward workers who look to the corporation for promotions and advancements out of line of seniority, since the seniority clause in the GM contract is a most scurvy clause in a scurvy pro-company contract.

MILITANTS HESITATE

A mass fight over speedup is generated by unbearable conditions. But the slightest sign of weakness among the immediate local leaders is sufficient to push workers back to their jobs. The militants best prepared to lead understand the episodic nature of the struggle and hesitate to move out and assume the leadership only to find themselves in front all by their lonesome selves.

Since the big strike in 1945-46 GM workers have been in head-

long retreat over shop conditions. Year after year orders from the GM central office in Detroit called for increased production, to be met by sporadic guerrilla warfare on the part of the workers. As we reported before, no attempt to generalize the problems has been made by any union leader in the city. It stands to reason that if all five locals in Flint have the same problems over production standards with the same corporation they should band together if they are not strong enough to win separately. It would be far easier for the small Chevrolet Assembly plant or Fisher #2 to convince the other Flint locals on a united course of action than to attempt to organize the ten other assembly plants spread from coast to coast.

UNITED ACTION NEEDED

United action of all locals in the city has the advantage of being able to pressure the International union to authorize strikes and to proceed on their own if necessary. Reuther has bragged from time to time privately that no contract has ever prevented the union from combatting speedup, but it is apparent that 60,000 workers are far more capable of reminding him of those lofty sentiments than a thousand in a small plant — or for that matter a large local like Buick alone.

Other corporation personnel managers drool with envy at GM discipline of their workers. The backwardness of the GM contract is a threat to the whole UAW-CIO. As long as one local in the city is being pushed around it is a sword hung over the head of the other Flint locals within the corporation setup.

There is real need for unified action in the Flint UAW. In 1937 all GM locals were in Amalgamated Local 156. This powerful organization was broken up by the opportunists in the leadership of the UAW who feared this local setup. Organizational unity is not required but unity of action on common issues like speedup is a dire necessity. While this should be the goal of all union leaders in the city it should not be interpreted to mean that a huge powerful local such as Buick 599, properly prepared and led, cannot go it alone and point the way for the other locals.

In the union paper of Chevrolet

Local 659, a union committeeman in the sheet-metal division writes of the problems of speedup. He advises, as so many other committeemen have suggested before, contract changes to meet the corporation speedup policies. These are the same suggestions made in GM contract councils for 13 years.

The proposed changes are all good. But this committeeman knows they have been proposed before, again and again. It is not enough to ask Reuther or anybody else in the union to obtain a clause in the contract that prevents management from raising production standards at will once or twice a year. The job confronting GM militants in Flint is to organize to wrest these changes, with the support of Reuther if it can be obtained, without his support if necessary.

Need these militants be reminded that the union in 1937 stopped speedup dead without big union leaders, without huge treasuries, without a favorable press and in spite of a witch hunt for reds and "imported" radicals? The Chevrolet committeeman concludes his article in the Searchlight on the following note of despair, "In the meantime, if you have problems, call your committeeman; he may not be able to do as you or he likes about them, but there is one thing for sure, he will not make them worse." This sad situation of powerless committeemen will prevail until a more determined and better-armed leadership arises.

Certainly the problems are different today than in the early days of the union. The GM workers are saddled with a vicious contract and a huge bureaucracy which does everything to keep the ranks from breaking through. But this would not mean much if they once organized on a city-wide basis and sought additional support from the surrounding GM-controlled cities of Pontiac, Saginaw, Lansing and Detroit.

HOW PROBLEM AROSE

It appears strange that the city that gave birth to the sitdowns which led to the organization of GM should be completely devoid of leaders who can measure up to the new problems. Certainly this is not just a Flint problem, but a national one. But in Flint the given problem is acute. How did this develop?

The 1945-46 strike, contrary to

general thinking, resulted in a steady retrogression in the militancy of the workers. GM workers were bitter over the long duration of the strike that exhausted hard-earned wartime savings. Reuther's witch hunt against radicals, buttressed by the government's witch hunt, drove the class-conscious wing of the union from office. The process of cutting off the militants from the workers was completed by the continuing prosperity. GM workers have never worked so many full years with overtime paychecks as they have since the 1945-46 strike.

FBI INTERVENTION

This intervention is not directed only at radicals; in recent months the FBI has grilled UAW regional and local officers. One occasion was over the record of a fired worker that resulted in a wildcat. Another, which is far more damaging to the union, developed from the appearance in the Searchlight of a shop committeeman's article about Chevrolet's discrimination against Negroes.

These investigations should have produced a violent reaction to keep the FBI's nose out of union affairs. Just the opposite happened. In each case the officers walk around on eggshells. The word is spread from local union to local union, from committeeman to committeeman. They all watch their P's and Q's — spreading and reinforcing the witch hunt which paralyzes the locals from bringing to the fore the best militants in the ranks.

The present strike wave is churning up new layers of workers, who become active but after a short time recede from whence they came. It is obvious the union is unprepared for a real struggle with the corporation, which can come at any time. One of the prime needs of the union movement is to realize that it cannot succeed in developing until it fights the witch hunt. The best union militants still cannot participate fully in the life of the union and give leadership to the new layers trying to come forward. Each new struggle with the corporation will confirm this.

Gls Suffer Heavy Casualties As Dictator Holds Up Truce

(Continued from page 1)

U.S. into the war on the false cry that the North Koreans had committed "unprovoked aggression."

THREATENS TO REPEAT

U.S. troops were sent to bleed and die in Korea to keep Rhee in power one month after his party had suffered a major defeat in elections for the South Korean National Assembly in May 1950 and two days after Rhee claimed his forces on the border were "attacked." Remember, it is Rhee's unsubstantiated claim that he was "attacked" that constitutes the sole pretext for U.S. intervention.

Today, Rhee is threatening to repeat his previous provocations that led to the U.S. intervention. He is confident that even if a truce is signed by the U.S. alone, he can keep the war going with his own forces "on the premise that the U.S. would be dragged in willy-nilly, if the going got rough and they were being thrown back," recently stated the Wall Street Journal. And, admitted the Journal, "it could conceivably be very difficult to determine who attacked whom first — South Koreans or North Koreans..."

Defiance of his powerful U.S. senior partner by this two-bit dictator and his hold-out for a "total and iron-bound military alliance as his price for agreeing to a truce in the Korean war," as the July 1 N.Y. Times described it, is based on something a lot more solid than confidence in his own strength and the "righteousness" of his cause.

WHAT UNITES THEM

"The unity of the South Korean and American governments is founded upon their common championship of the sacred rights of private property and profits," correctly observed the Socialist Outlook, paper of the British Labor Party left-wing.

The U.S. intervened in Korea to protect and save the regime of the capitalists and landlords against the revolutionary drive of the poor peasants and workers who were seeking to free their land from foreign imperialist domination and to take the power from their native exploiters as well.

The ferocity of the struggle in Korea and the determination of Wall Street to seize and maintain a strong military base there is the result primarily of the class character of the war as a struggle between the poor and the rich, the progressive Asian revolution against the counter-revolution of capitalist-landlord native rulers and their American imperialist backers.

SOLE GUARANTEE

If Rhee holds up the truce, what can Washington do? Will it use U.S. troops against Rhee to enforce a truce? Will it permit the Chinese-North Korean forces to cut Rhee's forces to pieces and not send him aid? The answer was inferentially given by Eisenhower himself at his press conference on July 1 when in answer to questions about his differences with Rhee, "The President noted, too, that the enemy was still in North Korea." (N.Y. Times, July 2.)

Whatever Rhee does, whatever moves he makes, in the final analysis he is the class ally of the American ruling class. That is why we cannot expect the U.S. rulers to turn against him and make a lasting peace with the Chinese and North Koreans. That is why we cannot put any faith in a truce involving Syngman Rhee with his 450,000 U.S.-armed forces. That is why the sole guarantee that the U.S. will not be dragged into a bigger and bloodier Asian war soon, even with a truce, is the immediate withdrawal of all our troops from the Far East.

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Monday, July 6, 1953

Morse on a New Party

In a recent speech before the Cleveland Labor Committee for Human Rights, Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon said: "Wouldn't it be interesting if 20 highly placed elected officials of liberal mind would keep faith with their conscience and would walk out of their party into an independent party? It would spread like wildfire and by 1946 would be a great political party."

Morse used to be a Republican until he bolted the Eisenhower candidacy last year and was frozen out of committee posts by the Senate Republicans. Now he lists himself as an "independent." Maybe he is speculating about a new party because he feels lonesome; or maybe he has actually come to the belief that both the major parties are hopelessly corrupt instruments of reaction whose supremacy must be challenged by a new party.

It doesn't matter too much why he says it — the point is that he is correct when he predicts that a new party could sweep the country like wildfire. Conditions are certainly ripe for a new party when the two old parties are practically indistinguishable in program and practice. With correct policies and courageous leaders, a new party could not only command widespread support by 1946 but could take over the government before then.

But to do that, the new party would have to be radically different from the Republicans and Democrats. It would have to represent the workers and poor farmers and Negroes and consumers, not the

capitalists and profiteers and white supremacists. It would have to fight against war preparations and witch hunts and labor regimentation and Jim Crow. It would have to be controlled democratically by the mass organizations of the people, foremost of which is the labor movement. In other words, it would have to be an independent Labor Party.

Morse thinks a new party could be formed if 20 liberal office-holders would keep faith with their conscience and walk out of their party. We suggest nobody hold his breath waiting for such a thing to happen. The liberal office-holders we know about are all more concerned with party discipline than their conscience; instead of wanting to walk out of their parties themselves, they are trying to keep disgruntled members from walking out.

A more practical way to get a new party formed is to persuade the labor movement to promote its own interests by breaking with capitalist politics and calling a conference to create it. When this happens, it will act like a magnet to attract whatever honest anti-capitalist elements still remain in the old parties.

In fact, this is the only practical way in which to work for a new party, and the only way in which every worker can effectively exert his influence to end the monopoly of the two-party system. The sooner the rank-and-file workers show that they want a Labor Party, the sooner will it overcome the resistance it now meets from the conservative labor leaders.

Massacre in Kenya

As we have often pointed out, every crime committed by the Stalinists against the workers is a service to the cause of capitalism. That's how it was once again when the Stalinists repressed the East German strikes. With what avidity the capitalist propagandists sprang to their typewriters and microphones to indignantly denounce the Stalinists as strikebreakers! With what glee and abandon they recorded Stalinist executions and mass arrests (both those they knew about and those that were only rumored)! Some of the editorials seemed to be literally drenched with tears over the fate of the East German workers.

But the indignation was synthetic, the tears crocodile. What do capitalists care about the East German workers? If they felt any genuine emotion on the subject, it was only regret that there were not more victims whom they could use for their lying propaganda that totalitarian terror is the inevitable outcome of every effort to build society on a non-capitalist basis.

For proof, we point to Kenya where British imperialism is engaged in the bloody annihilation and subjugation of the Kikuyu people, whose "crime" is that they are fighting for the return of the lands and political liberties that were forcibly taken away from them.

Read the cold-blooded dispatch from Kenya in the June 26 N. Y. Times:

"Kenya's security forces had another successful day today after establishing yesterday a 24 hours record for the number

of Mau Mau terrorists killed. . . . Some doubt is felt here that all those killed are Mau Mau. Conversation with members of an organization of local men and with United Kingdom soldiers suggests some uncertainty. Both accuse each other of shooting down natives of whose business they are not sure. It is hardly denied here that a certain number of persons have been killed in one way or another who almost certainly were not Mau Mau. . . . (Women) sometimes are sent with food to the Mau Mau camps. There is a tendency to shoot down any women heading toward the forest, according to fairly authoritative reports. A police officer told this correspondent, for example, of picking up four native women who had been shot by a patrol and left wounded by the roadside. He expressed some doubt they had anything to do with the Mau Mau."

How many editorials of indignation or protest over the indiscriminate slaughter of the Kenyan people have you read in the capitalist press? And yet the known number of Kenyans massacred to maintain white supremacy in the British colony is more than ten times greater than the highest estimate so far made of East Germans killed or executed by the Stalinist authorities.

What should we call it when somebody expresses sympathy for East Germans fighting for independence and democratic liberties but turns a cold shoulder to the suffering of Kenyans fighting for the same things? Hypocrisy, thy name is capitalism.

The Corporal Is "Undesirable"

An "undesirable discharge" under a regulation covering "disloyal or subversive" individuals has been given to an American soldier who suffered more than two years in a North Korean prison camp and who was awarded the Bronze Star for valor after his release in the prisoner exchange last May. This witch hunt victim is Cpl. Paul F. Schnur Jr., who father is the former secretary of the San Francisco CIO Council and a prominent backer of the Progressive Party. The 24-year-old ex-GI is one of the 22 former captives brought back to this country in the infamous "Operation Secrecy" early in May.

You will recall the public outrage voiced then when all the military agencies were mobilized to return these GIs from Korea under conditions of greatest isolation and secrecy as though they were plague carriers. They were put in mental hospitals for "brain washing" as possible bearers of "Communist infection."

An Army spokesman stated that Schnur's "undesirable discharge" came under a regulation that applied to "individuals who have been determined by investigation to be disloyal or subversive but in whose cases trial by court martial has been deemed not feasible or warranted." Who "investigated" him? What did he do wrong? Was he given a fair hearing and an opportunity to defend himself? The accusations against Schnur must be pretty phony or pretty revealing of the totalitarian thinking of the brass themselves

if they don't dare to confront the accused with them.

This smells of a sneaky, underhanded method of smearing a discharged soldier for what he may think, or for what some reactionary brass hats think he may think, or simply for what his father may think.

Army officials have explained that, after all, they did not give Schnur a "dishonorable discharge," which would have deprived him of any rights as an American citizen or of any veteran's benefits. The fact that he can still vote is presumed to recompense Schnur somehow for the fact that he stands smeared as an "undesirable" who is very likely a "Communist" or the next thing to it; that he can't get a government job and will find it hard to get a private job; and that he may be put up to public humiliation and abuse.

The well-known case of James Kutcher, World War II veteran whose legs were blown off at San Pietro and who was fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has already shown how little regard the witch hunters and super-patriots have for war veterans who have gone through hell and have even won medals. Now the case of Cpl. Schnur further confirms that one's past record is no security from those agents and forces of capitalist reaction who are out to smear even the mildest liberals and terrorize into silence any and every possible voice of dissent.

Political Revolution Has Already Begun

The June 25 issue of the Paris paper *Le Monde* has printed an article containing little-known facts which fill in the background of the East German uprising. The author, Benno Sarel, has also written a book, soon to be published, on the labor movement in East Germany. In his *Le Monde* article, summarized below, Sarel discusses the three main phases in the postwar history of the working class in the Soviet zone.

During the first phase, which lasted for some months in 1945, the workers rebuilt the factories, often without pay, set up organs of administration, resumed political life and free trade unionism. During the second, which lasted until mid-1948, the disillusioned workers had the attitude of "everyone for himself." This was a period of demoralization and misery.

With the monetary reform and the economic revival of the country, the factory again became the center of working-class life, the mark regained its attraction, and it was worth working for. But the old struggle against "the paymaster" recommenced under the new conditions. Discipline was not completely re-established. The factory director did not have his previous authority. But the workers no longer had free trade unions to defend them; in each factory there was a series of organisms which enclosed them ever tighter.

After the purge of the plants, tens of thousands of worker elements were promoted to managerial positions. Acting in accord with the bureaucratic precept of Stalin ("The cadres decide everything") these new directors came to be regarded by the workers as traitors serving the occupying power. These directors tried to raise the lowered productivity of labor by applying two contradictory methods to their old comrades: one inherited from capitalist management, the other original.

They appealed at one and the same time to the competitive spirit of the worker and his attachment to socialism. By means of piecework and favorable working conditions, the "activists" (Stakhanovists) could earn four to five times more than their poorer-paid comrades. He did this for himself and yet could justify his action by a desire to help the country.

In the "production councils," and especially in the work-teams of from ten to twenty men which met weekly under the chairmanship of a team-captain to discuss the application of the factory plan through their team, the workers began to introduce their own demands and problems: "We can't work without good shoes, overalls, etc." In the last half of 1949 they set out to neutralize the Stakhanovists and time-study men. They attacked them, hooted them in the passageways, circulated petitions for their withdrawal. Sometimes these protests succeeded.

Then the party tried to protect the time-study men. The time-schedule and the fixing of norms were made in the presence of the union delegate, the team-captain, and often a member of the factory union committee. By that very fact the workers' struggle broadened. The factory delegate is a worker like the rest; as a rule it is easy to have him on their side. Even the factory union leader can be influenced since he needs popularity and cannot operate amidst hostility. In this way a shifting atmosphere of tacit compromise between the workers and the directing organisms was born in the factories. The work-norms set were more the result of the existing relation of forces than the time noted by the time-study man.

Thus throughout 1950-1951 the workers instinctively undertook to reconquer their unions from below and partially overcame the terrible handicap of a lack of their own organization. In 1951 the struggle flared up over the signing of collective contracts. By premiums on production on the one hand and by reducing bonuses for night, Sunday and especially unhealthy work, the contracts reduced wages in the lowest brackets and raised those in the highest.

When the regime tried to have these contracts approved by the workers, stormy union meetings took place. They were rejected three and four times by the Leuna factories at Meersburg, The Zeiss factories at Jena, the iron-works of Riesa. The meetings were generally held in the canteen, chairs and benches were hurled at the platform, the police had to empty the hall and make arrests. There were isolated strikes of a few hours or a day. Although the

contracts were imposed, the factory directors had to yield on more than one point.

Toward 1950-1951 groups of old and new militants hostile to the regime formed spontaneously within the workshops, the unions and even the party itself. These groups had no organic connection with one another but established certain links. The working class regrouped itself and tried to overcome the situation to which it had been reduced through lack of organization, press, program and ideology. It likewise lacked a vanguard of youth, who were mostly influenced by the regime.

During 1952 these workers became self-critical. They denounced the anti-democratic procedures by which the contracts had been imposed.

1953 saw the norms revised again. At the same time it has been an extremely hard year. There was a serious food shortage. Renarmament produced a delay in the realization of the plan and the manufacture of consumers' goods suffers most. The factories were working overtime. In accord with the "tough" line of the moment, the offensive was conducted on all fronts. A fierce policy of economy was imposed on the factories: on wages, raw materials, stocks of tools.

At the same time, concessions were projected for the workers and the regime played upon their hostility toward the shopkeepers. Union committees to control food and private trade were organized. In April the Council of Ministers decided to double the amounts of food and vegetables allotted to the factory canteens. But as usual these gestures had a counterpart: The papers announced that the grateful workers had "spontaneously" decided to raise their norms, without a corresponding increase in wages.

Another practice exasperating the workers was the load of semi-compulsory subscriptions in the factory for numerous purposes, culminating last May in collections to erect monuments to Stalin.

Limited strikes broke out in May, Magdeburg, an old Socialist city, was its center. The Communists in the factories bent a bit. The official party organ on April 17 quoted a worker from the principal enterprise of the country, the steel works of the Oder, who said: "I have the im-

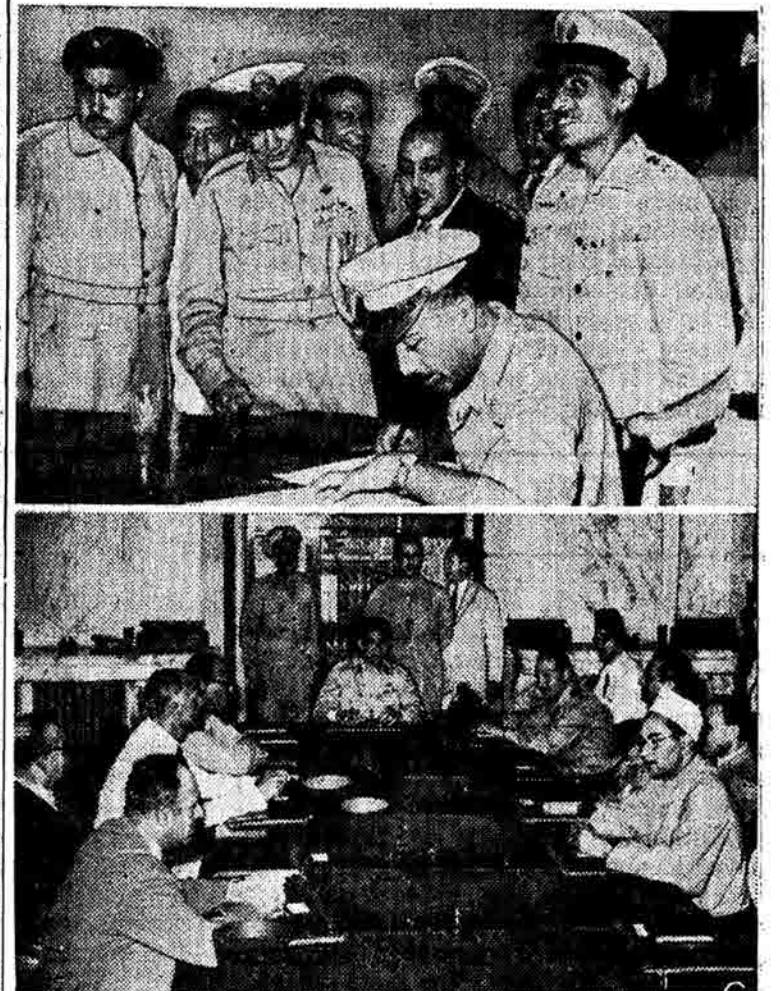
pression that certain party members did not have the courage to defend the party policy. . . . They flinched when there was a discussion." At the same time many young workers now ranged themselves alongside the old.

It needed only an opportunity for the discontent and accumulated hatred to burst forth. The retreat, the governmental disagreements provided this occasion. The strikes grew, the workers demonstrated in the streets. The government yielded, withdrew its decision to raise the norms, declared it antidemocratic, promised punishments. It was too

late. The workers' consciousness took a leap forward. The struggle passed over from the economic to the political plane. The workers are demanding the resignation of the government and a total change.

The East Berlin workers will not forget either the shootings or the court-martials of the occupiers. It is also probable that the events of Berlin and Magdeburg will become known in Prague, Budapest, Warsaw and all the other working class centers in the Soviet zone and will contribute to the development of working class resistance.

Egypt Abolishes Monarchy



Egypt has abolished its monarchical form of government, set up in the 19th century under British domination. Lt. Col. Anwar Al-Sadat (top) signs the proclamation of newly formed republic. At bottom, Gen. Mohammed Naguib, named Egypt's first president and prime minister, presides at first meeting of his council of ministers.

What Caused Their Revolt?

(Continued from page 1)
tory, embarrassed and deceitful statements which well illustrate their bureaucratic nature.

THE WHOLE TRUTH

Only our movement, the Fourth International, under whose banner thousands of people have fought in the Soviet Union and on all continents to avert the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration in the USSR and in the workers movement influenced by the Third International, can understand the profound meaning of the events now going on and tell the unvarnished truth, the whole truth to the workers.

Workers and poor peasants of the entire world:

In East Germany, at Berlin, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Halle, Rostock, Wismar, Meersburg, etc., there has just been projected the political revolution of the working masses of an economically and culturally developed country, Germany, against the bureaucratic and police regime established in the name of socialism under the auspices of the Soviet bureaucracy and by its native imitators.

This beginning of political revolution by the German workers, together with their Czech brothers the most advanced in the entire domain controlled by the Soviet bureaucracy, has nothing in common with any alleged sympathy of these workers with the capitalist regime at Bonn or the "democratic" capitalist countries of the West or with American imperialism, their supreme patron. It is an authentic revolutionary workers movement, very conscious of its path and its methods of action.

ANTI-CAPITALIST

It is resolutely opposed to capitalism, and at the same time it is against the political exploitation of the working class, against a bureaucratic and police regime which deprives the workers of control and direct administration by themselves of the anti-capitalist state.

Its historical significance is colossal and enormously progressive. The reactionaries of Bonn, London, Paris and Washington have nothing to hope for from such a movement.

It is not directed back to the rut of a capitalism which has been historically abandoned in an irrevocable manner, but toward an expansion of genuine pro-

letarian socialist democracy. It is the herald of a new, post-Stalinist, anti-Stalinist era, where the matured revolutionary forces in the capitalist world as well as in the Soviet Union itself and in the "People's Democracies" will emerge clearly to the surface and will conquer. It takes its place in the world revolutionary upsurge which is steadily changing the relation of forces between capitalism and the masses in favor of the latter and the relation between the bureaucratic leaderships and the masses likewise in favor of the latter.

To understand what is happening and will happen in East Germany, as well as in Czechoslovakia, the "People's Democracies" and the USSR itself, it is necessary to take into account the following facts:

CRISIS OF STALINISM
In all these countries the Soviet bureaucracy established during Stalin's lifetime a bureaucratic and police regime opposed to the aspirations, interests and needs of the broad masses. Their discontent was great and growing greater, stimulated by the world revolutionary upsurge. Stalin's death precipitated the crisis in the Soviet Union and the "People's Democracies." His successors, more aware than he was of the extreme tension now prevailing, entered upon the road of reforms and concessions in order to allay the tension and give a firmer foundation to their regime on a more popular basis.

It is also for this reason, the better to handle their own internal situation, that they have very likely undertaken a policy of formal concessions to imperialism in order to decrease the tension with the latter and if possible to gain time.

But their concessions did not come quickly enough and were not made in a direct and frank manner. The impatient and exasperated masses passed to action.

In countries where their cultural level is the highest and where general conditions were most favorable, as in Czechoslovakia, and especially in East Germany, the political revolution of the working masses against the bureaucratic and police regime inspired and managed by Stalinism has already begun.

WORKERS REGROUP

In these two countries, the mass actions which took place in May and June, following Stalin's

death, are the culmination of a long process of renewal of consciousness, of reorientation and even of organizational regroupment in the ranks, of the most advanced elements of the working class.

It is now certain that since 1949 in these two countries there has been the assertion of an organized working class resistance against the bureaucratic methods of intensifying labor in the factories and against police control over the workers. The workers have succeeded in opposing these measures, in forming resistance groups in the factories and trade unions, in winning over to their cause the lower organisms led by the bureaucracy itself — for example, factory or departmental committees. All the legislation and methods of work promulgated by the bureaucratic leaderships (collective contracts disadvantageous to the workers, the arbitrary increase of work norms) without any compensation on the plane of wages, housing, food or working conditions, have met with a bitter and more and more organized resistance from the workers.

EAST GERMANY

If this resistance was able to break out in a more ample and impressive manner in East Germany, that is to be explained by the following considerations:

(a) The working class of this country is traditionally among the most developed and best organized in the entire East European zone.

(b) It is the farthest from the Soviet Union and the closest to the West.

(c) It has been the most abused from the first by the armies of Soviet occupation because they belonged to a conquered "enemy" nation.

(d) Special conditions have precipitated the developments in this zone: There has recently been an acute economic crisis, food was neither plentiful nor cheap, consumption goods were lacking and expensive, the rate of rebuilding workers' houses was not up to the pressing needs.

The concessions made on June 10 in Eastern Germany were directed to the middle classes and completely neglected the workers who instead had to "increase the norms of labor."

WHAT SET IT OFF

The conciliatory measures taken by the Kremlin and the Soviet

authorities since Stalin's death have aroused hopes of a relaxation of the bureaucratic and police regimes throughout the "buffer countries."

The recognition by the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of its previous "wrong" course, added to the previous consideration, operated to encourage the masses, catalyzing their energy and precipitating their action.

The setting created by the whole of these considerations explains the events in East Germany. They broke out as an unalloyed working class movement against the bureaucratic and police political regime, in the strictly anti-capitalist framework of the social regime. In Berlin, the intervention of dubious and disruptive elements, open provocateurs of reactionaries, where the demonstrations of the East and the West met, at certain moments did pervert the anti-bureaucratic and anti-capitalist working class character of the masses. The propaganda of the bourgeois press and politicians and of their reactionary agents has subsequently attempted to swamp the essential in the episodic and secondary.

But it was the demand clearly expressed by the workers, as well as the motives behind their strikes, their street demonstrations and their meetings, which express and illustrate the genuine class character of their movements against the legislation and the bureaucratic methods of work, for the improvement of their material living conditions, for the democratization of the party and the trade unions, the liberation of political prisoners, that is to say, those workers who undertook the defense of the interests of the working class. In certain places there were added demands for secret, general and free elections in all of Germany to guarantee a working class victory in these elections.

CONCESSIONS FORCED

If the capitalists have nothing to hope for from such a movement and, upon consideration, really feel tremendously disturbed by this colossal upsurge of genuine revolutionary forces on all planes, the Soviet leaders and those of the various "People's Democracies" and the Communist Parties could no longer falsify or ignore the profound meaning of these events. They have been obliged to continue along the road of still more ample and genuine

concessions to avoid risking alienating themselves forever from support by the masses and from provoking still stronger explosions.

From now on they will not be able to stop halfway. They will be obliged to dole out concessions to avoid more serious explosions in the immediate future and if possible to effect a transition "in a cold fashion" from the present situation to a situation more tolerable for the masses. But the workers ought to have confidence only in themselves.

Only their organized action guided by a clear and precise political program can put an end to the bureaucratic regime without harming the anti-capitalist social conquests or playing into the hands of the capitalist reaction which is preparing counter-revolutionary war.

REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM
Here is the program of the political revolution which is now on the order of the day both in the Soviet Union and in the "People's Democracies":

Genuine organs of people's power, democratically elected by the working masses, exercising effective control over the state, at all levels, including the government.

Real democratization of the Communist Parties.

Legalization of all working class parties.

Complete independence of the trade unions in relation to the state, including the workers' state.

Democratic elaboration of the economic plan by the workers and for the workers.

This is the program that the Fourth International has always defended and that the masses, taught by their own experience, are spontaneously taking up today. Let them persevere along this road, and, far from weakening the anti-capitalist regime in the Soviet Union and the "People's Democracies," they will consolidate it and fortify it. Only in this way will they render it invulnerable to the attacks of the capitalists and their agents.

Down with capitalism and its projected counter-revolutionary war!
Long live working class democracy!
Long live the socialist rebirth of the Soviet Union, the "People's Democracies" and the international working class movement.

Civil Rights for All

By Jean Blake

Early in 1953 this writer had occasion to discuss with the leader of the struggle for fair employment practices legislation in a major industrial state the need for a joint campaign by the labor movement, the civil liberties groups and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to defeat a proposed state thought-control measure introduced in the legislature in the guise of an "anti-subversive" bill.

The prominent liberal who was leading the fight for FEPC recognized, in theory, the importance of opposing the "anti-subversive" bill but felt it would be unwise for him and the NAACP to have anything to do with the issue because it might give the witch hunters an opening to rebait and discredit the FEPC movement.

This concept — that the Negro struggle for equality can make gains by dissociating itself from the general struggle for civil rights — is widely held by Negro leaders. Many writers for the Negro press operate on this theory when they join the lynch campaign against McCarthy's victims, or, in a more sophisticated tone, express amusement at the spectacle of whites "getting a taste of their own medicine" by having their democratic rights restricted.

At best, such an attitude indicates an extremely shortsighted kind of leadership. At worst, it is as serious a betrayal of the struggle for Negro rights as discri-

mination against Negroes in the workers' movement by backward whites is a betrayal of the labor movement. Both play into the hands of reactionaries whose main line is to divide and conquer.

This was fully demonstrated in the specific case of the FEPC and police-state bills mentioned above. The FEPC bill met an inglorious death at the hands of a Republican-Democratic coalition in the state legislature, and the "anti-subversive" bill passed the House and is well on its way to passage in the Senate. Moreover, the legislative hearings on the fair employment practices bill were attended by agents of the state Un-American Activities Commission taking notes on who appeared and what they said.

Some liberals may not recognize that "civil liberties are indivisible," but the reactionaries have no such illusions.

Standing near a colored worker once, we heard him recite the pledge to the flag thus: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands — one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice. . . for some."

If the Negro workers don't cut through the narrow-minded leadership of the struggle for equal rights and unite it with the general struggle to preserve and expand the civil rights of all, a realistic version of the pledge may soon end with "liberty and justice. . . for none."

59 Years at Hearn's

By Joyce Cowley

"Welcome back, Minnie!"

This headline appeared under the picture of an elderly saleswoman. Close beside her a sign announced the 20% discount Hearn's Department Store is using to lure customers through the picket line. As a rule I'm not much interested in a company story about a scab, but I glanced at the ad.

"Minnie has faithfully and competently served Hearn's for the last 59 years —"

59 years! If she went to work at 16, she must be 75. I began to see an incredibly dreary procession of years spent at Hearn's Department Store. But the next sentence stirred a mixed feeling of wonder and disbelief.

"Until last month, she had never been absent or late one time during this entire period."

59 years and not one day off or one minute late — it couldn't happen! No wonder they're crazy about her. Next to a robot, she's the most indestructible worker they could possibly have. Obviously she's got an iron constitution and has had no major illnesses. But didn't she suffer any of the minor afflictions that torment the rest of us? Didn't she ever wake up with a headache, a sore throat or an upset stomach? Or, determined to preserve her incredible record, did she drag herself to work in spite of illness and pain?

She must have had a tedious girlhood in the home furnishings department. No bright spring morning ever tempted her to forget the company time clock. She never fell in love, never married, never permitted the death of a relative or friend to keep her from her familiar duties at Hearn's.

I'm sorry Minnie had to round out this career by crossing a picket line. 59 years at Hearn's is enough to suffer in one life-

time, without having your face and an announcement that you're a scab smeared all over the newspapers.

I can imagine the kind of company pressure that induced Minnie to go back. She was probably afraid that she would lose a bonus or pension. It's not surprising that she lacked courage to fight. 59 years in home furnishings might break the spirit of any woman.

"God bless you, Minnie," says Hearn's, "we hope you're with us another 59 years."

I wonder just how many years of faithful service are required before you can take life easy. If she does live to 134, I doubt if she'll still be working. In time even she must slow down and I'm sure there's no place at Hearn's for a slow or an incompetent employee. I remember the case of my cousin, a woman in her seventies, who worked all through the last war. Six days a week! Her reward came at the age of 78 when the 75c-minimum law was passed. They fired her because she was too old and they would lose money if they paid her such high wages.

Sometime next year or the year after, Minnie will get a layoff slip. In view of her extraordinary record, she may also get an inexpensive watch with some appropriate sentiment inscribed. She will spend the years that remain — if any do remain — desperately trying to get along on a Social Security allotment. Or like my cousin, in an old ladies' home. A lifetime of service, even when it is climaxed by widely publicized scabbing, is not enough to assure appreciation from the boss or security on the job.

The only security for workers lies in their unity, militant action and determination to fight — which you can see on Hearn's picket line today.

Notes from the News

THE TRUCKS ACT, Michigan's police-state law, has provisions "so vague, so all encompassing, and so patently open to abuse that it could, if strictly enforced, permit half the population of the state to put the other half in jail," said the 64th annual convention of the Michigan Federation of Labor in a resolution opposing the Trucks Act and all other legislation that "abridges the traditional American principles of freedom."

STATE FEPC bills were introduced into eleven state legislatures this year. In ten of them — California, Delaware, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia — they were killed in committee or on the floor or by failure to act. Only in Kansas was a bill passed, and this was an "educational" measure, lacking enforcement powers.

THE BIG PURGE of Democrats holding civil-service jobs moved ahead when President Eisenhower issued an order making it possible for 134,000 government employees to be replaced by "deserving" Republicans.

18,000 UNDERGARMENT and negligee workers belonging to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in New York won a new contract reducing their work-week from 37½ to 35 hours. Beginning Sept. 1, time workers will get the same pay as they used to for the longer week, while pay workers will get a 6% pay increase to make up for the lowered working time.

SEVEN NEGRO FAMILIES are standing firm against Jim Crow terrorism in Memphis, Tenn., although one of their homes was bombed last week and they have been warned by white groups that "This is a white neighborhood."

THE SUPREME COURT "erred" in overruling Justice Douglas' stay in the Rosenberg case, said Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.). He maintained that under a 1925 law the action of Douglas automatically remanded the whole case to the lower courts, and that the Supreme Court was not empowered to act again until after the

lower courts had ruled. "There is absolutely nothing in the act of 1925 that gives the Supreme Court authority to review the action of one of the Justices acting under the statutes," Walter declared.

JULIUS H. HLAVATY, one of the authors on the State Department's blacklist, has written only one book, *Review Digest in Solid Geometry*, which consists exclusively of questions, problems and solutions in solid geometry, logarithmic and trigonometric tables, and reprints of past examinations in solid geometry.

FIVE DAYS after he supervised the execution of the Rosenbergs at Sing Sing, U.S. Marshall William A. Carroll, a Democrat, was asked to resign by the Department of Justice so that a worthy Republican could get his job. Carroll refuses, saying he didn't think the Republicans "would let me finish a nasty job for them and then try to fire me without a vacation."

AS ATTORNEY GENERAL, Tom Clark tried to send people to prison because they refused to inform against themselves and other victims of the witch hunt. As Supreme Court Justice, Tom Clark declines to appear before a congressional committee to answer questions about certain smelly aspects of his administration of the Department of Justice.

A DELEGATION of the CIO Electrical Workers Union protested to Defense Mobilizer Arthur S. Fleming against "widespread" relocation of industrial plants "to secure additional profits on the basis of paying depressed and sub-standard wages . . . and to escape effective unionization." Workers, they warned, "will be organized no matter how far an employer may run away."

THE GOVERNMENT closed its books for 1953 with the largest deficit in its peacetime history — \$9,389,000,000. At the same time the Treasury announced that it will borrow \$6,000,000,000 in the money markets — the largest peacetime borrowing of new money — in anticipation of tax collections.

Victimized by McCarthy



After appearing before Sen. Joseph McCarthy's witch hunt committee, Dr. Naphali Lewis (s.) was told his assignment as an exchange professor of classical languages to Florence, Italy, was canceled because his wife Helen (l.) had declined to answer questions on her politics. Dr. Lewis charged the "inquisition . . . establishes a novel and singularly un-American principle — namely, that before a man is permitted to pursue a career in research, even in ancient manuscripts — he must have the stamp of approval of a congressional subcommittee on himself and family."

PASS BILL TO REGIMENT N.Y.-N.J. LONGSHOREMEN

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 28 — More than 40,000 longshoremen on the New York-New Jersey waterfront now face the prospect of their livelihood becoming state-controlled.

Both the New York and New Jersey State Legislatures have enacted identical laws providing for the licensing of dock workers by a joint state authority and the establishment of state-operated hiring halls.

The full text of the new law has not yet been made public. However, the provisions which have been reported clearly indicate that the law can only be interpreted as a serious infringement on the rights of the longshore workers, and a dangerous precedent for the labor movement as a whole.

Ostensibly aimed at controlling waterfront crime, the new laws are based upon recommendations of the N. Y. State Crime Commission, which in the course of its waterfront investigation tried to establish the fact that the giant stevedoring corporations were at the mercy of gangsters foisted upon them by the rank and file of the I.L.A. The very evidence they gathered, however, proved that the thug-ridden I.L.A. leadership remained in power on the basis of their collusion with the bosses and politicians, against the will of the union's rank and file, and at their expense.

WHY THEY WERE PAID

For long years Joe "King" Ryan has maintained his rule over the I.L.A. through an alliance with the goons who have run the union at the point of a gun. According to unchallenged facts presented to the Crime Commission they received handsome payoffs from the companies for jamming rotten contracts down the men's throats and for keeping them from striking against the conditions established by these contracts.

It was also conclusively demonstrated that the thugs who infested the I.L.A. leadership remained there in part because of their intimate connections with the ranking politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties, locally and nationally. It is these same politicians, who for so long helped to maintain this murderous gang on the waterfront, who are now assuming the

Court OK's Death For Walter Irvin

The Florida Supreme Court has upheld the death sentence imposed on Walter Lee Irvin at a Jim Crow trial last year.

Irvin is one of the four Negroes accused of "raping" a white woman in the infamous Groveland frameup of 1949.

Tension arose in Groveland when Negro workers began to ask for higher wages. The cry of "rape" was used to launch a pogrom against the whole Negro community, with 400 families driven out of their homes.

Ernest Thomas was shot to death by a lynch mob disguised as a posse. Charlie Greelie was sentenced to life imprisonment. A Sheriff murdered Samuel Shepherd while he was manacled to Irvin, who was shot at the same time. Irvin survived the shooting only to be condemned to death by an all-white jury. His case is being handled by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

LIBRARIANS, EDUCATORS DENOUNCE CENSORSHIP

(Continued from page 1)

conformity. . . An over-zealous brand of alleged patriotism has spread suspicion, mistrust and fear across the country, reversing our traditional faith that a man is judged innocent until he is proved guilty, blasting reputations by innuendo, and condemning any opinion other than his own as communistic.

"That is the real threat to our American way of life — the recklessness of those who defend freedoms by ways and means that are in themselves denials of freedom," asserted Dr. Tucks. "Neither the teaching profession nor the clergy have anything to fear from honest, impartial investigation by those who want to know the truth. The country has much to fear from those who suppress the truth, or distort it for political purposes. We cannot stifle creative thinking and honest inquiry without losing all our liberties."

In issuing its manifesto, "On Freedom to Read," the American Library Association announced it would seek additional endorsements from citizens groups throughout the nation. The manifesto stated in part:

"The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. It is under attack. Private groups and public authorities in various parts of the country are working to remove books from sale, to censor textbooks, to label 'controversial' books, to distribute lists of 'objectionable' books or authors, and to purge libraries. . . . We are deeply concerned about these attempts at suppression. Most such attempts rest on a

Chicago High-Rent Slums Are Paradise -- for Rats

CHICAGO — A baby, helpless in her crib, was chewed to death last March 27 by a few of the more than three million rats which infest Chicago slums. This horror story was the kick-off for a well-documented series of sensational articles by the Chicago Daily News. They tell a story of acute misery endured by tens of thousands of workers because of the housing shortage in Chicago. And an exploitation of that housing shortage by greedy landlords whose "free enterprise" is aided

and abetted in violations of city ordinances by city officials.

This is the "American way of life" for many thousands of worker families, not in one of the "backward" areas of the "Point Four" world, but in Chicago, one of America's richest cities.

Here is what these families get for rents of \$75 to \$100 a month: Early-day mansions in the last stages of disrepair, divided and subdivided into small flats; old dilapidated apartments, originally built to accommodate 250 persons, now converted into small units housing 1000 people; old store fronts, basements and even coal bins made into flats with no provisions for light or ventilation.

Negro Bus Boycott Wins Concessions Against Jim Crow

A near-100% boycott of the Jim Crow bus system of Baton Rouge, Louisiana, ended in a substantial victory for the Negro people last Wednesday.

For five days, the usually crowded buses rolled virtually empty through the streets, shunned by over 20,000 of the city's bus riders who were aided by a cruising fleet of 125 cars that advertised "free rides." The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had sent out the boycott call at a mass meeting protesting the state Attorney General's invalidation of a new city ordinance which provided more equitable seating for Negroes and whites in the buses.

A special reserved-seat clause of the segregation law had prohibited Negroes from occupying empty seats "reserved for whites" when their own reserved section was filled. Under insistent pressure of the large Negro voting population, the City Council passed an ordinance which eliminated the special clause. This concession was met with snarling hostility by the Jim Crow elements who incited bus drivers, organized in what is apparently a company union, according to the Pittsburgh Courier, to violate the ordinance and engage in a walk-out.

BOYCOTT EFFECTIVE

The bus drivers returned to work after four days when the Attorney General ruled against the liberalizing city ordinance. At this point the NAACP boycott went into effect and demonstrated the fighting spirit and solidarity of the Negro people. Even the bus officials admitted that the boycott, which eliminated most of their revenue, was about 50% effective.

The boycott compelled the adoption of a compromise amendment to the city ordinance which still retains a last vestige of the hated "principle" of segregation. Two front seats will be reserved for whites and one back seat for Negroes. All the rest of the seats will be unrestricted.

PARADISE FOR RATS

In order to squeeze out the last possible penny of profit, the landlords do not provide garbage disposal, so garbage is piled in cans in hallways, stacked in open barrels in filthy alleys, raising a stench that nauseates the human inhabitants but provides an ideal feeding and breeding ground for rats. Adding to the stench are leaking sewer pipes, also the cause of falling plaster, peeling wall paper, and buckling floors. Toilets that do not flush; toilets that flush continually for weeks; toilets that overflow into the apartment below. No laundry facilities are provided — often not even a sink or bathtub that drains.

There are rotting stair treads, stair railings broken and missing, causing falls, broken limbs and death to children. Partitions are made of paper and inflammable wallboard — in invitation to the many slum fires which have killed 180 people here since 1947. Cockroaches, bugs, mice and rats everywhere; life a constant battle against these carriers of foul disease.

It is estimated that from one-fourth to one-third of Chicago's residential area consists of blighted districts — miserable miles of such over-crowded, health-menacing "homes." This is where thousands of worker families swelter helplessly in summer and shiver in winter. Where a child's cry in the night often means a rat bite — as has happened scores of times in the last year.

WHO ARE SLUM DWELLERS?

Who are these people who live in such sub-human conditions in a city that boasts of its wealth in its beautiful parks, art treasures, great financial and industrial establishments and sumptuous Gold Coast homes? We are told today of its great prosperity, plentiful jobs at high wages and savings banks bursting with billions.

Are these people unable to share in that prosperity because they are lazy and incompetent? Because they "don't care" and are destructive and so get the housing they deserve, as their blood-sucking landlords try to make out? Among others, the Daily News reported these examples:

A father works three jobs in order to provide shelter, food and clothing for his wife and three children. Because "the landlord won't do anything," he spends his "spare" time trying to keep up with falling plaster, leaking sewage, the sinking bathroom floor, fighting rats and mice and cockroaches, in a basement flat never intended for living quarters — for which he pays \$76.50 a month.

Another father of ten children makes \$56 a week as a punch-press operator. He pays \$75 a month for an old saloon converted into a dark, dank four-room flat. The sink doesn't drain, the bathtub doesn't work and the toilet has been flushing for seven months straight. And ten kids to cook and wash for. Ten kids sleeping five to a bed. No money for playthings for them — they chase the rats for a pastime. The father's wage will not even stretch to buy adequate food; the reporters found them having bread, just bread with nothing added, for lunch. Millions of pounds of butter going into government storage

every week — but none for the bread of workers' children.

This is the way capitalism houses and feeds its poorer-paid workers in this year of great prosperity, 1953.

WHY DON'T THEY GO?

The slum dwellers are the poorer-paid workers of all races, among whom the Negroes predominate in Chicago. They are hard-working people, who long and strive for a better life for their families. But why, if they can pay \$75 to \$100 a month for rent, don't they find better homes? The answer is plain — and not denied. There are no better homes for them. Children are not wanted by most landlords. And racial segregation denies Negroes the right to move to better districts, even though they might be able to afford it. Many of these slum dwellers have long been on the waiting list of the Chicago Housing Authority for units in long-promised slum-clearance projects still on paper for the most part.

Chicago has been booming since World War II, and the slum business is one of its bonanzas. With the boom the housing shortage became more and more acute, and the landlords — more and more rapacious. Pay extortionate rents — or else. A typical example: An apartment that brought \$45 a month in 1942, now cut into smaller units, brings \$218 a month. One slum owner boasted to a reporter, who posed as a prospective buyer, "All you have to do is sit back and take in the money . . . practically nothing is ever spent to make repairs." It's easy to get back the purchase price in four years.

WHO GETS PROTECTED?

If the slum tenants kick too much, they are apt to get a quick reprisal in an eviction notice. Which means out on the street with no place to go. The landlords, not the tenants, are protected by the city authorities. The city is doing nothing about 10,000 building violations turned up in its own neighborhood surveys. The reporters found plenty of evidence of erroneous or falsified inspection reports. Or the inspector simply does not report the violations. Or when, because of too frequent, flagrant violations a landlord is brought to court, his punishment is a joke.

Usually the judge dismisses the case when the landlord promises to comply with the law — a promise rarely kept. Or the judge grants continuances time after time. Some landlords have been in court as many as 100 times. Sometimes they are fined — an average of \$20! Such fines are a bargain. One veteran inspector said, "They ought to call this 'License Court' — all the judge does is license them to keep on violating."

"Get while the getting is good" is respected capitalist practice. So city officials, the servants of capitalism, give the "individual enterprise" of the landlords their blessing in law-breaking extortionism. They want no threat to their profits from the "creeping socialism" of government housing.

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN

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