

Unions Express Fears of Coming Republican Rule

By Thomas Raymond

The political outlook of U.S. union heads, as seen from comment in the union press on the future under a Republican administration, is mainly one of apprehension. Fear of the incoming regime, and warnings to labor to tighten its ranks and prepare to defend itself are the most common notes sounded by leading publications of CIO, AFL and independent unions.

Hardly any of the union leaders or union papers have given any answer to the question: How can labor defend itself? The clearly indicated road for labor, the formation of an independent labor party, is not advocated by any national union paper or leader. Most of them favor the continuation of the bankrupt policy of support to the Democrats.

A further note that is being lightly sounded in some parts of the labor press is that of conciliation toward the Republicans. Some of the union leaders apparently hope to play friendly and roll with the punch, or avoid the punches altogether. But this is not yet a widespread hope, with most of the labor press emphasizing a gloomy outlook for the coming years.

TYPICAL COMMENT

Alex Rose, president of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, AFL, writes in the Nov. 15 issue of the *Hat Worker*: "Remember that the best we can hope for from the new administration is that it will not be openly hostile to labor's interests. We can no longer hope for a favorable and cooperative approach to our problems from Washington."

In Justice, organ of the International Ladies Garment Workers

Union, we find: "For the first time in 20 years, (labor) will be without great and good friends in Washington." Textile Labor, published by the CIO Textile Workers Union, heads one of the articles in its Nov. 22 issue: "All GOP Signs Point to Lean Years Ahead for Labor." Elsewhere it refers apprehensively to the "punitive and reactionary plans of Republican bosses."

Ford Facts, published by militant and powerful Local 600 of the CIO auto workers union, says on Nov. 22: "The Eisenhower landslide victory means lean years for organized labor until at least the next Congressional elections, observers declared." In the same issue, a group of reporters from the Ford Motor Plant wind up their column with the parting shot: "See you in the soup line!"

A previous issue called for organization of a labor party.

WOULD LIKE A HOLE

With this outlook for labor, one would certainly think that the top labor leadership would give serious attention to the problems of labor strategy in the coming period. Thus far there is absolutely no sign that they have. Their strategy to this moment might be summarized in this single sentence: "We're hoping for the best, but if we had a nice deep hole we'd crawl into it."

Some of the union papers and leaders are making stalwart and "militant" statements. For ex-

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HIGH COURT TO RULE ON JIM CROW SCHOOLS

By George Lavan

On December 8 the U.S. Supreme Court will at long last start hearing arguments on the unconstitutionality of Jim Crow segregation in the public schools.

Lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will show how Jim Crow schools in South Carolina, Kansas, Virginia and the District of Columbia deprive Negro children of their equality under the law "guaranteed" by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

In the reaction following the destruction of Reconstruction democracy in the South the Supreme Court interpreted the 14th Amendment so that it protected corporations but not Negroes. Under the court's "separate but equal" doctrine Jim Crow was legalized. Needless to say, the Jim Crow schools have not been equal in facilities to those for white children.

The NAACP will argue that separate schools can never be equal, not just because facilities or not equal but because they carry the poison of racial prejudice. In support of its brief, the NAACP has filed statements of 32 of the country's leading sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists and anthropologists which conclude that "regardless of facilities which are provided, enforced segregation is psychologically detrimental to members of the segregated group."

PREPARE EVASION

While friends of racial equality hope that the Supreme Court will deliver a basic decision outlawing Jim Crow in the public schools,

the white supremacists have already prepared to evade such a ruling.

Governor Byrnes of South Carolina, former Roosevelt right-hand man and Supreme Court Justice, and now a force in Eisenhower's councils, intends to abolish the public school system of South Carolina rather than end segregated education.

On November 4 the South Carolina constitution was amended by referendum to allow the state officials to close public elementary and secondary schools and to sell those school properties now owned by the state to private individuals and associations.

IN CHARACTER

This readiness of the anti-Negro ruling class of South Carolina to junk the public schools is historically in character. The Southern ruling class bitterly fought free education which came to South Carolina and other Southern states as the result of Negro efforts.

In a recent article in the *Militant* described the campaign of the working class in the first half of the 19th Century which led to the establishment of free public schools in the North. But the South never had any public school system till after the Civil War. Under slavery, the plantation owners opened free schools for the poor whites and made the

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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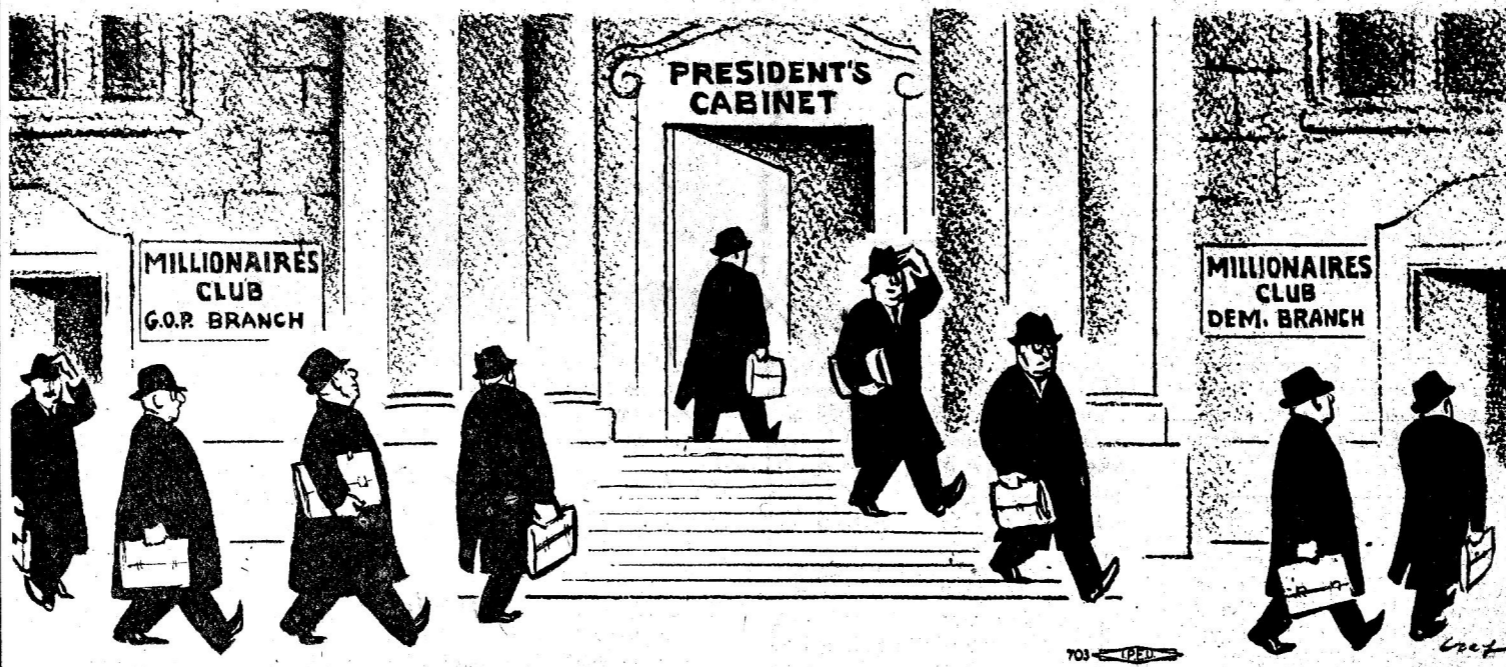
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Wrong to Go Into Korea, Say American People in New Poll

Changing of the Guard



Letters Put Pressure On Gen. Eisenhower To End War Speedily

By Joseph Keller

A majority of Americans have been opposed to the U.S. intervention in Korea and believe it was wrong ever to have sent U.S. armed forces there. U.S. troops are being kept in Korea now against the will of the American people. These facts — repeatedly stated by *The Militant* — are again confirmed by the latest Gallup Poll findings on the popular sentiment against the Korean war.

"For almost two years American voters have felt that our participation in the war was a mistake — and they still think so today," concludes George Gallup, Director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, on the basis of a national poll completed just three weeks before the presidential election.

Voters were asked: "Do you think the United States made a mistake in going into the war in Korea, or not?" Of those who held an opinion and answered the question, there were 53.7% who said, "Yes, a mistake," and 46.3% who said, "No, not a mistake."

Including those who had "no opinion," the "Yes" answers were 43% of the total; the "No," 37%; and "No opinion," 20%.

In a poll taken in August 1950, two months after the U.S. invasion of Korea began, 65% thought it was "not a mistake" and only 20% that it "was a mistake." By March 1951, only 39% thought it "not a mistake," while 50% said it was. In April 1952, the number who thought it was wrong grew to 51%; only 35% still held it was right.

A large percentage of "no opinion" persons polled before the elections, the subsequent election results would indicate, were actually of the view that the U.S. should not have gone into Korea. Gallup himself interprets the "no opinion" votes that way and states: "The Korean war probably contributed more to the Democratic defeat Nov. 4 than any other issue."

That this is still the burning issue for the American people is shown by the pressure being exerted on Eisenhower, especially from parents of GIs, to get the war ended in a hurry and "our boys back home."

"It has been reported from the

General's vacation headquarters in Augusta, Ga., that ending the Korean war is the favorite topic of the letter writers who daily pour thousands of missives into the Eisenhower mailbags," reports Doris Fleeson in the Nov. 18 N.Y. Post. She adds: "The General did not promise to end the Korean war or to do anything specific about it; he promised to go there personally."

It is true that Eisenhower did not promise in so many words that he would end the war and withdraw the troops. But he liberally conveyed that impression. The people are right in insisting that he made an implied promise and in demanding that he live up to it.

There are powerful minority forces who are demanding a continuation and extension of the war. Eighth Army Commander General Van Fleet has called for additional divisions of U.S. troops for another offensive to "crush" the powerful, well-entrenched Chinese and North Korean armies. Columnist Marquis Childs stated in the *Washington Post* that, according to the view of Van Fleet and his fellow officers, "the effort would entail an estimated 50,000 casualties..." The Navy gold braid, he also reports, "is pushing for a new mass landing such as the brilliant assault at Inchon..."

That's what the military are thinking, Eisenhower is one of "their boys." He cannot be depended on to end the war; he certainly has no intention of withdrawing American troops from Korea, even with a truce. But that is what the American people want. They feel it was wrong to go into Korea in the first place and the only good thing the U.S. can do is get out of there without any more delay.

Stalin Makes Jews Scapegoats in Czech Trial

By John G. Wright

One of the outstanding features of the frameup trial that opened Nov. 20 in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the biggest of its kind to-date in Eastern Europe, is the stress on the Jewish origin of the defendants in the dock.

In all the previous frameup trials, from the monstrous Moscow Trials in the Thirties to the frameups a few years ago of Rajk in Hungary, Kostov in Bulgaria, Gomulka in Poland, there was an undercurrent of anti-Semitism. As a matter of fact, this was also true of the very first attacks, after Lenin's death, against Leon Trotsky and the anti-Stalinist opposition he then led inside the Soviet Union.

In the Slansky frameup in Czechoslovakia, anti-Semitism has been brought venomously to the forefront. Heading the list of 14 defendants, of whom 11 are of Jewish origin, is Rudolf Slansky, former General Secretary of the Czech Communist Party, life-long agent of the Kremlin. With few exceptions, notably that of Clementis, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, the list of the prominent defendants is a roll-call of the Kremlin's one-time most trusted Czech agents.

It was they, under Slansky, who directed the 1948 coup in that country. It was Slansky who started the purge in 1949, victimizing Clementis among others, before he and his henchmen were themselves ensnared.

The charge of "Zionist conspirators" is ranked in the indictment as second only to the customary charge of "Trotskyism." According to the Cominform periodical *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* of Nov. 21, "the charge against all of

them (that is, ALL the defendants) is that they are "Trotskyite-Titoite, Zionist, bourgeois-nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people."

They allegedly conspired "in Czechoslovakia, as in all the countries of people's democracy," to detach these countries from the Soviet Union with the aim of joining up with "the camp of imperialism." They allegedly damaged Czechoslovakia economically, financially, militarily, engaging in

espionage, sabotage and murder. Collectively and individually, the defendants also assumed the blame for all the evils, crimes and difficulties of the regime — for bad working conditions, for the fuel shortage, for cuts in electrical supply to homes, for the decline in foreign trade, etc.

Slansky himself is singled out not only as "an agent of the U.S. intelligence service" since 1930, but as "also a representative of international Zionism" all this

while. Bendrich Geminder, former head of the International Department, is characterized as a "Trotskyite" and "a Jewish bourgeois nationalist."

A third defendant, Otto Fischl, former Deputy Minister of Finance is referred to as "a high-ranking agent of the Israeli intelligence service." A fourth, A. Simone "alias Otto Katz," former editor of *Rude Pravo*, central organ of the Czech CP, is brand-

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STATE DEPT. MANEUVERS TO GET UN APPROVAL OF U. S. STALL ON TRUCE

By Art Preis

Washington's deadly maneuvers to block a truce in Korea, except on terms dictated by the U.S. military, have been repeated in the United Nations Assembly.

There the U.S. State Dept. has attempted to shove through a blanket approval of U.S. conduct of negotiations at Panmunjom, where American generals and admirals stymied an armistice for nearly a year with their phony "voluntary repatriation" issue.

Much to its chagrin, the State Dept.'s move in the UN has met a humiliating rebuff from its own allies, who show great reluctance to support the fighting in Korea. Despite the economic coercion and political blackmail that Washington can and does exert, it was able to line up only 21 out of 60 countries in the UN behind the State Dept. sponsored resolution to approve the U.S. moves at Panmunjom.

This further confirms the long-

evident fact that the war in Korea has been prolonged for so many months solely because of the stalling by Wall Street's striped-pants boys and brass hats in the truce negotiations.

The India delegation has put forward a so-called "compromise" plan to end the controversy over prisoner repatriation that the U.S. spokesmen claim is the sole remaining obstacle to a truce.

India's plan, it is rumored, was advanced only after New Delhi had received indications from Peking that the New China government does not look with disfavor on the proposal. We have no facts either to confirm or deny this.

India's plan still contains the "voluntary repatriation" that the U.S. has insisted on. Nevertheless, U.S. representatives have thus far refused to accept the plan and are demanding "amendments." What U.S. spokesmen called a "split" took place between Wash-

ington and London, which endorsed the India plan despite U.S. objections.

VISHINSKY'S STAND

Vishinsky, the Soviet Union's spokesman in the UN, has attacked the India plan sharply. It is not clear at this writing what the position of China and North Korea is, although there is speculation about a difference between Moscow and Peking. Vishinsky again made pointed reference to the Geneva Convention of 1949, which was aimed at the Soviet Union and which the U.S. helped to draft. This expressly requires the repatriation of all war prisoners regardless of their desire to the contrary.

The U.S. did not object, of course, to the proposal for "voluntary repatriation" in the India plan. The State Dept.'s spokesmen complained especially about the suggestion that prison-

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GOP Money Cabinet Follows Democrat Pattern

By Harry Frankel

Eisenhower's new cabinet appointments brought no surprises. They showed only what everyone expected: that the new Republican administration would continue the Democratic policy of turning over important sections of the administration to top finance-capital. In his first six appointments, the General who will become president on Jan. 20 removed from office two lawyers, a politician and three bankers, and replaced them with two lawyers, two politicians and two big-shot industrialists.

John Foster Dulles, the Wall Street lawyer, will take over the State Department from Dean Acheson, also a top-flight corporation lawyer. In the very important post of Secretary of Defense, Charles E. Wilson of General Motors will replace Robert A. Lovett, of Brown Brothers and

Harriman, Wall Street investment bankers.

As Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey of Cleveland will carry on where John Snyder leaves off. Humphrey is one of the most important industrialists of the nation, while Snyder, whom he replaces, was a medium-scale banker in St. Louis.

However, where the new Treasury man will more closely represent big capital than the old, in the Mutual Security post a politician will replace a banker. Harold Stassen will take over from a top Wall Street figure, W. Averell Harriman, former head of the U.P. railroad, and partner in the investment banking firm of Brown Brothers and Harriman.

Herbert Brownell, described as a "business lawyer," will head the Department of Justice, replacing James P. McGranery, former judge and Democratic hack. And finally, Douglas McKay, whose original business was that of large-scale Cadillac

dealer in the Northwest and who went on from there to become Governor of Oregon, will take over as Secretary of the Interior, replacing Democratic politician Oscar Chapman.

MORE OF THE SAME

From this survey it can be seen that the direct influence and administration of the capitalist class will be very heavy in Washington under the coming administration. But it will not be much heavier than under the Democrats, since it would be very hard for any administration, no matter how Wall-Street controlled, to outdo the record of the Democrats in this respect.

On the eve of making these appointments, Eisenhower conferred with, among others, Winthrop Aldrich, chairman of the Chase National Bank, and George Whitney, Chairman of J. P. Morgan Co. The bankers refused to comment on their talk with Eisenhower, but it is a good guess

that they were involved in the discussions of new personnel, since that is the newly-elected president's chief concern at the present.

The *Wall Street Journal*, in an interesting sidelight on the appointment of Wilson of General Motors, inadvertently revealed much about the process by which major party nominees are chosen in the nominating conventions.

"As politicians tell the story," the *Nov. 21 Journal* said, "the influence of Mr. Wilson's General Motors was very nearly decisive in swining the Michigan delegation to Eisenhower at the Chicago convention. The auto industry was split between Taft and Ike — with Ford officials backing Gen. Eisenhower and Chrysler executives lining up with Mr. Taft. The G.M. influence, exercised in part through Arthur Summerfield, one of its largest dealers and now head of the Republican National Committee, helped tip the scale in Michigan.

And when Michigan plumped for Ike, it helped tip the larger scale at the national convention."

Wilson is head of the largest single capitalist industrial institution in this country, the G.M. Corp., which employs almost a half-million workers and has a larger share of government war contracts than any other company.

George Humphrey of Cleveland, head of the M.A. Hanna Co., the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., and many other outfits in a giant oligarchic chain of iron, coal and steel interests, was reportedly recommended for his new job by Paul G. Hoffman, head of the Ford Foundation and formerly president of the Studebaker Corporation and Ernest T. Weir, open-shop steel magnate. Hoffman was an Eisenhower backer, but, like many another top financier and industrialist, he has also been an important administrator and policy-maker in the Democratic regime. He served as head of the

European arms and aid program before going into the Ford Foundation.

Taft supporters in the Republican Party are reportedly miffed at Eisenhower as a result of these appointments. They appear to concur in the Dulles appointment, but close friends of Taft insist that he was not consulted on the new cabinet. He was not even asked about the choice of Humphrey, a Taft supporter in 1948 who got out of the 1952 Republican convention battle, despite the fact that it is considered bad etiquette for a party head to make an appointment without checking first with the Senators from the appointee's home state.

This appears to show that Eisenhower has no intention of giving over the reins to "Taftism," but is determined to continue the basic foreign and domestic policy of the present administration, which is the policy approved by the inner-circle of Wall Street.

HARVESTER WORKERS END GRUELING STRIKE

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Nov. 17 — The strike of the Farm Equipment Workers Union against International Harvester ended yesterday as FE locals ratified the contract signed by the union and the company.

The new contract is a victory for the company. The contract grants a seven cents raise and an improved vacation plan-but gives the company the right to re-classify all jobs, re-time piece-work and make re-adjustments where they deem "excessive" rates are being paid. Pay for stewards while investigating grievances is discontinued.

The CIO and AFL policy of non-support coupled with the red hysteria were main causes of the set-back. For 14 weeks these workers faced company-inspired attacks. The House Committee on Un-American Activities used stool pigeons and newspaper headlines to connect the strike with alleged "red cells," and picture it as a Moscow-inspired plot. Hundreds of cops were detailed to provoke bloodshed and create an atmosphere of violence. In three plants, West Pullman, East Moline and Rock Island, fink groups filed petitions for an NLRB election.

Midway through the strike, William Foster, a scab at the McCormick works was killed near his home. No evidence linked Foster's death with the union. Yet his death was made the excuse to invade strikers' homes and pick up local leaders by the dozen.

Harold Ward, Negro leader of McCormick Works has been indicted for the killing. The union charges a frame-up. Ward had been active for years in Stalinist front organizations and in 1950 attended a European Peace Conference and visited Moscow. That seems to be the main "evidence."

While the new contract is a serious set-back for the union, its very existence after 14 weeks of this strike is testimony to the courage and loyalty of thousands of Harvester workers. This morning hundreds of workers assembled in front of the Tractor plant and with heads high marched back in behind union president Pete Neunty.

The set-back suffered by the Harvester workers is also a set-back for other workers. Today it is Harvester, tomorrow it may be General Motors, Ford or US Steel. There must be no repetition of a situation like this where a union under savage attack is left to face it alone.

"BREAKING THROUGH THE SOUND BARRIER"

By Joseph Hansen

I don't care for a bucket seat, particularly in a jet plane tearing straight down to earth at around 850 miles an hour.

Personally, I enjoyed the less strenuous scenes such as the jet ride across France, over the Alps and Greece to Cairo.

What puts this picture in the four-star bracket, however, is something else again. It is the theme — the power of an idea.

The artists did it despite severe handicaps. They could have taken a great progressive idea like socialism and shown its capacity to dominate the human mind.

Consciously or not — most likely not — they took instead the idea of overcoming a difficult obstacle in nature to technological progress.

Since a progressive political figure is excluded by the current witch-hunting atmosphere, they could have taken as the man imbued with the idea, an inventor, an engineer or a scientist.

The artists chose a capitalist as the protagonist. He has the means to carry out an idea, even one that seems hare-brained.

However, I can overlook stretching things like that, because the basic theme is honest and dead right.

And if this film couldn't show the power of an idea in its full force and in fact had to filter it through a distorting form and let it echo in the power of machines instead of masses of people, enough did come through to make it a film you'll not easily forget.

One of the fine things is how the heroine, clinging to security, torn and repelled by this fearful urge of her father and her husband to get through the dangerous sound barrier, learn its secrets and open a new frontier for mankind.

A New York critic didn't like the title "Breaking Through the Sound Barrier" although he praises the film. I thought it had a fine and attractive sound.

William Green Long Symbolized Horse-and-Buggy Craft Unionism

By George Lavan

The late William Green, for 28 years president of the American Federation of Labor, symbolized the narrowness, incompetence and senility of the encrusted AFL leadership.

Sam Gompers, founder of the AFL and formulator of its "business union" philosophy, died in 1924. He had been an autocrat; and the presidents of the AFL international unions didn't want another.

He controlled no powerful union. Most AFL workers had never even heard of him. An office holder since the age of 27, he had risen in the bureaucracy through the death of AFL Council members above him.

President Green never disappointed the men who made him. Their unions scabbed on and raided one another and he never interfered. And he never interfered with the racketeering and corruption that flourished in some internationals.

Only against socialists and other radicals, or advocates of industrial unionism, did he show his teeth. And this was as the AFL bureaucrats and the corporations wished.

Green's role in American Labor can best be reviewed by looking at a few episodes of his career. For example, in 1929 the AFL had tossed in its lap a golden opportunity to organize the South.

Southern textile labor — from Virginia to Alabama and west to Tennessee — was in revolt from 1929 to 1931. By thousands gaunt men, haggard women and stunted children who worked 12-hour shifts and lived in ramshackle company villages clamored for unions.

Green made a speaking tour in the South — not to talk to the workers but to the bankers, mill owners and their ilk. He described the benefits they would receive from recognizing the AFL. They applauded politely but when their workers started joining the AFL, they fired them, evicted them,

Dies at Age of 79



William Green, late president of the American Federation of Labor, shown presiding over the last convention of the AFL in New York's Hotel Commodore. At this convention, Green favored change in traditional AFL policy of hands off in presidential elections, gave backing to Stevenson.

shot them and framed the leaders. The principal cause of the failure of the strikes was hunger.

The AFL bureaucrats refused to open their bulging treasuries to furnish adequate relief. In Marion, N. C., where six strikers had been killed and 25 seriously wounded, the AFL even abandoned the starving families of men who had been killed in the union.

In Danville, Va. — site of the biggest textile mills in the South — the union could not afford license plates for strike autos and union business had to be done on foot. Finally Green came to Danville to make an announcement of "tremendous importance."

men crowded the mill gates to get their jobs back, management laughed in their faces.

Green battled on other fronts too. In New York, even capitalist politicians felt forced to come out for unemployment insurance during the depression. Green had long opposed this "socialistic" proposal. Boldly he spoke out against such an un-American measure.

When the great sitdown strike of 1937 was at its most critical point Green tried to ruin the United Auto Workers Union. Reinforcing General Motors' refusal to recognize the union, Green publicly told GM that recognition of the CIO would violate the rights of AFL men employed by GM.

fault of Green that they had to abandon this idea and recognize the CIO.

Similarly during the CIO's campaign to organize the steel industry, Green sought to make a deal with the Steel trust whereby their company unions would be given AFL charters.

These examples give a representative picture of Green's role on the U.S. labor scene. One example should suffice to show his role in international labor affairs.

From 1925 to 1933 Wall Street ruled Cuba through a bloody dictator — Machado. Labor unions and assemblies were outlawed. Opponents were murdered, kidnapped, kept for years in tiny cells below sea level in harbor forts, tortured and their bodies thrown to the sharks.

Chester Wright, editor of the AFL International Labor News and a secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, made public a list of 147 assassinations committed by the Machado regime. There was talk on the waterfront of refusing to handle Cuban sugar.

Dictator Machado hastened to Washington where he had a private conference with Green. Green issued a statement pleasing to Machado, and editor Wright was fired from both his jobs.

While Green's bureaucratic environment explains him, it does not excuse him. Others with the same heritage — like John L. Lewis — changed when the depression threatened the existence of unionism itself.

One of the ironies of his career was that under him the AFL steadily declined until, as a result of the enthusiasm for unionism engendered by the CIO, it began to grow despite his policies.

It is also ironic that he lived to witness the debacle of the Democratic-Labor political alliance which showed the dead end to which his (as well as the other labor leaders') political program led.

It is a severe judgment to pass on a man who lived 79 years, 28 of them as president of a great labor organization, that he achieved nothing for which future generations will look back with gratitude. But in strict truth that is the only judgment which can be passed on William Green.

The American Way of Life

A Thousand Years or More

If you've ever been at an Army separation center, you know that the last five days are harder to sweat out than the preceding five months.

3,200 soldiers, being processed for discharge at Army "hurry-up-and-wait" pace, are reported by the N. Y. World-Telegram as "on the verge of open rebellion."

Compulsory daily formations, it is reported, bring out only a few hundred of the thousands awaiting discharge. Detail notices and orders posted on the center's bulletin boards are burned right down to the thumbtacks if the men don't like what they say.

A few days ago, daily leave passes were cancelled, on the ground that the men refused to turn them in but continued to use them.

According to a World-Telegram reporter, the commanding general of the post toured the area with newsmen to show them that all is peaceful.

General Craig, post commander, has indicated that the Army will try to speed things up a little at Kilmer. But most Army brass doesn't seem to realize the feeling of haste that enlisted men (and many officers) have about getting out of their ODS.

"How long have you been in the Army?" "A thousand years or more."

This lad was ready for his separation papers fifteen minutes after getting into uniform. Imagine how he would feel after 21 months, most of it spent in Korea in a war that is not a war, battling opponents that are not enemies, for a cause that he is not convinced is right.

— Fred Hart

Letters from Our Readers

Capitalist 'Benefits' Don't Impress Providence Student

In the latest issue of The Militant I have just read a letter sent in by students of Connecticut College; and I must say that I am not in the least surprised.

It seems to me that the main purveyors of vile propaganda have been the Republican and Democratic parties. By screaming "red" in order to cover up their own crooked policies they have endeared themselves to the witch-hunters and those who provide private funds for Congressmen.

Never in any speech of Farrell Dobbs or Myra Tanner Weiss have I heard any vile propaganda or violent harangues which appeal to the uneducated. The speeches of both candidates have been directed to the working men and women of America who, they feel, are capable of understanding the facts.

To the students who have written in, capitalism represents freedom, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness because they represent the only class capable of attaining these. But dictatorship, I may say, is already in the making.

The Socialist Workers Party strives to institute greater freedom for the mass of Americans. It does not ridicule those who fought in World War II, for they were the sons of American working men. But it opposes the Big Business interests who brought us into the war with less regard for human life than any group I know of.

Obviously the whole letter is indicative of the current trend in college thinking. It shows the minds of students interested only in party raids and "I Go Pogo" riots. There is not one word of intelligent thought in this whole polemical outburst.

They end up by saying that they are "a group of American students, all here on money earned through our magnificent capitalist system."

My father has been a factory worker for over 20 years. In that time he has not been able to save a penny with which to help me through school. My brother is now a freshman in college, and like me receives only moral support from home.

When I read their letter I couldn't help but think of the unsophisticated, naive expression of a fellow student: "Why do workers have to strike? If they were good, they'd get what they want."

Why has socialism decreased in voting power here in America and why have we been unable to elect even one Congressman? C. J. H. Kansas City, Mo.

We suggest you read The Coming American Revolution by James P. Cannon for a Marxist explanation of the basic reasons. It can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers for 10 cents — Editor.

Recalls Fort Dix Civil War Training

The picture in the Nov. 3 Militant showing GIs training in street fighting brings to mind my own experience in basic at Fort Dix.

"reds," we were told, this training would come in handy.

GIs work in pairs, one covering the other as he mounts a fence or sneaks up to a window and plops a hand grenade inside. Then the other enters the window and bayonets the guts out of anyone left alive after the grenade. The dummies inside, sometimes dressed up in civvies, get a good working-over with the bayonet.

This training is expected to come in mighty handy for quieting "riots" stateside as well.

How Bosses Make Us Pay for Their Cocktail Parties

An article in Look magazine gives the workers a hint of how the bosses manage to make us pay for the champagne they drink.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue assumes that the wheels of industry can't turn without the oil of salesmanship, so here is what happens every day according to Look:

"Good Lord," says the man from the Treasury, "\$82 for cocktails! 'I'll tell you,' says the company accountant, 'that particular buyer won't even look at a sample unless he's dead drunk. And he likes women to drink with...'"

"If he drives a car on business it might just as well be the best car he can lay hands on. In other words, if you must deduct, deduct big. And here the revenue bureau is really helpless. It can't very well tell a man where to eat and what car to buy."

is not supposed to stay sober himself, so Uncle Sam just takes the hazy figure at face value.

Thus when tax time comes, the \$20,000-a-year man can mark off \$10,000 for expenses and pay a tax on the balance, which leaves him all dressed up and no place to go.

Calls President Of U.S. Steel 'New Don Quixote'

The suggestion of Benjamin Fairless, president of the U.S. Steel Corp., that if the workers want to take over ownership of industry from the capitalists they can do so by buying stock on the market, got a sharp answer from Edward A. Talbot in a letter to the editor of the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Talbot points out that if any group tried to buy all the outstanding stock of any large corporation the price would skyrocket.

He calls Fairless a "new Don Quixote" and asks, "Will Mr. Fairless sign a new contract with his steel workers giving them a guaranteed annual wage for as long a period as is necessary until the stock his workers try to buy is paid for?"

Loss of Freedom In America Alarms Methodist Council

"State of the Church," an address by the Council of Bishops of the Methodist General Conference declared: "This whole question of freedom is assuming alarming proportions in American life. In many instances we are redefining freedom and debasing the coinage of the word until it means 'freedom to be like everybody else, to think as the majority in the town, or state or country thinks, to teach what the legislature or what the dominant political or religious opinion wants taught.'"

SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASES GO BEFORE SUPREME COURT

(Continued from page 1)

teaching of Negroes to read a serious penal offense.

Free schools for all was an objective of the Negroes in the South. During Reconstruction the Negro people and sections of the poor white class drew up a new constitution for South Carolina. For the first time in the state's history the word "education" was mentioned in the organic law. Not only was it mentioned but an outline was given for a school system in keeping with the most progressive ideas on education then known.

When the South's attempt at democracy went up in the smoke from Ku Klux Klan torches a terrible period of reaction set in. Most of the advances were destroyed but the school system — in a mangled and undernourished form — was kept.

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The present schools in South Carolina are among the poorest in the U.S. That they are so poor, is the fault of the class that Gov. Byrnes represents. That they exist at all is a tribute to the Negro people.

A favorite target of the race-hating night riders of the 1870s was the school house. Gov. Byrnes rides in his class tradition today. But a new day is coming.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON—For information, call HE-7066. BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month. BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 831 Main Street. CHICAGO—724 So. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-4:00 P.M. Phone HARRISON 7-0463. CLEVELAND—10600 Superior Ave. Open Fri. evenings 7:30 to 9:30 P.M. LOS ANGELES—1702 East 4th St. Phone ANeWen 9-4953. MILWAUKEE—817 N. 3rd St., 3rd Fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M. MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 7781. NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019. NEWARK—52 Market St., cor. Piene. Open forum every Friday, 8:30 P.M. NEW YORK CITY—416, 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7822. OAKLAND (Cal.)—For information write P.O. Box 1165. PHILADELPHIA—1308-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd Fl. Open every Fri. evening, 8:30-10:00 P.M. ST. LOUIS—For information, Phone MO 7184. ST. PAUL—Phone State headquarters, Main 7781. SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore St. 4th Fl. Open Sat. afternoon and evenings. Phone FI 6-0410. SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., So. and Washington, Room 201. Library, bookstore, Phone Main 9278. YOUNGSTOWN—224 S. Federal St.

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Whom Do We Blame for Soup Lines?

Widespread reports show that fear of a new depression is one of the biggest concerns in the minds of workers as a result of the Republican victory. "See you in the soup line, boys," is a favorite factory comment.

It is natural for workers to identify depression with Republicanism. The great depression of 1929, still within the adult memory of most Americans, struck during a Republican administration. In addition, since workers identify the Republican Party as the capitalist party, or the most capitalist party, the present depression talk shows how workers connect depression with big capital.

Nevertheless, there is no truth in this idea that Republicanism is the factor that will produce depression. We do not say this in order to exonerate the Republican Party, but to place responsibility where it really belongs. The capitalist system produces depressions, not because of "foolish errors" or "short-sighted policies," but because of tendencies that cannot be overcome within the limits of the system.

If we survey the history of capitalist nations over the past century, we find that not a single one of them has been able to avert the periodic descent into the trough of crisis. This has been going on for well over a hundred years. Everything has been tried, from the extreme of liberalism, reform and government spending

to the other extreme of pure "individualism," and nothing has substantially altered the picture.

This would appear to indicate that capitalism is the cause, and that depressions can't be removed from the economic scene without fundamental alterations in this economic structure. This scientific view gets further support from the remarkable record of Soviet industry, which is of course non-capitalist, during the 1929-40 depression. Whatever else may be said in the many quarrels that arise over the economy and government of the USSR, the Soviet economic structure was virtually untouched by the depression. In fact, while industrial production in the U.S. and Germany was cut in half from 1929 to 1933, in the Soviet Union industrial production was at least doubled in the decade of the great depression.

This sheds some light on our prospects in a capitalist America. If there is no war, all signs point to economic crisis. And it will be an irony of history if that depression should happen to strike once more during a Republican regime. Workers may then say: "You see, the minute we vote these boys back in, we get trouble." Of course, we won't feel at all sorry for the Republicans if they get the blame. But the truth is that we are heading for depression or war regardless of regime, and that truth is the one that must be understood as a basis for labor political action.

Our Increase in Price

One of the members of the Militant Army, those devoted supporters of The Militant who work day in and day out to widen the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly, reports that she was agreeably surprised at the first reaction to our increase in price from a nickel to a dime.

At a project where she has a paper route, readers found no difficulty, she said, in understanding why rising printing costs forced us to increase the price. In fact some of them already knew that without big advertisers to back us we were doing well to get a paper out at all. Hard hit themselves by inflation, they nevertheless decided, with but one exception, to help out by taking a subscription.

We thank these readers of The Militant, welcome them as new regular subscribers and hope that they reflect a general response to the critical financial situation we face.

Putting out a paper like The Militant in a country where capitalism is as rich and powerful as it is here is really a heroic undertaking. Under current conditions,

A Suggestion to Diego Rivera

Diego Rivera, it appears, has not yet been re-admitted to the ranks of the Mexican Communist Party. He is pressing for action on his long-standing application. To emphasize his worthiness, he is doing what seems to be required of artists in the Stalinist fold. He is crawling in the slime.

At one time Diego Rivera was recognized as one of the outstanding artists of Mexico. His murals, filled with social content, were world famous. He headed a school of revolutionary artists who were inspired by the November 1917 revolution in Russia. His personal experiences in the Soviet Union led him to break with Stalinism.

In the United States he painted famous murals in Detroit, San Francisco and New York. A mural he did for Rockefeller Center during the depression aroused such animosity from the Rockefeller interests because of its socialism — versus — capitalism theme that they ordered it dug from the walls.

When Leon Trotsky, the co-founder of the Soviet Union, was in danger of deportation to Russia from his exile in Norway and had no place to turn, Diego Rivera helped gain him asylum in Mexico under the democratic Cardenas regime.

In 1939 Rivera broke politically from Trotsky and moved far to the right. With the murder of Trotsky, Rivera asserted that his own life was in danger from Stalin's assassin gangs. Then he began moving in the direction of Stalinism.

In the past few years he has associated himself with the Mexican artist David Alfaro Siqueiros, the Stalinist who led a machine-gun assault on Leon and Natalia Trotsky, an assault that was unsuccessful in killing the revolutionary couple but in which an American guard of Trotsky, Robert Sheldon Harte, was brutally murdered. Recently Rivera painted a mural with

with the witch-hunters riding high and hysteria and fear widespread, the entire radical press has a difficult time.

In the long run, truth will win out and we confidently expect to see the program we are fighting for become the program of the great majority of the working people of America. Meanwhile, however, the stamina and capacity of our supporters to sacrifice for a great cause undergoes a stiff test.

Things will not ease in the immediate period, in our opinion. In fact the going may even get a bit tougher. But as the terrible consequences of Wall Street's war drive press down heavier and heavier on the working people there is bound to be an awakening that can change the whole atmosphere with great speed and open up tremendous perspectives for socialism in America.

We ask our readers to stick tough — as you would in a difficult, prolonged struggle for union conditions against ruthless open-shop interests. Do everything you can to help us out by contributing financially; and, above all, try to widen our circle of readers and friends.

flattering portraits of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Even this sycophancy has not proved enough to restore him to the good graces of the Mexican agents of the Kremlin and so he issued a statement Nov. 22, publicly confessing his sins. He called himself "a coward, traitor, counter-revolutionary, abject degenerate," according to a report in the Nov. 23, N. Y. Times.

He attacked "Trotskyists" and "Titoists" in even viler terms and smeared his own art, saying that his Rockefeller Center fresco, which he did over again for the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City, "is the best example of the degeneration into which a Marxist artist can fall when, after having failed to remain in the ranks of his party, he also fails to discipline himself to its line from outside the ranks. . . . He swears that he has recanted and that he has been following the party line and will continue to do so "until my readmission becomes acceptable."

We do not know what kind of soul sickness led this once great artist to debase himself in this way. He cannot offer the excuse of an artist in the Soviet Union who faces Siberia or worse if he incurs the displeasure of the ruling bureaucrats. Whatever the personal reasons may be, he stands as a revolting example of what Stalinism does to an artist who comes under its ideological influence.

You want to rehabilitate yourself with the Stalinists, Mr. Rivera? Are you prepared to follow the example of Siqueiros? Stage a machine-gun assault on a sleeping couple of revolutionaries? Or go Siqueiros one better and like Jason, the assassin of Trotsky, select a sterling socialist, win his friendship and then, lifting a pick-axe behind his unsuspecting back, sink it in his brain? Indicate your stand on this. That should make you once again "acceptable" in Stalinist circles.

Indo-Chinese Freedom Fight in New Stage

By Art Preis

The independence fighters of Indo-China have opened the most powerful offensive of their seven-year struggle for national freedom and social liberation against the U.S. armed and financed French imperialist armies.

Despite the rain of bombs and napalm poured on them from French-armed U.S. planes, the revolutionary armies of the Viet Minh have smashed through the French forces at several points and swept them out of a large section of northeast Indo-China.

Only a few months ago, the French military command were boasting of their "successes" against the Viet Minh and expressing the belief that they might be within sight of the victory denied them for seven long years of what the French people bitterly call "The Dirty War."

OPEN NEW STAGE

Now, it appears, the Viet Minh forces have opened a new stage in their independence struggle. They are no longer largely a guerrilla army. They are well-trained, disciplined, and proficient in the use of modern weapons, and can sustain a direct offensive against the best of the French officer corps can offer.

In point of numbers involved, casualties and savagery of fighting, the Indo-China war is almost on the scale of Korea. French-controlled troops in Indo-China now number 460,353, of whom 212,553 are members of the regular French armed forces. The highest estimate of Viet Minh forces is around 350,000. French losses from 1946 to

Imperialism in Indo-China



Working at gun-point, conscripted Indo-Chinese workers construct cement block-house fortifications for their U.S. armed French masters who have been warring since 1946 against the independence movement.

October 1952 in the attempt to re-seize Indo-China were reported on Nov. 20 by the French Ministry of National Defense at 28,246 killed and missing, with wounded equal several times that number. Troops of the Viet Nam puppet

Washington has poured into the hands of the French capitalist government since the end of World War II have been invested in the Indo-China invasion.

The American people this year are being milked of 1 1/2 billion dollars to keep the French imperialists in Indo-China. The Pentagon reports it is maintaining a direct "baby air-lift" from here to Indo-China with 10 daily flights of military cargo, shortly to be stepped up to 20.

But this has not availed the French butchers and their U.S. backers. They are bogged down in Indo-China in a never-ending war that is bleeding the French people white. French Minister of Defense Rene Pleven said in an interview with the U.S. News and World Report magazine that "the Indo-China burden is very heavy. . . . France cannot carry it alone" and that there must be "a fair sharing of the burden" by the U.S. Thus, instead of getting more aid from France for their own bogged-down Korean adventure, the American imperialists are being pressured to send forces into Indo-China.

MORALE BAD

The war in Indo-China, reports Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military analyst, from Paris, would "depress the morale even of brave men." "The people of France are becoming more and more weary of a war in which few of them have much interest and a conflict which brings them no perceptible returns. . . ." Baldwin also notes the "tremendous influence the remote and bitter war of attrition" is having on western European politics and imperialist

plans for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization arms program.

HATED REGIME

In Indo-China itself, the revolutionary forces of workers and peasants gain strength, the "political administrative weakness" of the Bao Dai regime undercuts the chances of military success by the French-Vietnamese" complains Tillman Durdin, in a Nov. 15 dispatch from Hanoi to the N. Y. Times. "The Bao Dai Government still lacks strong popular support, and in its lower echelons is made up of an often corrupt, time-serving bureaucracy. . . ." And not only in its "lower echelons."

The imperialists have tried to label the revolutionary struggle in Indo-China as "Moscow-run." They have just given tangible evidence, however, of the falsity of this propaganda. A Nov. 24 United Press report from Washington says that "fears were aroused by discovery deep inside Indo-China of a large cache of weapons, including the first Russian-made equipment found in that beleaguered country." If this is the "first" such find, it is apparent that the Kremlin has given very little help to the Indo-Chinese during the past seven years of fighting.

The Indo-Chinese have waged and are waging a tremendous and heroic battle for their freedom. Without the aid of the U.S., the French rulers would have been driven out long ago. It is up to the American people to halt the robber assault on Indo-China, by stopping U.S. aid to the French. Demand: Hands off the Indo-Chinese revolution!

'POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN U.S.' -- IN BAD SHAPE AND GETTING WORSE

By George Breitman

POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES. A Collection of Legal and Related Materials by Thomas I. Emerson and David Haber, Dennis & Co., Buffalo, 1952, 1209 pages, \$7.50.

Is anyone interested in making a study of the question, "How much democracy is there in the U.S.?" If so, he will find a large portion of the basic material for such a study in this new volume by two Yale law professors already well known as staunch defenders of civil liberties.

It's a big book, but not padded in any way and not too big for the job it sets out to do. There is room in this review for only a partial list of its contents. Among other things it takes up: Security of the person — protection from bodily harm, involuntary servitude, and the fear of physical restraint; government procedure — police violence and coerced confessions, the right to counsel, illegal search and seizure, wiretapping, self-incrimination, bail; violations of the right to vote through violence and laws; restraints on minority parties; freedom of speech and what has happened to it throughout American history, with main emphasis on the situation since World War II, including the "loyalty" program and the executive and legislative "anti-subversive" witch hunt; the rights of assembly, canvassing and picketing; academic freedom; religious freedom and the relations of church and state; discrimination in housing, education, transportation, public accommodations and employment.

THE METHOD
The method generally followed by the editors in treating these subjects is to provide their background either in their own words or in those of some other commentator and then to quote at length from court decisions and laws. These are then followed by explanatory notes and bibliographical references. The result is a comprehensive picture of the state of political and civil rights in this country, of how they have been infringed and undermined, and of arguments used for and against these infringements.

In a few places, as the editors admit in advance, the going gets a little rough for non-students of the law and its terminological mumbo-jumbo, especially when judges are busy trying to prove that white is black. But the surprising thing is that this happens so seldom. The credit belongs to Professors Emerson and Haber, who did a skillful job of editing and wisely did not limit themselves to court decisions but made use of the writings of political scientists, sociologists, journalists, philosophers, politicians and others.

USEFUL NOTES
The bibliographical notes are extremely valuable, citing articles

and books containing different aspects of disputed questions that come in very handy for those who want to investigate further. Even in a book of this size, of course, the whole field could not be covered; and some cases of interest to readers of The Militant (like the Kitcher case and the Minneapolis Smith Act trial of 1941) are dealt with very briefly. But the book does contain adequate treatment of the court decisions in the 1949 Smith Act trial of the Stalinists in New York, the Dorothy Bailey case, the New York Feinberg law, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee appeal against the "subversive" list, the film "The Miracle," etc.

SUPREME COURT

In a foreword, Robert M. Hutchins, associate director of the Ford Foundation, says: "Perhaps the best thing that can be said about the law in this field is that it is unsettled. . . anything may happen when a case involving civil liberties gets before the Supreme Court."

There is some truth in this view of the Supreme Court, although we can't concur in Hutchins' opinion that there is anything progressive in the essentially arbitrary ("unsettled") character of the courts' decision on political and civil rights. At any rate, the possibility that "anything may happen" when the Supreme Court

rules on civil liberties is a mighty thin reed to lean on.

As a matter of fact, the text of Supreme Court decisions since the beginning of the cold war in 1946 shows that what usually happens is a defense and a reinforcement of the witch hunt that is spreading into every corner of American life. Those who want to defend civil liberties should recognize that they cannot depend on the Supreme Court for reliable or consistent help and get down to the job of building a powerful, united, mass movement to defend the Bill of Rights against all its enemies, including most of the courts.

A SERIOUS LACK

One serious criticism that we would make of this book is the editors' failure to include any excerpts presenting the viewpoint of the Marxists on the disputed issues. It is true that the American Marxist movement has not yet produced a single, definitive study of civil liberties. But as the most active participants in the fight to defend the democratic rights that are now being assaulted by the ruling class, the Marxists have written much and pertinently on both basic and specific features of this question and their views should be made available along with those of their liberal and conservative capitalist opponents.

Jews Made Scapegoats by Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

ed as "an international spy, Zionist and Trotskyite." Each defendant, non-Jewish as well as Jewish, is linked in one way or another with "international Zionism."

All of them are charged with "recruiting and planting" in "vital sectors of the Party and State apparatus. . . Trotskyites, Zionists, collaborators, bourgeois nationalists, capitalists and kulaks."

In "vital industrial regions" the leading secretaries and functionaries of the regional committees and of the Party apparatus consisted almost exclusively of "Zionist and adventurist elements of the same type."

In addition to confessing a plot to "shorten the life" of Premier Gottwald, Slansky confessed to bringing about in 1944 "the death of Jan Sverma, national hero of the Czechoslovak people." Another defendant, B. Reicin, former Deputy Defense Minister, confessed to being "an old-time Gestapo agent who betrayed the members of the underground Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia, betrayed the editors of Rude Pravo and J. Fucik, the beloved patriot of the Czechoslovak people."

Jewish member of the Yugoslav leadership, Moshe Pijade. The former Israeli Minister of Czechoslovakia "Awriel Ehdud (Uebel), a prominent agent of the U.S. intelligence service" is listed as the chief contact man with Slansky and Geminder.

MASTER-MINDED BY TRUMAN, MORGENTHAU

The alleged plan for "large-scale utilization of Zionist organizations for espionage and other subversive activity in the countries of people's democracy," was laid "at a secret meeting in Washington in 1947" where "Truman, Acheson, Ben-Gurion — the present Prime Minister of Israel — Morgenthau, former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, (and another Jew) and Sharet, present foreign Minister of Israel, reached agreement" on their so-called "Morgenthau Plan" according to the Cominform paper.

The bulk of the "witnesses" appearing at the trial were of Jewish origin. The most lurid testimony hinged around the "Zionist conspirators." Every opportunity for dragging in Jewish names, or Jewish organizations, was seized upon. In his testimony, Slansky made reference to Anna Pauker, former Rumanian Foreign Minister, who has been purged there, who is also Jewish, but who has not yet been brought up on trial.

This by no means exhausts all the facts in the case. But it suffices to show that Stalin is now deliberately fanning and exploiting anti-Semitism.

HITLER'S WEAPON

The use of anti-Semitism in the Kremlin's foreign policy, principally in the Middle East, is clear enough. Here Stalin is playing the game of the most reactionary Arab elements and stands thereby to gain favor in their eyes.

But Stalin's use of the weapon employed by Hitler is in the first instance dictated by internal needs. The Kremlin is in dire need of scapegoats for the intolerable oppression which it has imposed upon the East European countries. In each of these countries, especially Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, there is latent anti-Semitism, easily exploited in the past and readily available for the present, Stalin obviously calculates.

How far Stalin will go on this road not only in Czechoslovakia but in other East European countries still remains, of course, to be seen. But it is already clear that the Czech frameup exceeds in its scope and consequences the previous set of "anti-Titoist" trials and purges in the East European countries.

better (?). They can't possibly get any worse." ***

400 PROTESTANT leaders urged President Truman Nov. 21 to halt financial aid to Spain and to bar any alliance until the Franco government ends the persecution of Protestants in Spain. They are trying to arrange a meeting with President-elect Eisenhower to give him the same appeal. The letter pointed out that Protestants "cannot practice as physicians, lawyers, teachers, or hold public office" in Spain. ***

A SURVEY of U.S. Government information activities abroad, conducted this month by 24 foreign correspondents of the N. Y. Times, has revealed that American propaganda is not accepted by the people in numerous countries, particularly Britain, France, Switzerland, Spain, the Middle East, Indonesia and the Philippines. ***

THE BRITISH are going to punish whole towns in their attempt to crush the Mau Mau independence movement in Kenya, East Africa. Compulsory registration of tribesmen and their families, permanent closing of schools considered "subversive" by the Government, ruthless police measures, have been decided upon. 2,000 head of cattle and more than 6,000 sheep and goats seized Nov. 10 from a "hostile and uncooperative" Kikuyu reserve and confiscated by the Government will be sold and the money placed in the Government's "general revenue." ***

"COLLECTIVE RETRIBUTION" against the rebellious Kikuyu tribes people by their British rulers has provoked sharp objections from the Labor opposition in the House of Commons. Laborite members called such collective punishment "un-Christian," "immoral" and "smacking of Nazism." ***

THE BOLIVIAN cabinet resigned Nov. 21. It was reshuffled the following day by President Paz Estenssoro who retained only six ministers of the former cabinet, including Juan Lechin, head of the Miners' Union. ***

DR. ARAUJO, who resigned as Venezuelan Ambassador to the U.S. in May 1952, declared in New York Nov. 22 that under the dictatorship of Lieut. Col. Jimenez, 4,000 Venezuelan citizens are in jail for political reasons, 2,000 have been sent to foreign countries as political exiles, outstanding Army officers have been assassinated because they opposed the present regime, over 800 political prisoners are interned in the malaria-infested Cuisinas Island concentration camp and many workers have been killed for criticizing this regime of terror. The forthcoming Venezuelan elections will be a fraud, Dr. Araujo warned.

Two Kinds of Prisons

By Harry Ring

There are two important institutions in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee. One is Oak Ridge, principal home of the atomic bomb. A short distance away stands another institution, far less known, but equally symbolic of the barbaric brutality of capitalist society. That's Brushy Mountain Prison.

At Brushy Mountain Prison, according to Oliver Pilat, of the N.Y. Post, slavery still exists. Men do forced labor in a coal mine. When they fall behind in their quota they are lashed. Prisoners sleep four to a crowded cell, in double-decker cots, without mattresses or blankets.

Frozen Head Mine, where the men dig the coal, produces over 120,000 tons a year, at a profit of \$200,000 for the state. The men receive 25 cents for every ton produced over the quota — up to a maximum of \$5 a week. At the end of the month, if they don't make the quota, they are taken to the "whipping rock." To make sure the strap will do its work, the whipping boss rolls it in the moist sand of the floor with his feet. Then operations begin.

The Hole (solitary confinement cells) at Brushy Mountain consists of cages, four feet square. The sole sources of light and air are pinpoints in the vault-like steel doors. Food is the traditional bread and water. Warden Freytag told Pilat, "When a man comes out of there he's half-stir-crazy, gaunt in the face, eyes sunk in his

head, and broke in his body and maybe his mind."

Brushy Mountain isn't the worst prison in America. Penal authorities say it isn't nearly as bad as those in Louisiana and Mississippi. But it does typify the worst features of American prisons. To find the best features of prison life, let's go to California.

The Institution for Men, at Chino, Calif., is the best prison in the country says David Dressler, ex-New York State Parole Director. According to him, a visitor feels he is entering a college campus. There are no walls. There is a profusion of flowers, grass and arbors for visiting with prisoners.

The discipline is virtually self-discipline. Cell doors are never locked. The guards are trained in judo, but unarmed. The men go to meals unescorted. The sole form of punishment is deprivation of privileges.

There are vocational training shops, staffed by licensed teachers. The courses offer official credits recognized by schools throughout the state.

There is no racial discrimination at Chino. Whites, Negroes, Mexicans and Chinese eat, sleep, work and play together. There has never been a serious incident because of this.

There has never been a riot at Chino. Chino demonstrates that the inhuman brutality, the official corruption, the attempt to grind men into dirt, are the root causes of the riots which have been occurring recently in so many prisons.

Debate on World Crisis

By Warren Porter

It is hard to believe that the flavor of an exciting public meeting can be put on the printed page. Yet that is what you will find in the September-October issue of the magazine *Fourth International*, which appeared on the newsstands last week.

The lead article is a debate between George Clarke, editor of the magazine, and three professors from New York University. This debate, which took place at the university, before a large student audience at the beginning of the election campaign, was on Marxism and the World Crisis. The debate was recorded and this article is the recording in print.

Naturally, Clarke was for Marxism and perhaps just as naturally, considering the campus witch hunt, Professors Anton Friedrich, Walter Wertheim and Elsworth Raymond were against Marxism. In addition to Clarke's lucid explanation of the world situation and the remarks of the professors there are the questions asked from the audience.

The printed page comes alive with the wit and laughter and conflict of a sharp debate. And the reader will share the audience's disappointment when the moderator points to the lateness of the hour and declares that the meeting is over.

An article of special topical interest in the current *Fourth International* is "Social Conflict in Indonesia" by Tjokro. This

analysis of the class struggle now going on in the young Indonesian Republic will give the reader the background to better understand the political demonstrations and switches of army command that are reported but not at all explained in the American daily press.

Another timely article is "Behind the Martyr-Tillon Case" by Michel Pablo. Observers learned from the unexpectedness of the Tito developments in the Yugoslav Communist Party that it is important to watch and attempt to decipher the goings-on in the mass Communist Parties of the world. While there is no ground for expecting a development parallel to Titoism in the huge Communist Party of France, yet there is great ferment in the ranks. The zig-zags of the party's program, the expulsions, suspensions and "self-criticisms," performed and unperformed, of the French CP leaders are the outward signs of the inner turbulence. Pablo subjects these happenings to a detailed scrutiny and draws a picture which not only makes the state of the French Communist Party comprehensible but shows what it portends for the future.

Other fine articles include "Capitalism and Democracy" by Harry Frankel, a critical examination of the latest trends in capitalist political theory, and "The Military Coup in Egypt" by S. Munir.

Notes from the News

THE TRENTON TWO, Collis English and Ralph Cooper, have won a new trial. The New Jersey Supreme Court, in ordering a retrial, unanimously reversed the life sentences given the two Negro men in a compromise verdict which acquitted four of the framed-up Trenton 6. The judges, however, did not rule out the so-called confessions which were sweated out of the defendants by police in five days of continuous grilling, intimidation and application of drugs.

19-YEAR OLDS to be drafted soon, is the report in the N. Y. Times. This is not expected to happen before the end of January.

POLITICAL ZOMBIE, Martin Dies of Texas, was brought back to public life by the success of the witch hunt. After political death, following his chairmanship of the House Un-American activities committee in the 1930s, Dies is back in Congress. He declares that he has a personal list of 100,000 "subversives," and will carry on an independent witch hunt if he is not granted a seat on the Un-American Committee. Dies promises to introduce legislation to enlarge the scope of the witch hunt "to include Socialists and all those who don't believe in our form of Government."

GERMAN FARMERS in village of Buettelborn have told U.S. Occupation authorities they will fight with "scythes and threshing flails" against U.S. Army attempts to requisition land there for an ammunition dump. A town meeting voted that they did not want "anything as dangerous as an ammunition depot" near their peaceful village.

IMPERIALIST SOLUTION for the poverty of Puerto Rico, U.S. possession torn from Spain in Spanish-American War, was offered by Bishop Homer A. Tomlinson, general overseer of the Church of God. He advocates that one-third of the island's 2,200,000 people move to other Latin American countries rather than migrating to the U.S., as many are doing, in search of work.

UNION SOLIDARITY was a major factor in the victory of the six-week Rice-Stix strike at plants in St. Louis and Farmingdale, Missouri and Water Valley, Mississippi. The strikers are members of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. In Water Valley the Mississippi National Guard was used in an unsuccessful attempt to break the strike. Over 700 AFL teamsters and warehousemen in St. Louis refused to cross picket lines around the Rice-Stix ware-

house. Warehouse bosses called up teamsters, buttonholed them on the street, arguing: "This is not your strike, you will not get anything out of it. Do you think the workers in Farmingdale or Mississippi would do as much for you?" The teamsters' steadfast reply was, "we aren't scabs." Details of the settlement will not be made public until the strikers have voted on them.

THE NAACP won a significant case in a federal district court in Virginia against segregation on interstate buses. The judge ruled that even though the bus was traveling from one Jim Crow state to another, segregation laws imposed "an undue burden on interstate commerce."

ROMAN EMPEROR MORE LIBERAL than the U.S. witch hunters is the conclusion of a student of the classics in a letter to the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*. The writer, in discussing the "loyalty" purges, quotes a letter written by the pagan Emperor Trajan 1,800 years ago to Pliny, who was a governor of a distant Roman colony, about the persecution of the "subversive" Christians. Though Trajan was all for the punishment of Christians, he told Pliny not to violate Roman liberties. "Information without the accuser's name subscribed must not be admitted in evidence against any one, as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, and by no means agreeable to the spirit of the age," the Emperor warned. U.S. Loyalty Boards and federal district attorneys use precisely this kind of "evidence," but then nobody ever claimed they were as advanced as Trajan.

I. F. STONE, columnist for the now-defunct N. Y. *Daily Compass* and author of "The Hidden History of the Korean War," has announced that on Jan. 17 he will launch a news-letter. It will be called *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, and will cost \$5 for a year's subscription. The address is: I. F. Stone's Weekly, Room 14A, 20 E. 35th St., N. Y. 16, N. Y.

REYNOLDS ALUMINUM CO. is protesting the local tax assessor's valuation of its Portland, Oregon, plant at \$7.3 million as too high. The plant has a replacement value today of \$50-60 million. It was built with taxpayers' money by the government at a cost of \$19 million and then sold to Reynolds for \$8 million.

15,300 MEMBERS of the UAW-CIO are today drawing pensions under union-negotiated contracts.

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THE MILITANT

Briggs Workers Battle Against Jim-Crow Hiring

By E. Logan

DETROIT — CIO auto workers at the Briggs-Connor plant are engaged in a running battle with management over discrimination against Negro women.

For some time men and women militants have been pointing to the company's violation of contract provisions on rehiring laid-off workers—who have seniority. Company policy was to hire new men and not to rehire women. The union leadership showed no enthusiasm for fighting to get back women workers who had been laid off after the war.

Finally tightness of the labor market forced the company to start hiring women. White women were re-hired. Negro women, however, were not.

The issue came to a head on election day. A key department walked out in protest over the discrimination. Two stewards then went to the company employment office to watch. There they discovered that application blanks were given to new women applicants but that colored women applicants were being told that there were no jobs for women.

MANAGEMENT RETREATS

Angered by this flagrant Jim Crow the stewards informed the rejected Negro women what was going on and together with them staged a protest in the employment office.

Management backed down and gave employment applications to all. The stewards further succeeded in forcing the company to send telegrams to nine Negro women who were entitled to be re-hired but had been rejected. The next day the nine women were re-hired.

Two days later the company instituted a speed-up in a different department. This was met by the line workers in the customary manner — a walkout. As the departments walked out one by one, management waited till the turn came of the department which had figured in the anti-discrimination walkout two days before. Immediately the Chief Steward of that department was fired.

Though the union officialdom put out a statement condemning the walkout, militant rank and file are determined to force the re-instatement of the Chief Steward.

The membership of Briggs-Connor Local 742 has consistently voted anti-Reutherite.

N. J. Radical Vote Fell Off Sharply Compared to 1948

NEWARK—Conservative moods and the widespread belief that the contest between Eisenhower and Stevenson would be settled by a narrow margin contributed to a big decline in the votes recorded for the minor parties in New Jersey on Nov. 4. Although there was a substantial increase in the total vote, only 30,000 votes were cast in this state for minority presidential candidates this year, as compared with 73,000 in 1948.

Reports from the 21 county clerks show that the biggest loss was suffered by the Progressive Party, whose presidential ticket fell from 42,683 in 1948 to 5,589 this year.

The Socialist Workers Party presidential vote also declined — from 5,825 in 1948 to 3,842 for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss in 1952.

The same trend was shown in the balloting for United States Senator. The combined vote of the minor-party candidates for this office four years ago was 50,000; this time it was only 20,000.

The Progressive vote for Senator fell from 22,658 to 17,167. The Socialist Workers Party candidate, George Breitman, who got 8,076 votes in 1948, got 5,088 this time.

Other office SWP candidate for office in New Jersey, William E. Bohannon, running for one of the state's 14 congressional seats, received 1,750 votes. In 1950 he got 883 votes for the same post, and in 1948 he got 2,387.

A History of Economic Theories

From the Physiocrats to Adam Smith

BY KARL MARX
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Framed Unionist's Family



Aiding in campaign to free jailed United Electrical Workers strike leader, Harold Ward, is his family shown above. Ward is being tried on a murder charge which his union claims was framed to disrupt the strike of Int'l Harvester Co. workers. See story on page one.

UNIONS EXPRESS FEARS ON REPUBLICAN REGIME

(Continued from page 1)

ample Richard Gosser, Auto Workers' Vice-President, writes in the *Toledo Union Journal*: "As for the entire labor movement, I am sure it will fight with every ounce and every weapon at its disposal against every proposal... aimed against the rights of workers..." And Charles J. Smith, a district director (west coast) of the steelworkers' union with a reputation for brains and ability somewhat higher than that of the average steel union official, is reported by *Fort Facts* to have said that labor will fight attacks "with all we have..." The White House and the new Congress will continue to hear our wants. We'll shout them loud and often."

BLIND ALLEY
The Democratic support policy of labor has actually run into a blind alley. When the Democrats won, the labor leaders supporting them found themselves tied to a party which was steadily retreating down the same reactionary path indicated by the Republicans. When the Democrats lost, the labor leaders found themselves in a weakened and semi-independent state, and now face an incoming Republican regime with all defenses weakened by 20 years of toadying to Washington.

But the worst dead-end resulting from the Democratic-support policy of the labor leaders is the absence of perspective. Labor may suffer electoral set backs here and there even when it has its own party, but it will not suffer a total loss of perspective in so doing. It will have the self-confidence that comes from a powerful and growing party of labor, whether in office or in opposition. It will be able to ask the whole population to back such a party as one which can open up a great new future for the American people, in contrast with the Democrats who only offer the same thing as the Republicans.

DON'T GIVE THE ANSWER
Such militant remarks are all right as far as they go. The only trouble is, they don't answer the big strategic questions of labor's coming battles. They don't even pose those questions. They don't consider, for example, how labor will make any gains or hold its own under a Republican setup that it considers hostile when it has been losing ground under a Democratic administration that it considered "friendly." They don't tell just what labor's strength consists of, and how it may be mobilized in a more successful manner on both the political and economic fields.

For example, a columnist in *Justice* plays the all-wise sage, and pontificates as follows: "It has been a hard and painful lesson... But if it awakens many trade unionists — and many trade union leaders as well — from the political apathy induced by prosperity, it may in the end be worth while."

This is all very well, but our expert fails to instruct us in just one thing: What should labor learn from the election and what should it do next? Insofar as this writer and others like him in the labor press have any answer at

(Continued from page 1)

post-war machinery already agreed to at Panmunjom." Gen. Eisenhower has declared himself for "voluntary repatriation." The N. Y. *Times* presented on Nov. 21 "disclosures" by "persons familiar with the views" of Eisenhower and his Secretary of State Dulles that both are "very skeptical" about the chances of a truce. "Dulles feels that the Communists would find something else if the Korea prisoner issue were settled."

U.S. RAISED ISSUE
But it was not the Communists who raised this issue. It was the U.S. The very term, "voluntary repatriation," was invented for the occasion. It was first interjected into the negotiations in Dec. 1951. Lindsay Parrott, Far East correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, wrote on Jan. 2, 1952, that "voluntary repatriation" is "a new departure in the history of warfare."

Walter Lippmann, top political commentator of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, at that time pointed out that the U.S. initiated and signed, along with 58 other countries, the Geneva Convention of 1949, which was expressly designed to repudiate "voluntary repatriation" because of the "prolonged detention by the Russians of the prisoners they had captured and

their refusal to return so many of them on the ground that these men preferred to remain in the Communist world." Lippmann conceded, "It is plain that the treaty does not contemplate the problem we now have before us in Korea... There is not a word in the treaty about voluntary repatriation."

The U.S. military command last April claimed to have taken a poll of 170,000 Chinese and Korean prisoners and that 100,000 said they would "forcibly resist" repatriation "back to Communism." This poll was exposed as a fraud when tens of thousands of prisoners of war violently resisted attempts to get their "vote" on "voluntary repatriation." *Time* magazine described the "poll" as a "serious mistake" with the figures "in some cases a rough and ready guess."

To return Chinese prisoners of war to China, if they object, is "morally intolerable" and the U.S. insists on "voluntary repatriation" on "humane grounds," said the N. Y. *Times* editorially.

BATTLE CASUALTIES
The humanitarian U.S. rulers who find "involuntary repatriation" so "morally intolerable" are responsible for the more than 27,000 U.S. battle casualties in

Criminal Hearing Lifts the Lid on N.Y. Democrats

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Nov. 26 — The old American adage about capitalist politics being "a dirty business" is something of an understatement, to judge from the parade

of thugs, goons and political crooks of the Democratic machine who testified last week at the hearings of the N. Y. State Crime Commission.

Their testimony reads like the script of "The Senator Was Indiscreet." A member of the William Connelly Political Association testified to his appointment as a judge's clerk. He reported to work about four days a month and regularly split his \$240 take-home pay with the secretary of the club because he thought it would be "a very nice gesture."

Another ex-district leader testified ruefully that he was deposed from his Tammany office because "The boss didn't want me anymore." The "boss" of Tammany Hall at the time, he explained, was Frank Costello. Costello, reputed to have been the overlord of the New York underworld, is currently doing a stretch at Atlanta.

THIRSTY

Alfred Topf, former Tammany District Leader, appointed Chief Clerk of the Board of Elections in 1948 by Frank Sampson, now patronage dispenser for the Honorable Mayor Impellitteri, was revealed to have been fired as a Prohibition Agent, for the alleged theft of 4,900 cases of liquor.

Tammany leader Carmine Desapio testified that in 1944 his draft board classified him as "2-A — essential non-defense employment." Earlier in the day he

Militant Bazaar Offers Rare Buys

NEW YORK — The Militant Bazaar, to be held Dec. 6 and 7, will feature women's fall and winter clothing priced substantially below wholesale cost.

Corduroy, jersey, velvet, and plaid wool skirts originally priced from \$7.45 to \$22.50 will sell from \$3 to \$8. A wide selection of blouses in the \$5 to \$15.95 bracket will go for \$2 to \$5.

An attractive line of fall dresses, in all sizes, will be marked down to one third of their original selling price. Slacks, sport shirts, pedal pushers, jackets of the latest cut, all will be offered "for a song."

In addition there will be a wide variety of jewelry, leather goods and curios collected from all parts of the world. A new feature of this year's bazaar will be an attractive selection of unfinished modern book cases, coffee and cocktail tables priced to meet any competition.

The bazaar will be held at 116 University Place, New York. The doors will open promptly at 3 P.M. both days. Closing time on Saturday will be 12 midnight, and Sunday 8 P.M.

The Commission, picked by Republican Governor Dewey, hasn't displayed any particular interest in the Republican Stable. Leads pointing to Republican officials are cynically ignored. They don't want a good thing to go too far,

testified that he was unemployed in 1944. The value of knowing the right people at City Hall was borne out at the hearings by convicted gambling chieftain Frank Erickson. During his ten month stay at Rikers Island prison he received 184 "bench" visits, including one from his tailor. "Bench" visits, without the customary annoyance of being separated from the visitor by a screen are usually permitted to clergymen and attorneys on business. There were a total of 186 such visits to the other 2,400 inmates during Erickson's sojourn there.

In addition Erickson was assigned a soft job in the prison hospital, with better food and living quarters. All of this was done, according to the warden, on orders of Correction Commissioner Albert Williams.

Throughout the hearings, names of eminent public officials constantly cropped up such as Federal judge Thomas Murphy, Federal Judge Irving Saypol, United States Attorney Miles L. Lane, former General Sessions Judge F. X. Mancuso, Mayor Impellitteri, and a host of others.

For the most part these names were involved in the testimony of Thomas (Three Fingers Brown) Luchese, reputed successor to Frank Costello, Vincent Rao, and Joseph "Socks" Lanza. Rao, a self-described "real-estate operator," has been arrested five times on assorted charges of homicide and grand larceny. He beat each rap. Lanza has a record as long as his reputedly powerful right arm.

A number of witnesses testified to offers of municipal judgeships for sale at \$15,000 to 25,000 each. The job pays \$13,000 a year for ten years. One witness, 76 years old, explained that he turned down an offer "because of my age."

According to testimony, a Tammany official declared in 1945 that the leaders "were getting too hungry and ruining the party by asking \$100,000 for a Supreme Court Judgeship." But the Commission's enquiries into the affairs of Aaron J. Levy, former Supreme Court Justice, indicates that the price may have been about right.

In addition to pointing up a whole series of highly irregular matters, the Commission's compilation of Levy's "known cash receipts and disbursements" during the past five years alone show an income of over \$326,000. Of this known income there was a matter of \$80,000 that neither the Commission nor Levy could explain.

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State Dept. Maneuvers in UN on Korea Truce

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BATTLE CASUALTIES
The humanitarian U.S. rulers who find "involuntary repatriation" so "morally intolerable" are responsible for the more than 27,000 U.S. battle casualties in

Korea since the POW issue was first raised. These same moralists have carried out "scorched earth" war fare that has slaughtered and maimed millions of Korean civilians. They have engaged in wholesale massacres of helpless prisoners of war on Koje Island and other prison camps.

The "voluntary repatriation" issue was contrived not on moral or humane grounds but for future advantage in counter-revolutionary warfare. "Large numbers of the prisoners in the U.N.'s hands surrendered because they were told they could thereby free themselves from Communist control," claims the Nov. 23 N. Y. *Times*. "Thus... if the West now turns these prisoners back to the Communists, it would permanently deprive itself of one of its most powerful weapons in the struggle with communism."

The Nov. 24 *Christian Science Monitor* writes that "from Peking, capital of Communist China, come reports that the government radio has 'welcomed' the Indian proposal..." This proposal contains the very proposition that U.S. negotiators put forward as most likely to prevent a truce. If the Chinese turn down the India plan, the responsibility lies squarely with the U.S. imperialists who have been doing all they can to keep the Korea war going.