

SWP Threatened With Violence By SIU Officials

NEW YORK — Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the Seafarers International Union, has responded to The Militant's exposure of his gangster-ridden regime in the SIU by gangster threats against the Socialist Workers Party. Phone calls by Hall's agents, and one suspected to have been by Hall himself, have been made threatening raids and physical violence on the SWP. These calls followed a meeting of the New York branch of the SIU where a lynch atmosphere against Trotskyism was worked up by the officials and a motion was jammed through declaring the SWP "dual and hostile" to the SIU.

These threats are typical of the way the SIU officialdom practices "democracy" inside and outside their union. Out of a clear blue sky, the SIU membership was presented with a six-page tirade against Trotskyism in the Nov. 4 Seafarer's Log. The following issue of the union paper continued with some drivel about Trotsky and Kronstadt and viciously lumped together the Trotskyists and the fascists. But no sooner had The Militant picked up these attacks, exposing the reasons behind them, than the SIU officials left the plane of "discussion" and went over to methods they feel more at home with — threats, violence and police methods.

RED HERRING

This sequence of events proves to the hilt that the attack on Trotskyism was nothing but a "red herring" drawn across the trail of as sordid a reign of dictatorship, strikebreaking, cannibal unionism, and extortionate methods against the rank and file as exists in any union in the country.

We demonstrated that John Mahoney, a veteran of the 1934 strike, was expelled from the Sailors Union of the Pacific, West Coast division of the SIU for merely questioning the strike-breaking actions of Lundeberg and Hall in the Canadian Seamen's Strike. In addition to

Mahoney, the members of a defense committee organized in his behalf in Seattle were also thrown out of the union. These facts have not been answered — except by threats.

We demonstrated that Lundeberg, Hall and Co. have followed the practice of cannibal unionism as a means of "solving" the unemployment problem in their ranks. They've classified as "dual and hostile" not only the SWP but also the CIO National Maritime Union, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, Marine Firemen's Union and Marine Cooks and Stewards Union.

WHAT WE HAVE SHOWN

The SIU shipped strikebreakers aboard the struck ships of the Canadian Seamen's Union when that union was engaged in a world-wide battle with the Canadian shipowners.

The SIU officials sent replacements aboard the SS John Franklin of the Isbrandtsen Line last October when the ship was struck by the Marine Engineers Union.

The SIU officials ran the only (Continued on page 4)

EISENHOWER AGAIN HITS SECURITY--FOR WORKERS

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, professional militarist who doubles as an "educator" in his \$25,000-a-year presidency of Columbia University, has emerged as the likely

Republican candidate for United States President on the program of opposition to government-sponsored social reform.

The "academic" general who has lived off the government most of his life and rates a \$15,000 annual pension from the Army, is carrying the banner against what he calls "an illusory thing called security" — meaning old-age pensions, unemployment compensation, health insurance and similar benefits demanded by the workers.

Last week Eisenhower took his campaign down South, to Galveston, Texas, where he appealed for the support of the States Righters by assailing a "paternalism" that he claims threatens to turn this country "into a nation of kept men and women." He was not referring to the military caste, capitalist politicians and coupon-clippers.

A high-point of his speech was an invitation to the wage-earners and farmers to "go to prison" if they are seeking security. "If all

that Americans want is security, they can go to prison," proclaimed the General. "They'll have enough to eat, a bed and a roof over their heads."

THREATENS "REVOLUTION"

He crowned his reactionary attack on welfare measures for workers' families with the threat of forcible overthrow of any government that genuinely protects the well-being of the people. That is what he really meant when he expressed the "hope" that "we may never come to a point where we must rise up and by revolution make sure that we have no centralized government or centralized bureaucracy."

Eisenhower's threat of "revolution" — that is, counter-revolution — against any government that restricts the "freedom" of the monopolists to despoil the people, repeats the threat made by banker John Foster Dulles in his tirades against the "welfare state" during the Republican leader's recent unsuccessful campaign for election as Senator from New York.

The kind of "revolution" Eisenhower was propagating down South isn't proscribed as "subversive" by the Attorney General and FBI. It's the kind Hitler, Mussolini and Franco made — or the slave-holding Confederacy whose spiritual heirs Eisenhower wants to join with his banker-industrialist sponsors in backing his presidential candidacy.

This is the "great leader" who might be president of the United States today if the union leaders, particularly the CIO, had been successful in their campaign last year to have him named as the Democratic presidential candidate.

The Crisis of the Marshall Plan

By Joseph Keller

The Marshall Plan is in a grave crisis. This is reflected in the demand by Paul G. Hoffman, Economic Cooperation Administrator, that the Marshall Plan countries "integrate" their economies on pain of withdrawal of American finances. Senators and Congressmen returning from European junkets speak bitterly about the perspectives of the European Recovery Program and wonder out loud if it wouldn't be a good thing to ditch this costly scheme to salvage European capitalism with American dollars.

From the start, we Marxists have predicted that the Marshall Plan, in so far as it is designed to stabilize Western Europe's economy, must founder on the rocks of capitalist contradictions. This is now affirmed by foreign correspondent Michael L. Hoffman, writing from Geneva, in the N. Y. Times of Dec. 10 and 12. The headline on his first article summarizes the situation:

"Marshall Plan, a Success, Faces Paradox of Failure."

The writer points out that the title "European Recovery Program" as applied to the Marshall Plan is "more or less obsolete," if by "recovery" is meant a restoration of production to the pre-war levels. On this basis, he shows, the "job had been completed in two years instead of four." But the higher the production figures, the more alarmed the leaders of the participating countries are becoming.

THE "CHRONIC PROBLEMS"

"Without exception," says Michael Hoffman, European and U. S. officials and statesmen "close to the inside workings of the Marshall Plan feel that it stands at the point of peril and is in imminent danger of failing." He cites a recent statement of ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman that even the "brilliant success" in terms of more production will leave Europe "in only

precarious balance" by 1952, when the present ERP ends.

For, the Times correspondent points out, the underlying aim of the Marshall Plan was not "a mere restoration of production to some obsolete pre-war standard," but to make Europe "independent of extraordinary outside assistance" — that is, independent of huge handouts from America. But at the peak of "brilliant success," the Marshall Plan must now "look squarely at the chronic problems of European economy."

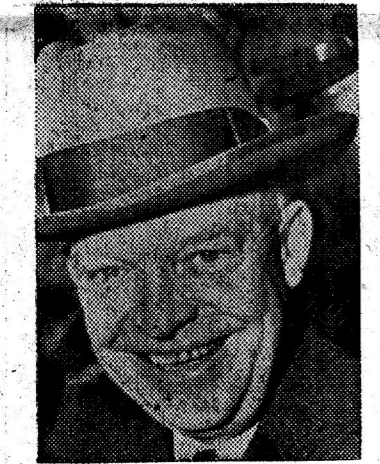
The significant fact is that "production was showing signs of slackening off because of breakdowns in the machinery of the market." Thus, "before any significant improvement in living standards could be achieved for the masses of Italy and France, 'overproduction' was being discussed in the steel industry of the North of Europe. Efforts to liberalize trade were meeting adamant resistance from economic groups feeling themselves en-

titled to permanent protection in their own small markets."

In short, the European capitalists cannot escape restriction of the markets, both internal and foreign. Expansion of production means sharpening competition. And where production comes up against the narrow bounds of the market, it must be cut off or result in a glut — "overproduction." This is a classic contradiction of capitalism as described by Karl Marx himself. It operates as an iron law even in an impoverished Europe and world crying for the necessities of life — but unable to buy because of the limitations of a profit-motivated economy.

NOT SOLVED IN U. S. EITHER

The clamor of the American officials for "free markets" and the "integration" of European economies meets only a cynical response from the seasoned and wily European statesmen, Michael Hoffman points out in his second (Continued on page 3)



GEN. EISENHOWER

Large L. A. Audience Hears Dunne on Civil Rights Tour

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 12 — "In the struggle to retain civil rights from vicious government attack, the greatest danger of all comes from those who lead the labor movement and take their orders from the State Department." This was a central point in the lecture on "Labor and Civil Rights" delivered here yesterday by Vincent R. Dunne, now on tour for the Socialist Workers Party.

Before a large and attentive audience Dunne pointed out that the current purge in the unions is directed not only against the Stalinists but the militant opposition as well. He was just as unsparing in his analysis of the Stalinists.

"Murray, Reuther, Lundberg, Tobin and Green take their orders from the boss-controlled State Department while the Stalinists take their orders from the un-speakable betrayer and traitor in the Kremlin. Neither group represents the interests of the working class."

He also lashed the Stalinists for their foul record in the civil rights struggle. In contrast to the SWP's defense of all the victims of the witch-hunt, including the CP, he reviewed the contemptible actions of the Stalinists who gave the government "critical support" in its persecution of the 18 Trotskyist leaders in Minneapolis and whose only criticism was that the sentences imposed on the Trotskyists were not long enough.

"WORKERS ARE STRONGER"

"The attack on civil liberties in the labor movement is part of a many-pronged drive in preparation for another world war," Dunne warned. "It goes into all the educational institutions of the country, down even into the high

schools." Stressing the need for a counter-offensive, he declared: "Don't deceive the workers into believing that the whole reactionary drive will somehow pass away. A difficult fight faces us, the enemy is cruel and strong, but the workers are stronger. Our duty is to speak the truth now, to encourage and weld together every center of opposition, within the unions, on the campus, and among all those who want to fight for every democratic and civil right."

Dunne was interviewed by the Sunday Times, and both a story and picture were printed. A welcoming social the same evening attracted a large audience to celebrate his first visit to this city since 1942.

Murry Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles Local, had this to say of Dunne's visit here: "The SWP Local in Los Angeles has been given a real boost by Comrade Dunne's visit. Following the very successful tour of Comrade Stein, it has served to continue and accelerate the Party Building Drive. Comrade Dunne's warm personality, his boundless energy and devotion, his long experience and Marxist training, have been very inspiring to our whole movement here and especially to the group of young workers and students who have met him for the first time."

(See Page 2 for another story on the Dunne tour.)

Have you sent in your contribution to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund?

Clark Broke Law -- Will He Go to Jail?

At the Coplon-Gubitch trial in New York, the presiding judge has ruled out as illegal all evidence obtained by the FBI through wiretapping and intercepting mail. The FBI admitted wiretapping and furthermore that it had been authorized by Attorney General Tom Clark, now sitting on the Supreme Court. Wiretapping is a federal offense punishable by two years in prison and a fine of \$10,000. The question is: Will wire-tapper Clark be prosecuted?

Whose "Welfare State"?



Kostov "Treason" Trial Backfires on Kremlin

By John G. Wright

The Sofia "Treason" Trial was intended by its behind-the-scenes organizers in the Kremlin to be nothing more than a carbon copy of the Budapest "Treason" Trial which had been staged without a hitch in September. Except for minor changes in the script, the location and leading personnel — with high Bulgarian party and government officials taking the place of their Hungarian predecessors in the defendants' dock — everything else was to remain virtually unchanged.

The Bulgarian indictment was in the main identical with the Hungarian; the routine of "confessions" was pre-arranged and the main defendants were once again the dissident Yugoslav leaders, absent from the court room. But something unexpected happened. This time the frame-up machinery blew up in the faces of its operators.

The chief defendant at the Sofia trial, former Vice-Premier Kostov, who was also former secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, second in prominence only to the late Dimitrov, retracted his "confession."

Except for a few minor charges, Kostov denied everything. He denied being an "agent of imperialism" or a "police informer" or "conspiring" with Tito, that is, he denied the gist of all the charges against him. He persisted to the end in his denials. His final remarks were drowned out in hisses and catcalls; his own "defense" attorney denounced him and sought to admit his client's guilt for him. This hysterical procedure illustrates what an irreparable blow has been dealt to the Moscow frame-up artists by Kostov's stubborn refusal to play his rehearsed role.

IRONICAL TOUCH

Ironically enough, it was this same Kostov, now accused of "Titoism," who delivered the main report at the Cominform meeting 18 months ago when Tito and his colleagues were expelled.

One denial and one admission by Kostov cast a glaring spotlight on the economic and political reasons behind Stalin's new series of judicial frame-ups. Kostov flatly denied working with the Yugoslavs to form a Balkan federation. On the other hand, at Budapest Rajk readily ad-

mitted working for a federation of Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Let us recall that this plan was publicly backed by Dimitrov himself a few years ago and just as publicly vetoed at the time by Stalin's Pravda.

Both the Budapest and the Sofia trials make it clear that it is now a capital crime to favor, let alone work for, the establishment of a Balkan Federation, which was one of the traditional Socialist slogans even in the days of the old Second International.

The extent to which the Moscow bureaucracy is despoiling Bulgaria economically is of course (Continued on page 3)

Bosses Demand Contractual Right to Fire "Subversives"

By Art Preis

The "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist have become a major threat to the job security of workers in private industry. This menace has reached the point where employers have begun to demand

clauses in union contracts permitting them to fire unionists on political grounds.

An ominous example of this development came to light last week when a meeting of CIO United Auto Workers Local 669, representing some 5,000 workers at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant near Paterson, N. J., indignantly and unanimously rejected a contract in which the company had inserted a clause giving management the right to fire any worker it accused of belonging to a "subversive" organization whose alleged aim is violent overthrow of the government.

The 2,800 workers at the meeting denounced the clause as an invasion of their civil liberties. International UAW representative Gabriel de Angelis declared he would not sign such a contract and claimed that the UAW would "make a national issue of the clause and attempt to bring additional pressure to bear on the company to remove it."

The demand of the Wright corporation — a prelude to similar employer demands throughout industry — aims at a far-reaching extension of the "loyalty" purge already instituted by the military brass hats in so-called "sensitive" plants and industries engaged on government contracts. If the proposed Wright contract becomes a pattern it will give the corporations direct power to kick out workers on political pretenses without reference to whether these workers are engaged in allegedly "sensitive" work involving mili-

tary security. Any worker on any kind of work could be fired.

PART OF WIDE DRIVE

This is but one phase of a Big Business-Big Brass scheme whose ultimate aim is to undermine the unions and impose virtual military rule over the workers in preparation for the war which American imperialism is planning.

Just two weeks ago the Defense Department announced new regulations to strengthen and extend its purge of "bad security risks" from the plants. These regulations provide for the firing of workers not only having "membership in or sympathetic association with" organizations on Truman's "subversive" blacklist, but who even do "not possess the integrity, discretion and responsibility essential to the security of classified military information." Any unionist a company wants to get rid of could be placed under the latter broad classification.

Even before these new regulations were announced, numerous union militants had been fired as "poor security risks." The most recent case was the dismissal of six strike leaders at Bell Aircraft in Buffalo as "subversive."

LEGISLATIVE DEMAND

Legislative measures to extend and deepen the "loyalty" purge in industry — measures hitting at the unions directly — are being cooked up in Washington. Frank Taverner, counsel for the House Committee on Un-American Ac-

(Continued on page 4)

ILGWU FACES REPRISAL FOR OPPOSING O'DWYER

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that the campaign inside the unions to suppress those accused of holding "communist" views has a logical development of its

own. If union bureaucrats can dictate what political opinions may not be held, it is but a step to dictating what views must be held.

Last step is being taken in the AFL Central Trades and Labor Council in New York City.

It was revealed last week that Martin T. Lacey, president of the AFL central body, had demanded the resignation from its executive board of two leading members for refusal to support Tammany Hall's candidate, Mayor O'Dwyer, in the recent city elections. They are Joseph Tuvin, representative of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and William Wolpert, executive secretary of the United Hebrew Trades. Tuvin complied on Nov. 28, but Wolpert's resignation has not yet been submitted.

The demand for their resignations resulted from their support of the Liberal Party's campaign for the Republican mayoralty candidate, Newbold Morris. The ILGWU, which is headed by D. Dubinsky, an AFL national vice president, is the main union base of the Liberal Party, a split-off from the American Labor Party. The AFL Central Trades and Labor Council had joined with the CIO Council in New York to back O'Dwyer.

DUBINSKY'S HOPE

Dubinsky, who was in London when the reprisal against the ILGWU and its representative took place, stated that it is "unthinkable that the Central Trades and Labor Council would try to impose its political views upon its affiliates through the acceptance of Mr. Tuvin's enforced resignation. I am hopeful that the council will respect the inherent right of all unions to make their own

political decisions by refusing to accept this resignation."

The CIO — in which Dubinsky's political co-thinker Walter Reuther plays a leading role — has gone the farthest in making the "right kind" of political views a condition for enjoying full rights.

At its last convention, the Murray machine put over a constitutional amendment to deny the right of any member of the Communist Party or "other totalitarian organization" to hold CIO office and to remove those accused of such association from the National Executive Board.

LOGICAL EXTENSION

This policy finds its logical extension now in the New York City AFL, where leaders like Martin T. Lacey dare to deprive a powerful union like the ILGWU of its rights because it refused to support strikebreaker O'Dwyer, candidate of the notorious Tammany Hall and the Catholic hierarchy.

David Dubinsky is by no stretch of the imagination a radical. He is a hard-boiled representative of business unionism, a zealous proponent of capitalist politics with a Social Democratic coloration. But he decided to act a little "independent" and back a "reform" candidate in the last municipal elections. That was enough to evoke repressive action.

From suppressing "communists," to suppressing anyone whose political views and actions differ from that of the leadership; from removing non-complying leaders to expelling non-complying members; from what you can't believe to what you must believe — this is the road to totalitarianism, inside, as well as outside, the labor movement.

What Attitude Ought We Take on Pension Issue?

[ED. NOTE: The following article is a contribution toward the discussion of the issues raised by the recent struggles over pensions and other welfare demands. Readers of *The Militant* are invited to participate in the discussion by submitting their suggestions and proposals.]

By Milton Alvin

The issue of retirement pensions for workers is having a profound impact and influence upon labor-management struggles at the present time. Aside from our criticism of the shortcomings of the steel and Ford settlements and acceptance of Truman's "Fact-Finding" Board's proposals by the labor leaders, criticisms that were entirely valid, I feel that *The Militant* has taken a largely negative attitude toward the pension issue itself.

The idea of retirement pensions for workers has deep-going implications. It poses the question of a re-division of the national income on a wide basis. Whereas heretofore this income was divided between exploiters and exploited to a large extent we now have the probability that a sizable section of the working class will receive part of this income without being directly involved in the process of production.

This factor was recognized by Senator Taft recently and he was quick to propose that pensions be

financed out of earnings, that is, that their cost be placed on that section of the workers that remains in employment. The N. Y. Times of Nov. 30 was quick to agree. At the same time the Times characterizes the steel settlements as having "opened Pandora's box."

President Wilson of the General Motors Co. has proposed that the government take over this problem. His idea, of course, is also to increase the payroll contributions of the workers to finance the proposition. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that this will be the line of the capitalist class in order to get out from under.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

The question that faces the workers is who is going to carry the burden of financing the pension payments whether they are in their present form or eventually are taken over entirely or nearly so by the federal government. Murray made a stab at getting non-contributory pensions but in the end gave in part way. But

the idea that pensions should be financed out of profits and not out of wages is a popular one among the workers and was the sole basis for their solidarity in the steel strike despite the meagerness of the demands.

Other questions arise as a result of the present struggles. We see the workers' organizations approaching this problem in different ways. The miners have an industry-wide plan. The steel workers are settling with the corporations on a separate basis. This is likely to be done in auto too. In Toledo, however, the auto union is attempting to get an area-wide plan to include about 125 companies, most of them small ones and many of them not even remotely connected with the auto industry. There is no uniform program. The position of the union leaders appears to be to get a pension plan in any old way they can.

Yet all these plans — industry-wide, company-wide or area-wide — are worked out in such a way that the eventual cost to the corporations will be passed on to the consumer and the workers will pay for it themselves in the long run. It seems to me that we can advocate a program to give concrete effect to the workers' desires to see these plans financed out of profits.

WHAT WE SHOULD PROPOSE

Our program should call for an increase in the present payments by the federal government to be financed entirely out of increased payments by employers only. No increase in payroll deductions. We should advocate increased coverage so that all workers become eligible for pensions upon reaching retirement age. Similar proposals should be made for a health program. Union control of the program should be demanded. While these measures will not necessarily place the entire cost upon the employers, who will still be able to pass it on, the struggle to defray the expense out of profits rather than wages will have a highly progressive character.

Pension agreements such as those recently negotiated in steel and at Ford's bring up other questions. The unions are now responsible for maintaining the standards of the retired workers, thereby widening their base. Will the retired worker retain his membership in the union? This question has already arisen in Detroit. I believe we must take a position that once a worker has retired he cannot retain his union membership and have an equal voice with those workers still in the plant in making of policy. There will be too much of a temptation to give up conditions in the shop in favor of concessions to the retired workers.

UNION OBJECTIONS

A prominent AFL official in Toledo told me recently that his union does not look favorably upon the present pension demands because (1) They tend to tie the workers to their jobs; (2) the older worker will not fight to defend job conditions when he knows he only has a comparatively short time to retirement. I have heard similar objections from other AFL people. However, all of these are turning to the idea of demanding higher federal payments as a solution to the problem.

Finally, I think if we take positive position on the questions of pensions and health programs along the above lines, we can bring some clarity into the present confusion. (I omitted to mention above a reduction of the retirement age, which we should also advocate.)

Join Rights Struggle, Dunne Urges Workers in Bay Area

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 8 — Vincent R. Dunne, veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has just completed a series of meetings in the Bay Area on the burning

question of civil rights. Now on national tour for the SWP, this pioneer Trotskyist is playing a powerful role in broadening the fight to maintain the civil and democratic rights of the American workers.

In his San Francisco meeting Dunne analyzed the causes of the growing witch-hunt and red-baiting drive. "In the first World War," he pointed out, "workers enlisted with enthusiasm. A young man could not walk down the street without being stopped by the patriotic women who demanded to see his draft card. Things were different in the second war. The man who could delay his induction was considered a 'smart guy' and before the echoes of the atomic bomb had died away the soldiers were demanding to be sent home. They practically demobilized themselves.

"The Wall Street rulers of this country," he concluded, "learned a lesson from this. They know they cannot embark upon a third World War of world conquest without first trying to bring the labor movement and the working class to heel."

In his radio interview on KPFA, Dunne was able to compare the role of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis trial with that of the Stalinists at Foley Square. "In the Minneapolis trial the Stalinists urged the government on. They demanded that we be given life sentences or even hanged. Now these same Stalinist leaders who called for our prosecution are convicted under the same Smith Act and we call for their defense. We stand for the civil rights of all, regardless of any difference we may have with them."

Speaking off the campus of the University of California, Dunne gave full credit to those professors and students who opposed the "loyalty" oath now being imposed by the University administration. He showed how the demand for "loyalty" oaths was a part of the whole drive to make the very names "Socialism" and

"Communism" hated words in this country.

The vicious activities by the labor bureaucrats who, on orders from the State Department, are trying to stamp out every vestige of democracy in the unions was fully analyzed by Dunne in his meeting in Oakland. "Instead of fighting the Taft-Hartley Act, they utilize it to conduct raids on other unions, thus weakening and dividing the whole labor movement. Here in Oakland we see a typical example of that. Dave Beck has moved in on a strike of the retail clerks and signed a contract with the employers. Full credit must be given to the workers who are resisting this raid."

GROWING RESISTANCE

"This drive against civil and democratic rights is bound to build increasing opposition from the ranks of labor, liberals, intellectuals and professional people," Dunne concluded. As examples, he cited the Harper's article by Bernard DeVoto entitled "Due Notice to the FBI," and the case of John Mahoney of the Seattle Branch of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. "John Mahoney got up on the floor and asked a question about union policy. Lundeberg expelled him for it. Mahoney organized a defense committee and put out a paper called *The Defender* appealing to the union members for support. Lundeberg then expelled the defense committee. But the fight is continuing. It is fights like this that will turn the tide against the bureaucrats and lackeys of imperialism."

In addition to his busy schedule of meetings, Dunne found time to hold fruitful discussions before party branches and with members on party and union problems. The benefit of his rich experience, gained in over 40 years of socialist and labor activity, provided the comrades with inspiration to step up their work in the fight for civil and democratic rights so necessary to the continued existence of a vigorous and fighting American working class.

"Militant" Display in Minneapolis Headquarters



When the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party organizes a campaign, the comrades set out to do it right. The picture shows the large bulletin board in the Minneapolis headquarters at 10 South 4th Street decorated during the recently concluded national subscription drive for *The Militant*. The campaign was a success, Minneapolis scoring 227% of its quota and together with the live-wire St. Paul branch accounting for 264 points, the highest in the country.

The Perfidious Record Of Stalinism in Greece

By George Lavan

On October 16 the "Free Greek" radio announced that the "Liberation Army" had laid down its arms. This was the culmination of Stalinism in Greece. Since the days of the Nazi occupation the Stalinists have had complete control of the Greek mass movement and they have led it to complete and ignominious failure. Not because the enemy was stronger but because Stalin's plans never included victory for the exploited masses of Greece. The socialist aspirations and boundless heroism of the Greek workers and peasants were so much small change to Stalin to be used in his diplomatic poker game with Anglo-American imperialism.

It is now known that at Yalta, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill divided the Balkans into spheres of influence. The Kremlin got Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria; and Great Britain got Greece.

YALTA DEAL ACCEPTED

The Kremlin agents heading the Communist Party of Greece dutifully accepted the assignment of that unhappy country to the British sphere of influence. Their highest aim was a few cabinet posts. The adoption of this policy was indicated at the July 1945 plenum of the Greek CP Central Committee. Its secretary, Zachariades, said, "We are one of the most important and sensitive strategic points, on one of the most vital arteries of communication of the British Empire. As long as the British Empire exists this artery must exist and England will do everything in its power to hold it. The liberation movement has engaged from the very beginning in sincere efforts aimed at agreement and collaboration with England and to aid her in overcoming the great difficulties, the crisis which she is encountering in the Mediterranean."

This supplies the key to Stalinist strategy through all the phases of the fighting in Greece. During the war a powerful resistance movement against the Nazi occupiers grew up around the Stalinist-led EAM. The workers, peasants and impoverished middle classes deserted the capitalist political parties en masse. Instead of developing this great mass movement the Stalinist leadership encouraged nationalism, spread illusions about the Atlantic Charter and the desirability of a "popular and socialist" regime in coalition with the discredited capitalist parties.

When the German army withdrew, the whole country was in the hands of the EAM. As Leland Stowe and other correspondents testified, the EAM could easily have taken power. And British

LEON TROTSKY

FASCISM — What it is — How to Fight It. 48 pages, price 15c. A compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky on fascism, including:

1. The Tragedy of the German Proletariat
 2. The Collapse of Bourgeois Democracy
 3. The Perspective Ahead in the United States.
- Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS

officers admitted the British army would "never have been able to set foot in Greece" had it not been for the compliance of the EAM.

Even after the British commanders had shown their open intention to smash the popular movement and install reactionaries and former quislings in power, Rizospastis, official Greek Stalinist paper, continued lulling the masses with phrases about "our great British allies," "the historic Atlantic Charter," and "Teheran and Yalta. When unarmed Greeks including women and children had been shot down in the streets and when British battleships were shelling the workers districts of Piraeus and Athens, Rizospastis wrote on Dec. 17, 1944: "It has happened . . . this astonishing fact, this unbelievable fact, that an undeclared, but actual, war exists between the great British Empire and the small Greek people . . . at our side, however, we have that great Anglo-Saxon nation, the United States."

Even before the Nazi withdrawal, the Greek Marxists were warning the EAM what the Allied landing would bring. Here is what *The Proletarian*, Greek Trotskyist paper, said in its Jan. 1943 issue: "The Anglo-Americans will come not to liberate us, they will come to aid their ally, the Greek bourgeoisie, to regain power, to put us back again under [Kirk] George of Glucksburg. When they arrive they will replace our present yoke with another. The great exploited masses of our country have nothing to expect of the Anglo-Americans. Nothing except new calamities and new chains."

The Stalinist answer to the sober warnings of the Trotskyists was a merciless campaign of extermination. Hundreds of Trotskyists were murdered by GPU-led bands.

Even with the open attack of the British army on the EAM the situation was far from lost. The masses were so aroused that with a mighty surge they drove back the British and their Greek puppets until all of Greece was in their hands save for three square miles in central Athens. Then the Stalinist leadership, faithful to their master's secret agreement at Yalta, disarmed the Greek people. An agreement was reached at Varkiza by which the EAM turned over its arms to the enemy.

This was accompanied with promises of honest elections. The result is known to all. The period of "truce" preceding the "honest election" was a period of white terror. Executions, murders and imprisonments of suspected EAM supporters took place wholesale. The Stalinists declared a boycott of the "free" election for which they had disarmed the masses; the reactionaries rode into office.

THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

The guerrilla movement which started up after this terrible defeat of the working class was a defensive rather than offensive movement. EAM supporters fled to the hills to escape assassination. The Stalinists, abandoning the workers' movement in the great cities, oriented themselves on these guerrilla bands and formed them into the Democratic Liberation Army headed by Gen-

eral Markos. This movement soon declared itself the government of Greece.

For Stalin, however, this "Free Greece" government and the guerrilla army were simply another pawn in his diplomatic game. When Tito broke with the Kremlin, the leadership of the guerrilla army was ruthlessly purged. General Markos, disappeared, as did many members of the top committees. The army ranks were decimated.

Stalin's plans now were to liquidate the struggle of the Greek Liberation army against Athens and, perhaps, deploy these forces against Yugoslavia. Diplomatic trial balloons were sent up from Moscow hinting that the civil war in Greece could be ended — for a price. It was done gratis.

The Stalinist press throughout the world is now blaming Yugoslavia for the inglorious liquidation of the Free Greek army. This lie is undoubtedly being spread through the ranks of the former Greek partisans in the hope that it will find some believers and kindle their hatred against Tito. The unfortunate members of this army, betrayed by Stalin, are on the way to becoming his mercenaries. They cannot return to Greece where monarchist firing squads await them. They are in exile in the Cominform countries where refusal to follow Stalinist orders also means the firing squad.

TWIN CITIES, ST. LOUIS JOIN LIST OF 100%ERS IN SWP FUND CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey

Flint Branch still holds top place with 102% of its quota in the Socialist Workers Party campaign for a \$12,000 Party Building Fund. When the Flint comrades rang the gong, they challenged one and all to try to meet that mark. St. Paul-Minneapolis and St. Louis moved right in, fulfilled their quota 100%, and now share the spotlight with Flint.

In addition to these top-bracket scorers, 16 other branches upped their percentages this week, raising the national total to \$8,493 as of Dec. 13, which is 71% of the national quota.

The race is getting hot among Toledo, Cleveland, the Bay Area and New Haven. Toledo is ahead of schedule with 87%; but New Haven only needs to reach way down deep in the old sock for that five spot needed to put them over the top.

Boston and Philadelphia both came through this week with payments that boosted their totals to 78% and a tie between the two branches. Which one is going to rob Santa Claus and take the lead in the home stretch?

A special delivery from Buffalo and a well-timed payment from Seattle pushed these branches up to 75% and another tie.

Chicago, running in a heavy field, shook off some of the mud this week and forged ahead with a \$17 payment. "This brings our total up to \$287," writes Comrade Marvel, "which begins to make our goal appear realizable."

Comrade Carl reports that Pittsburgh will "have a social to raise the balance before Dec. 31." Another \$44 is needed. Coming at Christmas time, the motto of the social will be, of course, "It is

better to give than to receive."

Detroit Branch boosted its percentage considerably with \$126. Last week Los Angeles soundly defeated the alarm. They were comfortably far behind schedule. This week a \$200 payment came from the Los Angeles Local. The alarm bell is starting to get results!

Another weekly check from Youngstown — this one for \$45. The Youngstown comrades, hard hit by the strike, are doing their best to get their quota filled IN FULL AND ON TIME.

Contributions from friends of the party increased the "General" quota to 75%. During the week W.B.C. of New York sent in \$2; Mrs. K.W., Minneapolis, donated \$1; W.L.M., Michigan, \$1, in addition to renewing his *Militant* subscription; C.G., Detroit, \$1.70; J.R., Canada, contributed \$.37, saying: "Sorry it isn't more but this is all the American money we had;" C.H., Oregon, \$10.

An anonymous contribution came from San Mateo, Calif., with a request that it be credited to San Francisco-Oakland. Boston Branch has likewise been credited with \$5 sent in by Mrs. D.T.H., at her request.

H.A. of Chicago sent in \$1.30, commenting: "Yes, as a reader of *The Militant* and my experience of life's struggle, I know that if it were not for the courage of people like the Socialist Workers Party, we all would live in the dark ages. Therefore, I appreciate very much your courage and patience to fight and educate the workers midst all the bureaucratic leaders in the AFL and CIO and the capitalistic propaganda on the radio and in the press. But the facts of our bitter struggle prove we are right and give us courage to carry on."

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 204	102
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
Toledo	75	65	87
Cleveland	250	207	83
San Francisco-Oakland	800	666	83
New Haven	25	20	80
Boston	200	155	78
Philadelphia	800	467	78
Buffalo	500	376	75
Seattle	200	150	75
New York	3,000	2,176	73
Chicago	400	287	72
Pittsburgh	150	106	71
New Britain	30	21	70
Morgantown	25	17	68
Detroit	1,100	732	67
Akron	100	65	65
Newark	350	229	65
Los Angeles	1,500	775	52
Allentown	50	25	50
Milwaukee	250	119	48
Worcester	40	19	48
Lynn	75	26	35
Youngstown	400	121	30
General	705	529	75
TOTAL through Dec. 13	\$12,000	\$8,493	71

Purge of Soviet Culture

In the December issue of *Fourth International*, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism:

1. The Purge of Soviet Culture. Who flew the first plane, the Wright brothers or Alexander Mozhaisky of Czarist Russia? Who invented the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell or Gregory Ignatev of Czarist Russia? Is it necessary to revise the encyclopedias from end to end? Why is the Kremlin making such ludicrous claims to Russian priority in human culture? Why is the Kremlin glorifying the barbarous regimes of the Russian Czars? Why are they now rewriting the history of backward, benighted, autocratic Russia of the feudalistic Czars after re-writing the history of the October 1917 revolution?

Read the answers in this informative article. Ernest Germain, prominent European Trotskyist, probes the political motives for the witch-hunt in the USSR since the end of World War II against musicians, poets, artists, writers and scientists and contrasts Stalin's attitude toward the intellectuals with that of Lenin and Trotsky.

2. Mao Tse-tung's "Revolution." A report from Hong Kong by Hsieh Yueh, one of the Trotskyist leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Chinese section of the Fourth International. Facts about Stalinist policies discussed and evaluated in the light of Marxism.



3. Herbert Aptheker's Distortions. As in the USSR, so in America the Stalinists distort and falsify the record of the past. J. Meyer shows how race prejudice and Stalinist politics guide the hand of Aptheker in his presentation of the role the Negro people played in winning their emancipation from slavery. The true story of their struggle is quite different from the Stalinist version, as Meyer proves in the most convincing way. If you are an active participant in the struggle for full equality, put this article on your must list.

4. Bureaucracy and Stalinism in the CIO. The editors draw the balance sheet on the role of Stalinism in the CIO and point out how the agents of the Kremlin paved the way for the triumph of the Murray bureaucracy.

5. Money Utopias of the "Welfare State." Will the money theory of John Maynard Keynes work? John G. Wright gives them the Marxist test. Keynes did not originate them, he shows; but picked them up from Proudhon without acknowledging Proudhon's priority. Wright then demonstrates why Proudhon's nostrums won't work any better when formulated by the modern economic astrologer of capitalism than they did a century ago.

6. Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Middleheads. Leon Trotsky's answer to ultra-left objections to fighting for an independent Soviet Ukraine sheds considerable light on the present-day relationship between the Great-Russian Soviet bureaucracy and the countries of Eastern Europe. Trotsky explains why peoples dominated by Moscow seek their independence and why it is the duty of Marxists to help them in their struggle. This rare article, written on the eve of World War II, makes timely reading today.

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- Toledo — Dec. 27
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- Flint — Dec. 29-30
- Detroit — Dec. 31-Jan. 2.
- Cleveland — Jan. 3-4.
- Akron — Jan. 5.
- Youngstown — Jan. 6-7.
- Pittsburgh — Jan. 8.
- Morgantown — Jan. 9.
- Buffalo — Jan. 12.
- Rochester — Jan. 13.
- Buffalo — Jan. 14.
- Boston — Jan. 15-16.
- Lynn — Jan. 17.
- Worcester — Jan. 18.
- New Britain — Jan. 19.
- New Haven — Jan. 20.
- New York — Jan. 21.
- Philadelphia — Jan. 22-23.
- Allentown — Jan. 24.
- Reading — Jan. 25.
- New York — Jan. 26.
- Newark — Jan. 27.

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Monday, December 19, 1949



TROTSKY

"Technical science liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements — earth, water, fire and air — only to subject him to his own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies, in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses on invisible waves with the Antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the Needs of mankind." —Leon Trotsky—Copenhagen Speech, '32.



LENIN

Labor Unity--Imperialist Style

The 260 hand-picked union bureaucrats at the so-called Free World Labor Conference last week concluded their London sessions by forming the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions around the resounding slogans of "Bread" and "Freedom" and "Peace." These indeed are the aspirations of the 48,000,000 workers the new ICFTU claims to represent. But slogans are all they will get from the ICFTU.

This international confederation is a conglomeration, so far as the avowed individual programs of the different national organizations are concerned. The American union officials are blatantly pro-capitalist (AFL and CIO); most of the British and French claim to be "socialists" (Trade Union Congress and Workers Force); even pro-clericalists of the Roman Catholic Church (Belgian Christian Union) have joined up. What is the tie that binds them?

They are all pro-imperialist. They are all anti-communist. They are all supporters of their respective capitalist governments. Not a single delegate to this conference of "Free Trade Unions" was a free agent.

The chief inspirer and sponsor of this conference was Wall Street's State Department. The single objective of the new organization is to combat and split the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions and to line up the work-

ers behind the military alliance of Wall Street and the Western European capitalist regimes.

In 1944, the international politics of the Allied powers required the pro-imperialist and pro-Stalinist union chiefs to collaborate. Most of the unions in the new ICFTU, including the CIO, compliantly formed the WFTU with the Stalinists. Today the international politics of the imperialist countries requires a cold war against the Soviet Union. So the pro-imperialist union leaders obligingly find that the Stalinist-dominated unions are not free and that a new anti-communist international is needed.

Where do the needs and the interests of the workers come in? If these were the prime concern of the union leaders everywhere, then the international unification of organized labor would have been accomplished long ago. But the AFL and CIO leaders have failed to join forces in their own country to fight for the common needs of the American workers. Is it believable that they have combined on the international field for no other purpose than to defend the workers of the whole world? No, the only thing that brought the AFL and CIO officials together in London was their common submission to Washington's foreign policy and dictates. The correct name for the ICFTU is the International Confederation of Labor Lieutenants of Imperialism.

The Elections in Australia

After a reign of 14 years the Australian Laborites have been turned out of office by a coalition of avowed capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Country Party. There are so few countries in the world today where capitalists are able to rule in their own name that this shift to the right in Australia and previously in New Zealand has provided a source of unbounded gratification to capitalists reaction everywhere. The editors of the N. Y. Times deliriously hail the Australian results as "an event of major world importance."

The program of the Australian Laborites was not a Socialist program at all but simply one of mild capitalist reforms, milder even than in Britain. Their conservative capitalist opponents were able to offer the voters virtually the same program, pledging to retain all the "social services" and promising to do everything the Laborites have done but much more "efficiently" and "cheaper."

This demagoguery plus the fact that a sufficient number of people had become demoralized or disgusted with the 14-year rule of the Laborites sufficed to swing the parliamentary scales in favor of the conservatives.

The Australian episode underscores once again the role played by reformist

politicians. When it becomes impossible for the capitalists to rule in their own name, the reformists step in and carry out policies that the mass of the people never would have accepted at the time from capitalist politicians.

They never go beyond a few minor reforms including "nationalizations" of branches of industry which the capitalists themselves are no longer able to run profitably. They run the country for the benefit of the capitalists; they repress the struggle of the workers, up to and including breaking strikes as they recently did in the strike of the Australian coal miners. Meanwhile the capitalists use the breathing spell to reorganize their forces and to blame "socialism" for the continuing evils of their own system.

Reformist policies solve nothing precisely because they never go beyond the framework of capitalist relations. And for this same reason they invariably play into the hands of capitalist politicians, paving the way for their return to power. The Australian reactionaries owe their current triumph exclusively to the Laborites; and they have repaid them for all their past services in the traditional capitalist way, namely, by booting them out of office.

To Our New Readers

The November subscription campaign conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party for The Militant was a full success. To our hundreds of new readers, we extend a cordial welcome.

Many of you found it difficult to subscribe. When you're unemployed even a fifty-cent piece looks mighty big. But we think you will find The Militant the best investment you ever made.

Our aim is to make America a land of plenty. This can be done by ousting the big bankers, the profiteers and their political hatchet men. American industry can then be run at top capacity and expanded to pour out a flood of goods — enough for everybody to live a life of ease and comfort. A change-over like that from capitalism to socialism will end the danger of another world war too, because socialism operates for peace, not war. In a Socialist America we can root out the evil prejudices that make life miserable for minority groups. End fear of poverty and insecurity — and jealousy, envy and hatred will wither away. All this and much more can be accomplished if we make America socialist.

The Militant aims to help accomplish this. Our big job at present is to spread

the truth about capitalism and its defenders, to show how practical socialism is and to help the working people get organized to make the change-over. You can rely on The Militant for the truth because there are no powerful financial interests behind us to order us to cover up the crimes of capitalism. We depend on the nickels, dimes and dollars of people like you to keep going.

Some of you may find it hard to understand everything in every article at first. Because we don't have much space, facts and ideas are often condensed. Besides, we don't look at things the same way the capitalist newspapers do. But it will not take you long to grasp the Marxist outlook. Big happenings that used to puzzle you will become crystal clear. A new way of life can open up for you, filled with rich understanding of our times and the possibility of making your own weight felt in deciding the great issues facing the world.

When you have read a few issues and become better acquainted with The Militant, let us know your impression. Letters from readers are published in a column called the "Workers Forum." We shall be glad to hear from you.

Why Stalin Bestowed A Marshal on Poland

By Pierre Frank
The Poles clamored desperately for a Marshal who could give them an army capable of guarding the Oder-Neisse frontier against the revenge-seeking Western Germans; with his habitual generosity, Stalin the Great has made the Poles a gift of one of his Marshals and the friendship between the Polish and the Russian peoples is now greater than ever: Delegations are pouring into the Soviet Embassy at Warsaw to express the gratitude of the Polish people! Such is the Stalinist explanation of why Soviet Marshal Rokossovsky has been appointed Poland's Minister of Defense.

Actually this measure was not at all designed to provide the Polish army with competent instruction in the art of war; such services are rendered as a rule without any loud publicity and without such counselors entering the government.

The measure itself is so extraordinary that Stalin would have hesitated to take it, if he had a choice. Why then is he obliged to impose upon Poland, which in pre-war days has known the rule of colonels, the regime of a Marshal? The explanation is to be found in "the leading role of the Soviet Union" in the evolution of the "buffer" zone since 1945. A brief survey will make this clear enough.

THE POLICY IN 1945

At the time of the "liberation" the Kremlin, in order not to alienate its imperialist Allies and in order to extort the maximum booty from these countries, reached an agreement with the remnants of the native ruling classes and ordered the Communist parties to collaborate with them. The Yugoslavs were told: There must, above all, be no revolutionary struggle for power. In Rumania King Michael was kept on the throne and even decorated with the Order of Lenin. In Bulgaria an agreement was reached with the pro-fascist officers' organization. In Poland a government was formed not alone with Mikolajczyk, Washington's tool, but also with the members of the "National Democratic Party" (the worst anti-Semites in pre-war Poland).

NO ONE TO TRUST

It is therefore not possible to see the end of purges: Whoever finds himself in power and seeks to apply the Kremlin's policy must fall subject to mass pressure and even the worst of bureaucrats finds it difficult not to try to conciliate the masses. The

friendship with Roosevelt and Churchill.
But the imperialists wished to regain their foothold in these countries and the Kremlin could not permit economic sectors of these countries to serve as props for the property-owning classes oriented toward the U. S. There ensued an era of purges. King Michael had to leave Rumania; the politicians of capitalist and Social Democratic parties had to keep their mouths shut or be eliminated. After the destruction of the capitalists and the landlords, it was only a question of Socialism marching from one victory to the next.

EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS

And then the most extraordinary things began to happen. At a time when "Socialism" was recording one triumph after another, it was discovered that Yugoslavia was dominated by a clique of "spies" and that prominent CP leaders in the "buffer" zone — Kostov of the Bulgarian Politbureau; Gomulka, secretary of the Polish CP; Rajk, secretary of the Hungarian CP; Xoxe, secretary of the Albanian CP; Patrascanu, secretary of the Rumanian CP — were likewise "agents of imperialism," "spies" and the like.

It is superfluous to ask why, when occupying such high posts, they were utterly unable to carry out any of their sinister plots and why these maladroit criminals now admit everything before the "People's Courts." Everybody knows that these trials are intended to terrorize all those who try to resist in any way whatever the Kremlin-dictated policy of exploitation and spoliation.

The Moscow bureaucracy is not interested in Socialism but in its own privileges and in order to reinforce these privileges it is concerned only with draining the Eastern European countries.

CRISIS OF MARSHALL PLAN

(Cont. from page 1)

article. They correctly argue that Washington is demanding the solution of European problems "that, from the European viewpoint, the United States has not solved itself."

Thus, while the U. S. urges the Marshall Plan countries to lower their trade barriers "even if, temporarily, it hurts protected domestic interests," the U. S. Department of Agriculture, "despite solemn international agreements, says no butter can be imported so long as butter is 'surplus' at home. European economists and business men are not so naive as to believe that all Americans eat all the butter they want."

NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION

And this is what makes all talk of "integrating" European economy on its present capitalist foundations plain nonsense. European capitalism is utterly shattered as a viable economic and

picture of the Stalinist heresy-hunt is clearest of all in Bulgaria. Here more than a dozen Ministers have fallen by the wayside, including Koniov, a Soviet Marshal of Bulgarian origin and according to Yugoslav reports (which have generally proved accurate) the power in this country has actually been wielded for many weeks by Soviet Marshal Bulganin.

As a consequence of the purge there is a dearth of personnel. For the last 15 months in Poland Bierut has been filling two posts, that of President of the Republic and that of Secretary of the Workers Party. Thus in a country with a population as large as that of France, Stalin has not been able to find two men trustworthy enough to fill each of these functions since the day when Gomulka was eliminated and the crisis was precipitated. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent in 15 months that Stalin found himself obliged to send in a ranking Soviet officer.

SENT TO RULE

Hastily naturalized as a Polish citizen, this Marshal who apparently doesn't speak Polish and who has, in any case, gained the dubious glory of halting the advance of Soviet troops before Warsaw and giving Hitler time enough to crush the Warsaw commune — this Marshal will be nothing more than a simple Gauleiter. It is not to set the Polish army in order but to rule Poland that Stalin has assigned Rokossovsky to Warsaw. No one, least of all the Poles — all of them, if they had the opportunity to express themselves freely — would have asked for this gold-laced "son of Poland."

This odious measure of the Kremlin bureaucracy is not a sign of strength, but just the contrary. The revolt of the Yugoslavs is a signal for the workers and peasants throughout Eastern Europe. Military victories gave the Stalin regime a breathing spell. Now the signs of the crisis of Stalinism are multiplying. Stalin can appoint as many Marshals as he wishes to maintain "law and order" in Warsaw and elsewhere. But the hour of his successes has passed.

Crisis of Marshall Plan

sign labor or any one of a dozen other things supposed to make imports a threat to the American way of life.
The Marshall Plan billions, which restore to a certain extent the productive capacities of the European countries, are also a means for compelling these countries to buy up America's "surplus" goods. Western Europe has become a forced market where American capitalism can dump products that it cannot sell to the underpaid workers in this country. But to buy, Europe must sell — and it cannot sell to the United States. This is the "paradox."

social order. American imperialism with all its billions cannot restore it; it can only light the fuse for new explosions.
The peoples of Europe correctly see in the Marshall Plan only a measure to reestablish the old reactionary order that has already brought two World Wars, economic depression or ruinous inflation, and intolerable repressions. They see themselves again being prepared as cannon fodder through a program of militarism that is the other side of the coin of the Marshall Plan. And they see Europe, in the end, permanently tied with economic fetters to the great Wall Street colossus.

The nations of Europe can thrive once more only on the foundations of socialism. Their national boundaries which throttle economic revival can be broken down, their productivity can be permanently raised only if the workers take power and establish a Socialist United States of Europe.

"TREASON" TRIAL IN SOFIA BACKFIRES ON THE KREMLIN

(Continued from Page 1)

one of the Kremlin's deepest "state secrets." That the opposition to this predatory policy must be widespread is indicated, among other things, by the large number of Bulgarian officials connected with the top economic bodies who figured at the Sofia trial.

Among them were: the former Minister of Finance, the former Vice President of the State Economic and Financial Commission, the former director of Foreign Trade, the former Governor of the National Bank and the former director of the tobacco monopoly (tobacco is one of Bulgaria's chief exports).

Seen in this light, a new and exceptionally important aspect of the Budapest and Sofia "treason" trials comes to the fore. They are designed not only to promote Stalin's attack on Yugoslavia but also to ensure that the satellite countries remain economically confined within their respective national borders and subjected to ruthless exploitation for the exclusive benefit of the Soviet bureaucracy. Whoever opposes or even doubts this counter-revolu-

tionary policy must go the gallows.
It is becoming clearer with every passing day that the scope of the purges in Eastern Europe is matched only by the monstrous blood purges that accompanied the original Moscow frame-ups in 1936-38.

In Czechoslovakia among the latest to be lopped off are the editor-in-chief of Prague's daily Rude Pravo and the deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. A recent attack by Premier Gottwald on the trade union leadership signals a purge among these functionaries as well.

The repercussions in Western Europe continue to increase in intensity. The Norwegian CP has now been split in two. In France the long-rumored purge was officially launched last week by a Central Committee resolution.

If you have not yet sent your contribution to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund, do it now!

WALLACE SPEECH SHOWS WHY HIS PARTY FAILED

By George Breitman

Many militant workers and youth who supported the Progressive Party in preference to the Socialist Workers Party last year did so on the ground that, whatever shortcomings the Progressive Party program suffered from, at least it was a "mass movement" and therefore able to decisively affect the course of political events and perhaps even elect its candidates.

But the Wallace movement's influence declined sharply between the time it was organized and election day in 1948 and, as every member knows, it has declined even more disastrously in the year since then. It is time for serious members of the Progressive Party and the Young Progressives of America to discard illusions about the mass character of their movement and to study the reasons for its debacle — that is, to critically re-examine its program, ideology and philosophy.

Why the Wallace Movement Failed

The basic reasons for the failure of the Wallace movement were pointed out long ago by the Trotskyists. There is need and room and a successful future in this country for a third party that is based on the union movement and embraces the mass organizations of poor farmers, Negroes, youth, etc. — in other words, an independent Labor Party. But the Progressive Party is not, was not and did not want to be that kind of organization. Instead, it deliberately sought to be and was a third capitalist party, created in isolation from the organized labor movement and dedicated to a program which called for the reforming (that is, preserving) of capitalism and was hardly distinguishable from the demagoguery of the Truman Democrats.

The leaders of the Wallace movement owed their followers an explanation for the debacle, but all they ever gave — the non-Stalinists as well as the Stalinists — was cheap and worthless boasts about the "victory" they had won in compelling Truman to adopt more radical-sounding promises. To this day Wallace himself continues to express all of the false ideas that guaranteed the bankruptcy of his movement. A typical example was the speech he delivered on "The True Meaning of Religion in the Modern World" at the Community Church Forum in New York on Dec. 4.

Wallace contends that the trouble today is that "a false religious attitude grips the hearts of millions of our people." He says that "there is no basis for economic or political understanding until there is more of an understanding in the religious field." He calls for an "old-fashioned, common-sense American religion" which will concern itself not only with the lot of mankind on earth but will also reach out "toward the unknowable and inexpressible." Here we intend to examine only the political aspects of his speech (although it would be profitable for Progressives and YPA members who regard themselves as materialists to consider the implications of his views on religion and to ask themselves whose interests they serve).

Sees "Great Possibilities" in Capitalism

Capitalism is the root cause of the social, political and economic evils which Wallace deprecates, but over and over again he makes the point that he is not opposed to capitalism. "Each of the three [communism, Catholicism and 'capitalism'] has its good points and no true, well-informed American would want to see any of the three eliminated from the world picture," he says, adapting himself, perhaps unconsciously, to the charge of the witch-hunters that there is something un-American about desiring the abolition of capitalism.

Continuing on this theme, he says: "I have faith in the possibility of capitalism and Christianity serving the common man in the United States and the world better and better." Furthermore: "In the United States, capitalism still has great possibilities for human service provided only that it will plan with government to eliminate the alternating cycles of boom and bust and provided it will underpin the economic structure with wage policies which will continually enlarge the market and prevent depression."

That is like saying a man-eating tiger would make a nice pet "provided only" that it will change its ways and stop being a man-eating tiger. (As a matter of fact, a tiger might be trained to change its diet but the concept of capitalism without boom and bust truly belongs in the realm of "the unknowable and inexpressible.")

But Wallace is not talking with tongue in cheek; he really believes that capitalism will reform itself. For as he says in his peroration: "We in the U. S. will continue with our capitalism but we shall gradually modify it to make it serve the welfare state."

Favors "Welfare State" Too

On the fundamental issue, therefore, Wallace takes the same stand as Truman. And it should be noted that although Wallace's speeches contain more radical phrasology about the evils of capitalism than Truman's, Wallace does not hesitate to borrow from Truman such catchwords as "the welfare state" any more than Truman hesitated to borrow popular slogans from Wallace in the 1948 campaign.

Of course Wallace is critical of "the welfare state as proclaimed in Washington" because it depends on appropriations obtained by intensification of the cold war. What Wallace wants, he says, is a "genuine welfare state," which "must be administered through the United Nations" and "can be ushered in for the world only when capitalism in the United States is modified, Communism in Russia is modified and Christianity abandons its medievalism," etc. But the difference between "a welfare state" and "a genuine welfare state" is so narrow that it is no wonder the Wallace movement continues to dwindle in numbers and influence until even its staunchest advocates today are beginning to recognize that it has no independent function or future.

[Another article in next week's Militant will discuss other aspects of Wallace's program, including his views on Marxism and on the class nature of the party he is trying to build.]

Just Arrived
Quatrieme Internationale
(Oct.-Nov.) (In French)
P. Frank: The Rajk Trial
S. Munir: The Middle East Since the War in Palestine
M. Pablo: Evolution of the Yugoslav CP
E. Germain: Purge of the Soviet Intellectuals
Hsieh-Yueh: Chinese Stalinism and other articles, editorials and book reviews
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Stalin's Birthday

By George Clarke

You have to go back into the blood-stained annals of despotic governments — from Byzantium to the Romanoff dynasty — to find a parallel for the preparations now being made for Stalin's 70th birthday. Even then it is doubtful that the records will show the staging of so vast and elaborate a spectacle of leader worship, mass humiliation and obeisance before the head of a state.

From Korea in the Orient to the Russian zone in Berlin, the Charlie McCarthys of the new Russian autocrats have dropped to their knees in an orgy of praise for the master-butcher in the Kremlin. He is being hailed in superlatives hitherto reserved by the priests for supernatural idols, for Jesus, Buddha, Mahomet. It is a measure of the bottomless degradation of Stalinism that it dares append the terms "socialism" and "communism" to this revolting spectacle.

Three million portraits and colored posters of Stalin will soon be plastered throughout the Soviet Union carrying such slogans as "Stalin is the people's happiness," "Stalin brought us up — for the loyalty of the people and inspired us to labor and deeds." The Russian State Musical Publishing House is issuing 45 song collections with titles like "Thanks to Comrade Stalin" and "You are our hero."

Needless to say, not one iota of this adulation springs from sentiments of respect or admiration or gratitude. Fear — and fear alone — is the motive that sends this campaign to its piercing shrill pitch. Heads are rolling in Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria. The frame-up machinery of the GPU is working at top-speed in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany. Fear grips the scientist, the writer, the artist, the composer fettered by the medieval codes of the Kremlin. They must join in the chorus to Stalin, "The Coryphaeus of World Science" — "The theoretician and initiator of the transformation of nature in the USSR." Fear grips the worker in the satellite states groaning under the heel of the Russian overlord. He must join the chant to Stalin, "theoretician and leader of the fight for peace and brotherhood among peoples." There is no abstaining from this birthday party; the punishment is too swift, too ruthless.

In the history of earlier despotisms, the anni-

versaries of the monarchs — birthdays, marriage, birth of an heir — were often the occasion for a show of liberalism and leniency. Sometimes for an amnesty for political prisoners, sometimes for a lightening of the tax tribute to the state, sometimes for a relaxation of harsh government decrees.

Just the opposite is the case under Stalin today. The whip cracks harder. New production quotas are set for Russian factories. Czech, German, Polish workers are pushed at an ever faster pace. The starving peasant and home-worker in Rumania and Bulgaria toils far into the night to fill boxcars with gifts for the creator of "happiness" and "light" in the Kremlin.

There is no joy over Stalin's birthday in the concentration camps and forced labor battalions of Russia. Not in the factories of Prague where union conditions have been eliminated. Not in the uranium mines of Silosia where the life of miners is expendable for the Stalinist overseer. Not among the people of Rumania — men, women and children who are forced like feudal serfs to labor on the roads. Not among the survivors of Belsen and Dachau in Eastern Germany who see Hitler's little fuhrers and storm troopers locked in the loving embrace of Stalin's disciples.

Or go beyond the borders among the Greek partisans who were traded like small change in Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers. Or among the Yugoslav masses fighting against the imposition of a Russian yoke. Or among the workers anywhere else. Their birthday greetings are written in curses, in anger, in hate. The synthetic campaign of love and gratitude organized by the Kremlin cannot blot them out.

Lenin's last words — Remove Stalin! — are now the secret program of millions. When that program is realized, when the Kremlin gang is overthrown by its million-headed proletarian and revolutionary opponents, when Soviet democracy is restored — then and only then will there be a genuine celebration. Stalin himself will occupy the stage of that celebration as he stands before the bar of working class justice to answer for his innumerable bloody crimes against the working people of Russia and of the whole world. That will really be the occasion for a party.

The Water Shortage

By Joseph Hansen

You can't turn on the radio in New York the past few weeks without hearing about water. The reservoirs are drying up and there's no relief in sight.

The capitalist system is really going to hell in a jet plane when it reaches the point it can't even guarantee you a drink of water in the largest and richest city in the world.

However, the capitalist politicians have swung into action. You get singing commercials about stopping that bathroom drip. Newsreels show you how to wash dishes in a pan instead of under a running faucet. Take a shower instead of a bath and watch that tap when you clean your razor.

The city officials are considering installing meters and instituting water "vacations." The pressure will be cut down. Maybe we'll be rationed.

Finally, the clergy are out in full force invoking the aid of Heaven and mobilizing the faithful to pray for rain.

All this will help, I am sure. With practice, New Yorkers long accustomed to taking water for granted will be surprised at what they can accomplish.

In Nevada I have seen a 210-pound hard-rock miner brush his teeth, shave, wash his face and keep a geranium thriving in the bunkhouse window on a cup of water a day.

In Mexico in outlying districts, the water comes on about 7 A.M. and lasts until 8, if the supply is up. You fill a bucket for drinking, the pots and pans for cooking and the bath tub for flushing purposes.

Mayor O'Dwyer could profitably investigate the efficiency of water systems at these backward levels of capitalism and maybe surprise even the hardened Manhattan sophisticates with something new.

As to the New York clergy, I recommend they study Mormon methods of praying. In San Pete County, Utah, I have seen praying bring on thunder, lightning, a hail storm and a cloudburst within three Sundays after the town really got fervent. Praying like that is dynamite.

The Zuni Indians, still a few thousand years behind capitalism, have got it down to an even surer thing. They go for weeks on end, winding

everything up so tight that finally the sky doesn't have any choice but to let loose; and then they go slithering on their bellies in the mud, yelling for joy at what prayer can bring about when you get down to business.

But when I go back to visit the folks in the dry country, how am I going to explain about New York's crisis? We used to look at New York as the world's model for water systems. There wasn't a desert rat in the drought-stricken west wouldn't trade all his finesses at taking a bath with a sponge in a one-gallon wash basin and all his power and skill at bringing on chain lightning and floods through prayer for the myriad reservoirs, far-reaching aqueducts and incredible water mains of the fabulous New York system.

Now New York is going backward — back even to rain-praying, Indian style!

Luckily, the Dec. 11 New York Times gives an authoritative explanation which I can quote so they won't think I have fallen for red propaganda: "Today's critical water emergency would have been avoided if the Delaware Project had been advanced as planned. Because of World War II construction was held back, and there were further delays after the war waiting for scarce materials to become available again. The result is that a great facility which might have gone into operation about 1945 has been delayed until 1956 — eleven years.

"The constantly increasing number of New Yorkers will have to get along for another six years or so on a basic water supply which has been far outstripped by the demands upon it."

That's capitalism. It was more important for Big Business to get into the slaughter than to keep the water system of America's mightiest city up to needs.

And now they're looking ahead to another war! If we don't succeed in getting socialism, the economic system that eliminates wars and gives top priority to planning for human needs, we'll see capitalist witch-doctors yet, rattling their gourds and finger bones in the ruins of Radio Center to bring on bigger and better storms from the god of the dollar sign that led them into turning loose the atom bomb.

Nineteen Eighty-Four

By Paul Schapiro

During the period when capitalism was renewing its vitality through the super-exploitation of its colonies, many novels were written showing the bright and shining world of the future. Today, when capitalism is in its death throes, George Orwell has written a novel portraying a future world which is bleak indeed. (Nineteen Eighty-Four, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949, 314 pp., \$3.)

Nineteen Eighty-four is a vision of a society in which a totalitarian regime resembling Stalinism has succeeded in stopping the course of history so that the Inner Party, consisting of about two per cent of the population, may retain its absolute and unlimited power.

Orwell ingeniously describes the mechanism through which the Inner Party imposes its will: the two-way television screens which transmit one's very facial expressions, to say nothing of suspicious words or behavior, to central stations; the complete and continuous re-writing of history through the systematic obliteration of all newspapers and other records which show that the Inner Party has not been at all times omniscient and the substitution of forgeries in the files, making it impossible to prove that any falsification had taken place; the systematic destruction of all of the links which unite individuals, whether they be parents and children, men and women, or men and men.

However, not all of Orwell's ingeniousness can disguise the weakness of the book as an analysis of political trends. To present Stalinism, a transient historical phenomenon — the monstrous

degeneration of a workers' state under the exceptional circumstances of its isolation and the pressure of its encirclement by capitalist states — as a precursor of a world-wide system of "oligarchical collectivism," Orwell has to make use of some postulates which it is impossible to grant.

He assumes revolutions everywhere in which the workers obediently stay within the limits carefully assigned to them in advance by their prospective new masters; the rise of three militarily impregnable superstates; the tacit agreement of the rulers of these three superstates to wage a continuous but limited and not too damaging war against each other in order that each may have the excuse for keeping living standards at a low level, thus preventing the growth of political consciousness, and that any resentment be deflected towards the enemy, etc., etc.

Nineteen Eighty-four has been hailed as a penetrating analysis of the nature of Stalinism. It is not this at all. However, if Orwell's lack of understanding of the inner crises of Stalinism and of the pressures to which the seemingly all-powerful bureaucracy is subject has prevented him from writing such an analysis, he has succeeded in conveying the oppressiveness of the totalitarian atmosphere and the feeling of hopelessness of the isolated individual struggling against suffocation in it. And there are moments when the fantasy attains a nightmare intensity, as it depicts the controlled insanity of a regime which denies the reality of anything it interdicts and exalts in its power to establish or deny reality.

Small Community Sets Example in Witch-Hunt Fight

DETROIT, Dec. 11 — Efforts to oust the Rev. Albert Kauffman from his post as public school superintendent in Sunfield, Mich., met with failure when the 350 people of this small farming community refused to become victims of the patriotic bigotry of the local American Legion and the hysterical rantings of the capitalist press of Detroit.

The dismissal of Kauffman from his school post was formally requested by the American Legion because in a letter to the magazine Soviet Russia Today he had indirectly assailed the super-patriotism of legionnaires, silver shirts and the Vatican. The Legion charged that his letter indicated "bigotry and intolerance." The Rev. Kauffman, who is also pastor of the Vernon Congregational Church, defended his ideas and actions before his congregation.

The school board's original decision to dismiss Mr. Kauffman by a 3 to 2 vote on Dec. 8, was reversed two days later by the same body with a statement from the board president that he "couldn't prove anything against him [Kauffman] and [I] don't want to stick my neck out." Credit for this reversal belongs to the citizens of Sunfield who refused to be party to an hysterical red-hunt.

The present campaign against Rev. Kauffman can be traced to the upheaval last year at nearby Olivet College, when he was a member of its board of trustees. He resigned that post at the time in protest against the campaign to clean out the liberals and dissident elements in the college faculty. One of the latter was Tucker P. Smith, vice-presidential running mate of Norman Thomas.

The Olivet struggle eventually led to an extended student strike and resulted in the forced resignations and ouster of Smith and a number of faculty members plus the disciplining of the student leaders. The present revenging drive of the American Legion and the Vatican forces against Rev. Kauffman supply more than a hint as to the initiators of the purges at Olivet College a year ago.

At the time of the Sunfield school board's original effort to fire Rev. Kauffman, it was stated that he had brought unfavorable publicity to the community. This, however, was soon repudiated by the people in forcing the board to reverse itself. This small farming community has set an inspiring example for the rest of the country.

Workers in Industry Face "Loyalty" Purge

(Continued from page 1)

activities, indicated on Dec. 6 that the committee would seek a law to institute an FBI "loyalty" investigation of all officers of unions whose members are employed on government contracts. This would be a device to intimidate union leaders and provide grounds for the corporations to refuse to deal with unions whose officials are declared "disloyal" by FBI snipers.

The precedent has already been established, even without benefit of law, for declaring unions "disloyal" and "subversive." The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), which holds a number of contracts with employers and is opposed to all political action has been arbitrarily put on Truman's "subversive" list. Truman personally emphasized the distinction between "loyal" and "disloyal" unions in his message to the recent convention of the newly-formed CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. He designated the IUE as a "loyal" union in distinction from the United Electrical Workers which the CIO expelled last month.

In the eyes of the employers, reactionary capitalist politicians and militarists, a "loyal" union, of course, is one that is docile, doesn't fight for its members, collaborates with the bosses and supports the politics of Wall Street and its State Department. They deem "subversive" any union that defends its membership and doesn't vote "ja" for American imperialism's foreign policy and war preparations.

How far the Big Brass and Big Business are preparing to go in their conspiracy to undermine

Congressman Becomes Jailbird



In the custody of two deputy marshals, Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R. N.J.) leaves court in Washington, D. C., where he was sentenced to a 6-to-18 month term for padding his payroll and accepting kickbacks from employees. He will spend less time in jail than many of the victims of the House Un-American Committee he headed. His wife immediately announced her candidacy for the Congress seat he resigned, promising she would continue "the same struggle against subversive influences" who had "maligned and persecuted" her husband.

500,000 JOBLESS GO ON PUBLIC RELIEF ROLL

Two new significant developments have recently taken place in the situation among the unemployed. On the one hand, there has been a rapid increase in the number of workers who have exhausted unemployment compensations to which they are legally entitled and who are therefore being dropped from the official unemployment rolls. On the other hand, there is the increasing prospect of joblessness which faces approximately one million and a quarter youth who will be leaving schools and colleges and seeking employment in the next period.

The Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security released figures last week showing that by the third quarter of this year, the number of those who have exhausted their unemployment benefits has doubled since last year. "The exhaustion figures," states the Dec. 8 Associated Press dispatch, "have risen rapidly this year. In 1948 they were 200,000 to 250,000 each quarter for the country as a whole. This year they jumped to 369,000 for the January-March quarter, 423,000 for April-June and now to 500,000 for the most recent quarter."

The July-September quarter was marked by a noticeable improvement in production in many branches of industry as compared with the earlier months. But as the above "exhaustion figures" show, there was no corresponding improvement in the existing unemployment situation. The actual number of jobless who have been thrown on relief unquestionably exceeds the official number of half a million because in many instances not individuals but entire families are involved.

California and Massachusetts lead the states where this situation among the unemployed prevails. Among the other states are: Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Maryland and the New England states generally.

Alongside this growing army of pauperized unemployed workers, there is now beginning to take shape another army of jobless youth, reminiscent of those in the Thirties who sought but never found employment.

Especially hard hit will be "inexperienced college graduates." A recent survey, according to an Associated Press dispatch of Dec. 9, indicates that "the postwar boom has busted in jobs for inexperienced graduates." Among the graduates next June who will face this "busted" prospect for jobs are several hundred thousand former GI's who will have completed their educational and training programs.

The New York City and Pittsburgh areas and has published the names of some of the corporation executives designated for military posts and the military rank they will hold under the planned war dictatorship.

The move of the Wright Corporation to exercise political control over its workers; the extension of the War Department's "loyalty" purge in industry; the preparation of new laws to put the unions and their officials under "loyalty" surveillance; the dispersal of plants to open shop, low-wage areas; the elaboration of plans for wartime dictatorship over the workers — all these are alarm signals that organized labor can ignore only at its mortal peril.

STOP ALL WITCH-HUNTS! Each and every one of the anti-labor moves which the capitalist-militarist conspirators are making today in preparation for their over-all dictatorship tomorrow must be combatted now by the whole labor movement with all the vigor and militancy it can command.

ACLU Brands Peekskill Cops In Mob Attacks

An independent investigation by the American Civil Liberties Union has confirmed the criminal complicity of police, public officials and the local press in the mob

violence against the Paul Robeson

concerts near Peekskill, N. Y., last summer. The findings and conclusions of the on-the-scene investigations are contained in a 42-page report presented by Dr. Henry Atkinson, co-chairman, Council Against Intolerance; Roger N. Baldwin, director, American Civil Liberties Union; Jonathan Bingham, state chairman, N. Y. Americans for Democratic Action; Rabbi Irving Miller, president, American Jewish Congress; Michael Straight, chairman, American Veteran Committee; and Roy Wilkins, acting secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

COPS PERMITTED ATTACK

The report declares that "the Westchester County police permitted the assault upon the Robeson supporters." It calls police preparations to protect the second concert, when more than 200 persons were injured by rock-hurling hooligans, a "sham." The report contains voluminous evidence that the police knew of the preparations to stone the concertgoers as they departed in small groups and that the cops had "fraternized" with the hoodlums. "The authorities, too, share the responsibility for the outbreak," says the report. "They did not

respond with any but token police protection at the first concert on Aug. 27th which was broken up by violence. At the second on Sept. 4th, which its sponsors said was held to vindicate their right of assembly on private property, the authorities, though present with large police forces, permitted a provocative parade of veterans at the time and place of the concert, thus massing opponents of all sorts, numbering an estimated 10,000, which resulted in an assault on the concertgoers, numbering an estimated 15,000, as they left in small groups."

Behind the anti-Communist sentiment "lay prejudice against Negroes and Jews. Both Negroes and Jews were identified by the local community as the major participants in the concerts." The outbreaks embodied "the combined expressions of the most explosive prejudices in American life — against Communists, Negroes and Jews." But "the explosion would not have occurred except for the provocations of the local press' and complicity of the authorities. Of especial significance is the finding that the hoodlums 'believed that in denying freedom of speech to a political minority they were following the lead of federal authorities.'

SIU-AFL Officials Threaten Violent Assault Against SWP

(Continued from Page 1)

ship, the Steel Flyer under contract to the Isthmian Line, through the blockade of the Hawaiian longshoremen's strike. Those who refused to scab were expelled from the union.

The dummy stewards union organized by Lundeborg on the Pacific Coast has challenged the jurisdiction of the legitimate Marine Cooks and Stewards Union by filing charges based on "the right to work" clause of the notorious Taft-Hartley law.

When NMU crew members walked off Union Oil Company ships in sympathy with the oil workers' strike last year, Lundeborg sent his sailors through the picket lines to man the ships loaded with hot oil.

None of these facts has been answered — except by threats.

Within the SIU a vicious system of discrimination prevails. One-third of the union consists of permitmen. These permitmen are obliged to pay all dues, assessments and contribution of a full book member but have no right whatever. They are limited to 60 days on a ship and then must get off. They can only get into the union on the "recommendation of the Organizers." They are forced to do all the dirty work of the bureaucrats, such as serving as "voluntary organizers" (read scabs) on struck ships as in the Union Oil strike, serving as goons against opponents of the officialdom in the union, etc. These permitmen are favored with full books, others remain on the permit list for years or lose their permits entirely.

JIM CROW HIRING HALL

The SIU officials maintain the only Jim Crow hiring hall in the Port of New York. Negroes cannot ship in any of the unlicensed departments on ship except the stewards department. But that is not all. Ships which carry Negroes in this department carry Negroes only. When, for some reason, it is replaced by a

white crew, jobs for Negroes are cut down by that number and not replaced by others. The effect of this method is to eliminate the Negroes from the union.

This applies not only to Negroes but to Puerto Ricans. Although the Puerto Ricans are not Jim Crowed into a separate hiring hall a drive has been under way to drive them out of the union. The SIU hall was closed up in Puerto Rico, and a union ruling adopted to prevent members from paying off in that country. This has the effect of inflicting a great hardship on members whose homes and families are in Puerto Rico. Twenty-nine Puerto Ricans had their permits taken away recently for no reason whatever.

And these facts have never been answered — except by threats.

But gangsters and threats cannot hide the truth. They cannot silence the Trotskyists. Nor will these methods indefinitely stifle the bitter opposition of the rank and file seamen to the Hall-Lundeborg gang.

Cannon Recording Heard in Chicago

CHICAGO, Dec. 9 — A capacity audience packed the party headquarters here tonight to hear a tape recording of a speech on "The 20th Century" by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered at the recent Russian Revolution anniversary meeting in New York.

After listening intently to Comrade Cannon's instructive analysis of the great historic trends during the first half of the twentieth century and his inspiring prediction that mankind will achieve the great socialist goal during the second half of our century, the Chicago audience enthusiastically joined in the roar of applause and the singing of the Internationale recorded at the New York meeting.

The recording gave an excellent reproduction of Comrade Cannon's voice and the simplicity of the machine's operation made it possible to run off the speech without a single hitch.

Tape recording is here to stay and it should be used as often as possible by the party — that is the general opinion here after tonight's performance.

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