

# Yugoslavia Seen With Open Eyes

By Ernest Germain

## I. New Course in Yugoslavia

Like every backward country, Yugoslavia is full of contrasts, living signs of the combined development which characterizes its contemporary history. Modern factories stand side by side with ancient mosques and there are more horsecars in the streets than automobiles. The proletarian revolution in a backward country — the sharpest expression of the law of combined development! — has immensely increased the number and the violence of these contrasts. Hundreds of youth, singing revolutionary songs, are constructing with bare hands laboratories for atomic research. Bosnian peasants in sheepskin vests and queer fur caps are watching a movie which explains to them how to keep their cattle clean. A young boy who a month ago had never seen a railroad is today an ardent apprentice in an up-to-date machine tool plant. Reaction and revolution, the past and the future, face each other on every street corner in Yugoslavia. Is the revolution finished? "The law on workers' management of industry will create revolutionary transformations in every sphere of life," a member of the Central Committee of the All-Yugoslav Trade Union Federation told a foreign delegation. You hear that formula today everywhere in Yugoslavia, from the mouths of the most conscious Communists. This is the "new course" in the Yugoslav workers state.

You feel the new atmosphere of democratization, of growing freedom, of decreasing tension, from the very moment you set foot on Yugoslav territory. Even the anarchist paper *Le Libertaire*, violently hostile to the Tito regime, had to admit in its issue of Oct. 6, 1950, that its friends who visited Yugoslavia this summer enjoyed com-

plete and unlimited freedom of information, of travel, of discussion with any worker or peasant they pleased. Hundreds of discussions carefully recorded, several thousand photographs taken by foreigners of all nationalities give testimony to that freedom. Foreign delegations heard Tito cursed in a Belgrade cafe by a former Chetnik, just released from jail. They heard the regime attacked in a most violent way in the Zagreb restaurants and street-cars. They participated in dozens of heated political discussions where everybody freely spoke his mind. "This was impossible two years ago," they were told over and over again. "Without the break with the Cominform, we would have obtained nothing of all this," a 53-year-old communist welder, member of the factory council of the Litostroj plant at Ljubljana, told them. There you have the new course in a nutshell.

The clearest outward sign of the new course stares you in the face whenever you leave the railway station of a big city. You then immediately come face to face with inscriptions like these: "The Factories to the Workers, the Land to the Peasants" — "The Handing Over of the Factories to the Workers' Councils Is An Impor-

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## YUGOSLAV DECREE BANS BUREAUCRATIC PRIVILEGE

By Art Preis

One of the most heartening and inspiring signs of the continued forward march of the Yugoslav revolution is the government's decree abolishing all special privileges by way of food, housing and other services previously enjoyed by government and Communist Party officials, army officers, civil servants, members of People's Committees and social and political organizations.

This action was taken, it is true, in the face of a disastrous drought and impending famine which have threatened to shake the confidence of the masses in the regime. But the move is in line with other recent developments that indicate a genuine trend toward workers' democracy and elimination of bureaucratism. Thus, this decree on equality complements the measure of last June, before the drought, setting up workers' control and management of industry.

### DECREE PROVISIONS

According to the Yugoslav Newsletter, published by the official Yugoslav Information Center in New York, "No one in the country, regardless of his function, may receive more food than the miners and forestry and railroad workers. In addition, farms that were organized to supply food to special shops will be disbanded and turned back to the authorities, with the exception of those that supply food to hospitals, hotels and persons engaged in particularly responsible political and scientific work. Rest homes and resorts run by trade unions for their workers are not affected, but others are to be immediately closed. At the same time, except for state functions, no rationed foods may be used for banquets, feasts, conferences, or any other public functions." The decree likewise prohibits government ministries, institu-

tions and other enterprises from purchasing new furniture or goods for interior decorations and cancels already existing contracts for such purchases. It bans basic repairs on government buildings, permitting only maintenance work. No one is to get free gasoline and amounts above the rationed supplies may be obtained only by cabinet ministers and a

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## Filipino Reply Embarrasses U.S. 'Critics'

By John G. Wright

Feeling that its very existence is at stake, the bankrupt and corrupt regime of President Quirino of the Philippines threw discretion to the winds and struck back at its "critics" in Washington and at the charges contained in the previously suppressed report of the Bell "Economic Survey Mission for the Philippines."

In this report, which has since been hastily released, the Philippine government is castigated for its "inefficiency" and widespread graft and corruption. The official reply released on Oct. 25 by Quirino's Information Office does not bother to deny the charges but instead launches into a blistering counter-attack. Washington's own puppets in Manila expose those who so righteously point an accusing finger at them.

When it comes to graft and corruption, declared Quirino's Information Office, "Filipinos are mere pikers compared to their more accomplished and eminently successful mentors who have had and still have a vast continent in which to base their operations."

The statement then goes on to add:

"STINK" IN WASHINGTON  
"Filipinos, there is no question, are inefficient all right — even in their grafting — due no doubt to the simple lack of sufficient experience. With more time and greater chances, they will yet show they can equal or even surpass the stink familiar and now taken for granted in Washington and such very proper exemplary centers of power, prosperity and culture."

So far as we know, this is the first time in history that the native colonial agents of imperialism have had the audacity to tell their masters off, and in so many words declare that they were simply trying to do on a local scale what their overlords were doing at home.

Highly embarrassing as these remarks were, what struck even deeper was the Filipin counter-charge that American imperialism was, at bottom, responsible for all the ills, financial, industrial and agricultural, from which their country is suffering. The Bell report, of course, laid all the blame on their native collaborators.

Here's the scathing and unanswerable reply of Quirino's Information Office:

UNANSWERABLE  
"Those who talk so glibly of two billion United States dollars poured into the 'rat-hole' that is the Philippines seem extra careful not to remember the billions of dollars worth of property and life the Filipinos paid for the luxury of welcoming General MacArthur's triumphant return to their violated shores. The property may be restored partially but can anybody make the dead live again or make whole the mangled and maimed bodies?"

Against the background of the (Continued on page 3)

# Independence Uprising Flares in U. S. Colony



## Carlson's Ballot Rights Upheld by Minn. Court

By Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 1 — The struggle for civil rights and the Socialist Workers Party both won a resounding victory here today when the Minnesota Supreme Court reversed Hennepin County Judge Frank E. Reed's decision which had barred Grace Carlson from the ballot as the SWP candidate for Congress from the Fifth District. As a result of this precedent-making ruling, voters in this district will be able to vote for Grace Carlson on Nov. 7.

The Supreme Court heard arguments in the case yesterday. M. J. Myer of Chicago presented the case for the SWP candidate, as an appeal from Judge Reed's decision that Grace Carlson was ineligible to run for office because of her conviction in federal court for violation of the Smith Act in 1941. Josiah A. Baker of Mankato and C. R. Hedlund of Minneapolis were associated with Myer in the appeal.

The basis of the appeal as presented by Myer was the constitutional provision that Congress is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members. He cited Article I, Section 2, Clause 2 of the U. S. Constitution which

says: "No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen."

Referring to the opinions of the Founding Fathers and continuing with a long line of authority in similar legal cases, Myer argued that Grace Carlson meets the constitutional qualifications for the office of U. S. Representative. He contended further that "the right of the states to regulate elections for Senators and Representatives in the Congress is limited to matters affecting the time, place or the manner of holding the election."

Sydney Goff, representing Stanley Danielson, secretary-treasurer of the Transit Employees' Union, who brought the suit to bar Grace Carlson from the ballot, argued that states have the right to prohibit "felons" or "mentally incompetent" persons from being placed on the ballot as candidates for any office — state or federal. His contention that Minnesota citizens must be protected from candidates who are "non compos mentis" was met with the

rhetorical question from the bench as to whether the citizens of this state do not have the right to vote for any candidates they choose. Other questions from the Supreme Court justices indicated a similar lack of respect for Goff's arguments.

Myer's brilliant rebuttal pointed up the fallacies in Goff's reasoning. Acceptance of the Goff thesis that state courts could add to the constitutional requirements of Congressmen further requirements of a certain level of "mental capacity" or a certain degree of "moral righteousness" would reduce the whole question to an absurdity, he maintained.

### THIRD ATTEMPT

The Danielson suit was the third unsuccessful attempt during the last month to keep the people of the Fifth District from having the opportunity to vote for a revolutionary socialist candidate. Hennepin County Auditor Fitzsimmons also tried twice to throw out the Carlson nominating petitions on flimsy pretexts. But the energetic and effective resistance of the Carlson campaign supporters is showing everyone that it's not easy to intimidate or bluff the SWP.

Meanwhile, campaign workers have gone ahead with their activities, busily distributing campaign literature and bringing the attention of the voters to the SWP program. The great interest that has been aroused in the Carlson campaign by the publicity resulting from the maneuvers of her opponents points to a substantial vote next week for the anti-war candidate of the SWP.



GRACE CARLSON

## Revolt in Puerto Rico Bred By Mass Poverty, Misery

The attempted assassination of President Truman by Puerto Rican nationalists on Nov. 1 focused world-wide attention on the biggest uprising in the unhappy island of Puerto Rico since the United States grabbed it from Spain some fifty years ago.

Such acts of individual terrorism, of course, are futile and harmful methods of struggle against oppression. We Marxists have always opposed the substitution of violence against individuals by a few isolated conspirators for the organized action of the people.

Nevertheless, terrorists acts of this type are politically symptomatic. They are bred by desperate conditions which inspire desperate acts of resistance and protest. The case of the Puerto Rican nationalists is no exception.

The nationalist revolt in Puerto Rico is another uprising among an oppressed colonial people like those that have been sweeping Asia especially in the past five years. This time the revolt is in the U. S. State Department's own backyard.

### SCOPE OF STRUGGLE

The dailies are minimizing what has happened. But thousands of National Guard troops have been mobilized, planes, tanks and artillery have been employed against the "strongholds" of the insurgents, and admittedly not less than 10 centers on the island are involved. From these indications alone it is the largest outbreak in Puerto Rico in all the years of U. S. rule.

Customarily the press carries little about Puerto Rico except items and advertisements depicting it as a "tourist's paradise." Actually Puerto Rico is a typical colony, differing little from the old European colonial hell-holes of Asia and Africa.

American monopolists have a stranglehold on the island's eco-

nommy which consists in the main of the production of fruits, sugar, tobacco and rum for American consumption. More than 2 million inhabit this crowded island and all but a tiny minority live in grinding poverty.

Even in the most "prosperous" years, unemployment, hunger and disease have been rampant in Puerto Rico and the slums of San Juan match in squalor anything that can be found in Shanghai, Calcutta and other Asian cities whose frightful conditions have long been notorious.

### GROWING DISCONTENT

After more than fifty years of American rule, the movement for independence has gained steadily among the Puerto Ricans. The meager "concessions" granted the natives — selection of a Puerto Rican as governor, the promise of a new "constitution," etc. — are in themselves evidence of the growing power of this movement.

Just what provoked the current uprising remains unclear, just as are many other pertinent facts. A Nationalist Party statement issued in Havana asserts that it was an action of self-defense against a Washington move to eliminate the Nationalist party leaders. The Cuban House of Representatives took the unusual action of passing a resolution requesting that the U. S. assure the safety of Pedro Albizu Campos, Puerto Rican Nationalist leader.

Whatever the actual facts may be, we do know that it is the inalienable right of the Puerto Ricans to be free and independent and that the American imperialists have no right whatever to dictate their fate and keep them in subjection. Let the Puerto Ricans themselves decide!

## RED-BAITERS DEFEATED IN FORD 600 ELECTIONS

DETROIT, Oct. 31 — The red-baiting policies of the Reuther administration in the CIO United Auto Workers have just received a severe setback in Ford Local 600. Because of the importance of this

local, the largest in the country, the victory over the witch-hunters recorded in the just-concluded election of delegates to the General Council of Local 600 will undoubtedly inspire and encourage resistance to red-baiting purges in the rest of the American labor movement.

Early reports on the General Council election show a marked trend in opposition to the Reuther-Stellato administration. Today's Free Press states that the anti-Stellato forces have won a majority of seats on the local's 217-member General Council. According to one report, not yet confirmed, they won 118 seats.

### TEST OF SENTIMENT

In the Motor Building, 27 out of 28 delegates on the anti-Reuther ticket were elected. This is particularly significant since this is the home building of Carl Stellato, right-wing president of Local 600 who is pressing the red-baiting charges in the current witch-hunt trial, and of Paul Boatman, president of the Motor Building unit and one of the five defendants in the trial.

The election results can only be viewed as a repudiation by the rank and file of Reuther's policy and red-baiting methods, by which he hoped to clamp a dictatorship over Local 600. It shows that the rank and file Ford workers resent

and reject any effort to frame up and remove their duly elected officials.

In the Tool and Die unit, the slate in opposition to Reuther was 100% successful. The local Reutherites challenged the election on a flimsy pretext and were immediately backed up by the International. A new election was ordered in which the membership again voted in favor of the opposition ticket, the anti-Stellato forces again capturing all 14 seats. The trend against the administration is too strong to be stopped by tricky maneuvers.

### EFFECT ON TRIALS

It now becomes clear that Stellato cannot win a majority of the Ford General Council. The Reuther-Stellato trial committee report must get a two-thirds vote of the Council to be upheld. Thus "Operation Red-Smear Trial" appears doomed to failure. Active Ford unionists are freely predicting that Stellato will now look for an alibi to drop the trial.

The Reuther forces in Local 600 could not win domination by fair means so they tried foul means. The returns on the General Council elections indicate these will not be successful either. All the red-baiting in the world cannot cover up the way in which the policies and performance of the present administration play smack into the hands of the Ford Motor Co. This the Ford membership understands better than anyone.

## What Will Change After Nov. 7?

By Fred Hart

Next Tuesday's elections will change little in Congress except some faces. Whether the Republicans make gains or the Democrats, it will make no basic difference. Two or three or a dozen more capitalist "friends of labor" may be elected — or tossed out. Congress as a whole will be just as completely dominated by utter reactionaries, the bi-partisan foes of labor and hirelings of Big Business.

This will be true if every candidate supported by the union leaders through the CIO Political Action Committee or the AFL Labor's League for Political Education should be elected. In order to find even a few candidates "worthy" of labor's support, the labor politicians had to close their eyes to the full records of these candidates and hold their noses while making their selections.

If anything, the incoming Congress, regardless of shifts in party composition, will tend to be

more reactionary than the previous ones. The top union leaders constitute no political threat or opposition to the capitalist politicians and have, in fact, once more issued them a political blank check. What have Congressmen to fear from union leaders whose only response to a Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Law, the knitting of FEPC, the hiking of withholding taxes on the wage earners, and the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law, is to go out and campaign for more of the same kind of capitalist political shysters and gangsters who committed these crimes against the people?

### NOTHING GAINED

All the energy and time and millions of dollars that the union officials have drained from the workers for this year's political campaign — as in the previous ones — have been poured into a rat-hole. This is the truth of the matter. Nothing has been gained for labor — and much has been lost.

How could it be otherwise? Only two years ago, the union leaders were crowing over their "great victory" in giving the boot to the Republican majority and electing a "friendly" Democratic majority in Congress. In a few months the heady fumes of this "victory" evaporated as labor faced the cold gales of reaction that blew from Capitol Hill. The labor press and the speeches of union leaders have been full of protest against the cynical violation of 1945 promises by "friends of labor."

### WHAT KIND OF CHOICE?

No doubt, the union leaders will blame the lack of any improvement in the next Congress on the failure of the workers to "get out and vote." But what kind of choice do the union leaders offer them? How enthusiastic, for example, can New York voters get at the prospect of choosing between Democrats financed by payoffs from the gamblers and gangsters, and Republicans like Hanley, in-

dicted by his own letter as an office-holder ready to sell his services to the highest cash bidder?

The labor leaders' political policy leads deeper and deeper into a blind alley; it produces only futility and demoralization. Would it not have been a thousand times better in this election for labor, the Negro people and the working farmers to have had their own independent labor party and to have run their own candidates?

If the working people had only succeeded, as a starter, in getting a mere 20 or 30 of their own candidates in Congress a beginning would have been made toward a complete and basic reversal in the political picture. The mere act of setting up an independent labor party would have given the capitalist politicians pause in the pursuit of their reactionary plans and done more to advance labor's cause than the election of a 100% Democratic Congress.



# Municipalities Enacting 'Little' McCarran Laws

By J. Blake

National anti-civil rights measures such as the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law have bred a litter of local ordinances designed to speed up the process of abolishing all vestiges of the progressive period of capitalism. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly — even the old anti-feudal freedom to pass unhindered from one city to another — are being threatened by local ordinances in Miami, Fla., Los Angeles, Calif., Jersey City and Hoboken, N. J., New Rochelle, N. Y., and a score of other cities.

First victims of these new measures are Communist Party functionaries and alleged members, but labor leaders and others who fail to respond to the attack on democratic rights on the local level, who fail to organize an effective mass opposition because they think the city administration will use their new powers only against "reds," have a rude awakening in store for them.

The local Communist-registration ordinances already adopted are so broad, vague, and indefinite in their provisions that no militant unionist or opponent of the reactionary features of "the American way of life" is safe.

One of the first of these ordinances was passed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors and has already been ruled unconstitutional in local courts there. But this has not stopped the passage of similar and even more flagrant laws in other cities.

The Miami ordinance, passed Sept. 7, provides that Communists and "those who follow the Communist line" must register and be photographed by the police if they remain in the city more than 48 hours. It drastically limits such persons' freedom of press and assembly by requiring publication of the full text of Communist organization literature at least 10 days in advance of distribution, and notice to the police at least 10 days in advance of any meeting.

Jersey City, Hoboken and New Rochelle give Communists and members of "other subversive organizations" — undefined — less than the 48 hours granted in Miami. They must register with the City Clerk if they live, work, or "regularly enter or travel through any part of the city."

Registration includes name, address, "aliases if any," name of

employer and names of the Communist organizations in which membership is held. Each false and misleading statement in registration, or each day of failure to comply constitutes a separate offense punishable with a year in jail, a \$200 fine or both in Jersey City and Hoboken; six months imprisonment and \$500 fine in New Rochelle.

## VIOLATES CONSTITUTION

The Los Angeles County ordinance, which is identical with the Los Angeles city measure, was declared unconstitutional this month by Judge Myer B. Marion

## Committee for European Relief Has Dissolved

NEW YORK, Oct. 23 — The American Committee for European Workers Relief today announced its dissolution, effective Oct. 31. In a letter to its chapters, it made the following statement: "The ACEWR was organized immediately after the war at a time when many countries had been hard hit by the war and the population and especially the working people were suffering from extreme starvation, lack of medical supplies, clothing, etc. Since then the situation in one country after another has progressively improved in these respects.

"Although needy cases of the type we have been helping exist in several countries, especially in Germany and Greece, it nonetheless does not warrant the maintenance of a national organization with the inevitable administration expense involved. The committee has been faced with a declining income and increased expenses over the past year. For these reasons, the officers decided to dissolve the committee as of Oct. 31, 1950.

"We wish to express gratitude to all those who have contributed their energy and their financial support to our relief work. Many individuals have been helped and the thanks they have given us for the service we have rendered to the best fighters among the working people are sufficient reward and justification for the work of the committee."

in Belvedere Township Court and by Judge Stanley Moffatt in San Antonio Township. They found the law in violation of the 1st and 14th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution.

Releasing Mrs. LaRue McCormick, arrested for failure to register, Judge Moffatt said:

"Under the ambiguous terms of the ordinance it would be necessary for a person to consult the Encyclopedia Britannica, the Communist Manifesto, and other documents, such as Communist writings to know when he had broken the law.

"It is intended to crush the organized labor movement of California and to defend status quo of big business."

Judge Marion found fault with the fact that the measure "encompasses people beyond the pale of its professed objectives" and "could well mean the end of minority groups."

## THREATENS MINORITIES

"There are, for example, many organizations in this country which deny all forms of discrimination against the Negro people. These organizations consistently promulgate views, programs and policies opposed to existing inequalities," he said. Such groups could be eliminated through enforcement of these ordinances.

Some of the Communist registration ordinances may eventually reach the U. S. Supreme Court and be thrown out because, as Judge Marion also pointed out, they invade a sphere of activity belonging to the federal government "and to permit counties and cities throughout the country to make their own ordinances and secure their own methods of registration would result in maladministration and confusion."

But meanwhile any reliance on the courts to stop the wave of anti-democratic measures by local would-be dictators has already been demonstrated as completely useless. More ordinances are passed, more individuals are arrested in Los Angeles County, and local authorities are appealing the verdicts of township judges to the Superior Court.

Only militant mass action of the labor movement and minorities on the local level, where mass action is always expressed, can stop the invasion of civil rights by small-time McCarrans and Kilgores.

# SCROLL 'CRUSADE' USED TO WHIP UP WAR FEVER

By Patricia Stall

DETROIT, Oct. 30 — The Freedom Scroll, circulated by the so-called "Crusade for Freedom" and designed to line the population up for war against the Soviet Union, invaded Detroit this month.

Ostensibly, this is a call to the American people to resist tyranny wherever it appears. Actually it is part of the witch-hunt and "loyalty oath" campaign.

The Crusade was launched nationally on Labor Day by Dwight Eisenhower. This man has distinguished himself politically by opposing social security, by appearing before Congress to openly protest against ending discrimination in the armed forces and by his friendliness to French Nazi collaborators, such as Darlan, during the war.

Gen. Lucius Clay, former U. S. military governor in Germany, is a founder and leader of the movement. This is the same Gen. Clay who released the infamous Bitch of Buchenwald, Ilse Koch, before her term was up; who refused to return to German labor unions the bulk of property stolen from them by the Nazis in 1933; who refused money offered by the U. S. State Department to be used in buying newspaper for German union publications and who decided, on his own authority, to postpone the program against German heavy industrial combinations; who refused to approve a bill passed by the Hesse State Parliament in Germany giving labor a voice in the management of industry on the grounds that it was "un-American."

Detroit's officialdom from the mayor to the bookcheckers at the public library, the press and the auto factories all responded on behalf of this latest "crusade." To no one's surprise, the auto industry ordered their foremen to take the scrolls down the lines to be signed by the workers. The response to this varied from "I don't know what I signed, do you?" to a protest by veterans and other workers to what they called a "back-handed loyalty oath."

Workers who ordinarily wouldn't sign anything a foreman handed them were taken in by the fact that a union steward walked alongside the foreman echoing his soliloquy. The stewards were only responding faithfully to the orders of their superiors. Victor Reuther, educational director of the UAW-CIO, is Michigan's director of the Crusade for Freedom and August Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council, is a member of the

Crusade's committee. The UAW and Michigan CIO Council have even outlined a nine-point program designed to utilize every means available to promote the scrolls.

Detroit's three leading newspapers hailed the Crusade as anti-Communist and, therefore, a great and wonderful event. But the Detroit Collegian, official publication of Wayne University, assailed it as "an invasion of the dignity of the thinking man, and a threat to the very freedom it purports to exalt" and termed it "a propaganda measure designed to answer Moscow's Stockholm Peace Petition." This editorial and its protest were defended by many students in open letters published on the feature page.

The war drums were beaten loud and furiously here in Detroit but so far as raising the fever of the population in favor of war the Freedom Scrolls were a failure. The super-loyalists were in a distinct minority.

# Stalinists Switch Line on Prices

In 1946, when the last fight over OPA was taking place, the Stalinist Daily Worker viciously attacked The Militant because we insisted on telling the truth that the OPA had not protected the consumers against the effects of inflation, and called for price control through committees of consumers, housewives, unionists, farmers, shopkeepers, etc. The Daily Worker denounced this program as "sabotage" of price control; its own program was the restoration of the OPA, and its method for getting the OPA back was — a buyers' strike.

The October 1950 issue of the Stalinist magazine, Political Affairs, lists their current slogans on prices. There is no mention of OPA or of buyers' strikes. Instead, there is a demand "for price controls administered by democratic organizations of the people."

Nowhere in this "theoretical" magazine, or in any other Stalinist literature, is there any explanation of why this slogan represented "Trotskyite sabotage" of price control in 1946 but seems to be acceptable to the CP in 1950.

# Book Reviews

THE TWENTY-FIFTH HOUR by C. Virgil Gheorghiu, Knopf, 1950, 404 pages, \$3.50.

This impressive novel, which was reviewed at some length in the May 1 Militant by Ernest Germain, has now been translated into English from the Rumanian and published in this country. It tells the story of a simple Rumanian peasant, his family and his friends when they are torn out of their old life by World War II and swept away to be victimized by the barbarism of a society in death agony.

There is a certain ironic timelessness in its publication here now, a month after the passage of the McCarran-Kilgore registration and concentration camp law, for the book follows the main characters as they are driven from one concentration camp and prison to another, beginning in Rumania, moving through Hungary and Germany and ending in the American-supervised "detention" camps after the hostilities were concluded.

As Germain's review noted, the author sees no way out of the crisis of our times, and rejects any and all organization as tyrannical. For him the twenty-

fifth hour — "Western Civilization at this very moment" — is "the hour when mankind is beyond salvation." And so the novel ends with World War III having begun, and the peasant and his wife and children rushing to be enlisted into the American army so that they can escape the fate of again being civilians and occupants of concentration camps during a war.

Despite this, it is a powerful, moving and compassionate cry of protest on behalf of the millions who were tortured and degraded during the last war and who face an even worse fate in the future unless the international working class takes control of society into its own hands.

MONTHLY REVIEW, October, 160 pages, \$3.35.

The extra-large October Monthly Review is completely devoted to the memory of F. O. Matthiessen, the Harvard professor whose suicide last spring deprived American labor of one of its staunchest friends in the academic world. The red-baiting press sought to smear his name by stamping him as nothing but a stooge for the Stalinists. Actually, every victim of reaction and every dissenter, regardless of political views, could count him as a loyal supporter in time of trouble.

Among many others, he defended the Trotskyist leaders in the Minneapolis trial under the Smith Act during the Second World War, and expressed the highest admiration for Vincent R. Dunne, one of the chief defendants. "This lean, spare man," he wrote, "charged with a condensed energy and without one waste gesture, might well be the nearest America has come to producing a Marxist leader in the selfless tradition of Lenin."

The magazine presents a collective portrait of Matthiessen's many-sided personality through five essays by former students and colleagues and brief tributes from 29 of his friends, including Dunne. Included are representative selections from his writings, with a chapter from Theodore Dreiser, his final work of literary criticism.

Professor Matthiessen was a radical intellectual of our day similar to such figures as Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, and others whom he dealt with as a literary and social critic. As one of his co-workers in the Harvard Teacher's Union, which he helped to found, states: "Matty believed in the working class, and he fought for the working class." He called himself an independent Christian socialist. "I accept the Russian Revolution as the most progressive event of our century," he wrote, "the necessary successor to the French Revolution and the American Revolution and to England's 17th century civil war."

In an autobiographical sketch Matthiessen noted: "The 1930's now appear in retrospect as a period when a considerable number of intellectuals commuted to radicalism and back." Matthiessen was honorably distinguished from all these by his firm stand for radicalism as imperialist reaction became unbridled in this country.

The entire contents of this issue will soon be published as a book.

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tant Stage in the Development of Our Socialist Democracy," and many, many others. These are not mere words or symbols. Foreign delegations were present at the solemn meetings where the workers' councils took possession of the factories and received the keys of the plants as a token of self-government. They heard the big crowds shout and interject exclamations during the speeches of leaders, they heard them sing The Internationale and the Yugoslav national anthem with a most convincing enthusiasm at the Borovo plant in East-Croatia. They saw one of their own group, the leader of the Vietnamese workers' and students' brigade, address the meeting at the Ivo Lola Ribar plant near Belgrade. They heard the fine speech of a Slovenian minister at the Litostroj plant, who reminded the workers of the tradition and program of the First International and of the October Revolution. And those who understood knew it was the new course. . .

## Interest in International Problems

The new course in Russia was the struggle of the Left Opposition against the growing power of the bureaucracy, for workers' democracy, for industrialization, for a class differentiation among the peasantry and for a clear and adequate leadership of the international working class. Of all these planks, only the last one is not yet applied and followed consciously by the Communist leaders of Yugoslavia. Powerful pressure of hostile international forces, their own lack of political experience in the problems of the international working class as well as many Stalinist hangovers explain this lag. But already among the best Communist elements in the country and indeed, among advanced workers and peasants everywhere, interest in international problems is mounting steadily from day to day. Foreign delegations were overwhelmed with questions regarding the working class movement of their various countries. The influence of Stalinism in the French and Italian working class, the perspectives of the Chinese revolutions, the revival of the German labor movement and its future, the meaning of the Labor government in England — these problems are today topics of daily discussion among thousands of Yugoslav Communists. At the same time, a growing interest in Trotskyism, completely unknown in that country a few years ago save through Stalinist falsifications, is making itself felt. Though Trotsky's works are still conspicuously absent from public libraries, his ideas are the subject of many heated discussions.

The new course is also felt in the growing passion for Marxist theory which is today felt by cadres and students all over Yugoslavia. "Back to Marx and Lenin" — that slogan is creating dozens of study classes in the universities, the high schools, the youth organizations, applying themselves to Marx's Capital and Lenin's State and Revolution. This interest in theory does not however

limit itself to exegesis or study of classic texts. A great theoretical effort of their own is being undertaken by the Yugoslav Communists. In the seven theoretical magazines of the Communist parties of Yugoslavia many original and valuable studies appear, unfortunately yet unknown in foreign countries. Vladimir Bakarić's study of the agrarian problem after the socialist revolution — Problems of Ground Rent in the Transitional Period — is not only a devastating criticism of Stalinist political economy applied to the kolkhozes (collective farms), it is also one of the very few contributions to that problem written in the past 20 years. Milovan Djilas' study of the problem of education in the framework of socialist democracy, Makso Bakke's study of the effects of Stalinist bureaucracy on cultural activity in the Soviet Union are valuable and serious contributions to Marxist theory. Boris Zihner's Institute for Social Sciences is engaged in organizing the efforts of dozens of young theoreticians. Professor Nedelkovic of the Belgrade University is preparing an extensive reply to what he calls "the pragmatic-bureaucratic perversion of dialectical materialism" in the works of Georg Lukac and Henri Lefevre (the two leading Stalinist philosophers outside of the Soviet Union), as well as a new History of Philosophy. We Trotskyists, who have always been as proud of the theoretical achievements of our own movement as we were sad about the terrific stagnation of Marxist theory in all other working class organizations, can only greet with joy this beginning of a theoretical revival in Yugoslavia.

## Tremendous Obstacles to Overcome

Like Russia during the first years after the revolution, Yugoslavia remains a very poor and backward country, trying to extricate itself, amidst innumerable difficulties, from centuries of misery, of barbarism and of ignorance. The Yugoslav masses have still to endure great hardships to hold out in the present situation. They have not only to fight against the class enemy from within and without, and against the powerful apparatus of the Soviet bureaucracy, they have also to face a tragic blow of nature: the crop failure of this year. World war and civil war brought havoc to their country, which has known more destruction and victims than any other country in Europe. Against all these odds, the Yugoslav revolution has up to now maintained its forward movement, and this achievement is all the more impressive under the circumstances. The revolutionary mass movement in Yugoslavia — this the months of the new course have shown clearly — still possesses great reserves and powerful allies. Its future is still open. It is in the hands of the socialist workers of Yugoslavia, in the hands of the socialist working class of the five continents and in the hands of the rising colonial peoples. This is our conclusion as Trotskyists.

(Next Week: What Has Been Achieved)

# 'Life' Magazine on the Crisis in the Schools

By Arthur Kent

The most striking sign of the grave crisis in the educational system since the New York student strike in April is the Oct. 16 issue of Life magazine. Although Life takes great pride in its full photographic coverage of current events, this issue is devoted exclusively to the subject, "U. S. Schools — They Face A Crisis," and has but three sentences and no pictures about Korea. The main editorial explains why Henry Luce departed from his normal procedure to produce this anomaly.

"The American mind today seems deeply worried about its school system as it has never been before. . . There is an uneasy feeling that the schools have somehow failed to do their job. Yet no one seems very positive as to what the job of the schools is today." This is an admission of bankruptcy.

Life poses this dilemma. Something is so wrong in the school system that "educated men" (leaders) are not being produced, competent teachers are not being trained, and no one knows what to teach the millions of young people in the school system. In examining the two main proposals offered by Life, we can quickly perceive the reasons for these difficulties.

Its major approach is that the schools are not given enough money to provide the best teachers and the best facilities. The teachers' colleges in particular are pointed out as suffering from a lack of money. Because of the poor financial opportunities in the teaching field they attract the less promising of high school graduates and produce few good teachers.

Page after page of glowing pictures show, however, that regardless of all other faults America is at least advanced in new teaching techniques and in the latest architecture in school buildings. All that is needed to solve the crisis, according to Luce, is to pump more money into these and give higher wages to teachers.

However, there is no mention of where the necessary money will originate. It is clear that Life magazine does not know. Workers have an answer to this problem: They say that at least enough money can be obtained from a curtailment of profits to raise wages and improve conditions a little. But wealthy publisher Henry Luce cannot accept this solution. Opposed to the working class approach and yet appreciating that the current war preparations preclude an increase of funds for education from any other source, Life magazine is faced with an unsolvable problem even when examining only the short-term needs of the schools.

Life's second proposal on the educational crisis is more fundamental in character. It advocates not the reform of the school system but its reconstruction on reactionary foundations. The proponent of this approach is interestingly enough a clergyman, Canon Bernard Diddings Bell of the Episcopal Church.

Canon Bell says that the trouble with the schools is that modern education treats every man's child as the equal of every other man's child. Bell insists that this is always being leader-types with "uncommon brains" are swamped in the present democra-

tic school system. Yet these are the very ones, he claims, whom capitalism must cultivate if it would survive.

Canon Bell makes an attack upon the present-day school for its failure to effectively integrate vocational and general education. But he shows that he cannot solve this major problem, either. The existing division between mental and manual labor in modern society is a class division between capitalist specialist and worker. Whereas John Dewey and Co., the leading lights in present-day education, seek to ignore this class nature of society in their "rounded" curriculum so objected to by the Canon, Bell proposes developing this class antagonism to its most extreme limits. He suggests liberal education for the few leader-types and purely technical schools for worker-types (and never the twain shall mix).

But the needs of modern industry, contrary to both Dewey and Canon Bell, are pressing toward the total abolition of this class division between mental and manual labor. As the Harvard University Committee on Education says: "Given the pace of economic progress, techniques alter speedily, and even the work in which the student has been trained may no longer be useful when he is ready to earn a living. Our conclusion, then, is that the aims of education should be to prepare an individual to become an expert both in some particular vocation. . . and in the

general art of the free man and the citizen. Thus the two kinds of education once given separately to different social classes must be given together to all alike."

## WHAT KIND OF EDUCATION?

Nothing else but an educational system basing itself on the abolition of the class division of society can satisfy this need of modern production for a fully developed individual fit for a variety of work.

Canon Bell's "aristocratic" theory is reactionary to the core. Establishing the academic division he proposes means establishing class distinctions within the schools. Canon Bell's theory rests on the same basis as fascist educational theory.

The two approaches presented by Life magazine are wrong but Henry Luce is careful not to hint that there is a socialist approach to education. He fears to tell the public that a socialist society could rally to its support millions of American youth to lead and instruct. Only a socialist society could solve the problem of war and peace and therefore utilize to the fullest the technical innovations available to educators. Only a society managed by the workers could make possible a genuinely integrated curriculum of vocational and general education, for all the children of all the people, that would abolish the class distinction between capitalist specialist and worker, between mental and manual labor.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Where effort is made, Militants are sold. That is the lesson of the past months. Whether it has been at union gates, to workers in the shop, door-to-door, or at crowded street corners, Militants have been sold where an effort was made. Sometimes the sales did not amount to more than one or two copies. Sometimes dozens of Militants were sold and in a few rare instances even hundreds. Many thousands of workers were reached in this way with the message of socialism. New literature agents and literature committees should be aware of this experience so they can maintain and extend sales.

H. B. is the new literature agent in Milwaukee. In his first letter he is able to report that a branch leaflet distribution made a new friend for the Socialist Workers Party and The Militant. "Enclosed is one dollar for a subscription for a Yugoslav worker who just donated ten dollars to our campaign for U. S. Senator. This worker had voted for Debs and for socialism. He became disillusioned with LaFollette and others like him. He was heartened to hear that someone was genuinely fighting for socialism today. We met him through a door-to-door leaflet campaign in a Slovenian neighborhood." Milwaukee raised their bundle to 100 copies per week during the campaign.

St. Paul Literature Agent Winie writes to tell us of two comrades who have "each week been selling four to five Militants in their shop. And these to the same persons — usually workers who don't want to subscribe but will pay a nickel each week." We're always glad to hear of sales being made right in the factories. It's sometimes difficult but offers

great possibilities of winning workers to the socialist program.

Buffalo Literature Agent Dick Gregor reports that literature sales at the Buffalo election rally for Michael Bartell and Gladys Barker, Socialist Workers Party candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor in New York State, were very good. "We sold 22 copies of the last three issues of The Militant and \$1.50 worth of pamphlets. Pamphlets on the Negro question, in particular, were in great demand."

P. S., Literature Agent in Minneapolis, sent in \$1 last week for a subscription. "This was obtained by one of the old-timers in the movement. He said that he is a little timid about approaching workers with our paper and asking for a sub. But as he remarked, 'The workers are looking for a paper that tells the truth. They are just waiting for someone to show them such a paper and they are glad to subscribe.' This should serve as a reminder for all of us to plug the paper whenever and wherever we have the opportunity."

Just a reminder: The recent post office regulations cutting postal personnel and delivery service are still in effect. That is why many subscribers and literature agents get their Militants much later than previously.

**CHICAGO**  
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- BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd Fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MADISON 3930.
- CHICAGO — 166 W. Washington St., Rm 312-314. Phone BRADLEY 2-4767.
- CLEVELAND — P.O. Box 11446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.), every Sun. 8 P.M.
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- FLINT — SWP Hall, 215 E. 9th St. Open house every Sat. evening, Phone 2-2495.
- LOS ANGELES — Militant Pub. Ass'n, Rm 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VANDYKE 8001.
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# Syngman Rhee's Firing Squads Work Overtime

By Joseph Keller

Firing squads are working day and night in South Korea following Gen. MacArthur's restoration of Syngman Rhee's bestial dictatorship. Reports from American correspondents in Seoul confirm our prediction that the rivers of Korea would "flow red" from the savage reprisals that Rhee's landlord-capitalist regime would visit on the workers and peasants.

Charles Grutzner of the N. Y. Times, describes in an Oct. 27 dispatch the scenes of horror at the Suh Dae Mun prison, where thousands of political "suspects" are locked up "by twenty-fours into ten-foot square cells." Some 200 "already have been found guilty at trials in which they were not permitted to face their accusers, and many have been sentenced to death."

"Twelve hundred of the captives are women," Grutzner reports, "of whom about a fourth have small children in their cells." The prison warden, "a professional jailer for twenty-eight years, says he is not able to properly feed and house all the prisoners the police and prosecutors send him. Warden Mun believes many prisoners, especially the women, are innocent of Communist charges."

**PRISON BULGING**  
 Fast as the summary trials and firing squads work, the prison grows more crowded. "Warden Mun has been told to get ready for up to 4,000 additional prisoners, but he says he cannot take them."

"Truckloads of manacled suspects still rumble along the avenues of this city. Among the less pleasant sights," Grutzner writes, "is a man with hands tied walking with a downcast head, while tied to the rope behind him is his wife, her hands also bound, and a baby in a cloth wrapping on her back."

A tour of the prison revealed "severe conditions." All conversation among prisoners is forbidden. The only furnishings in the "unheated and overcrowded" cells where "the men sit dully in rows on the floor," is "a large toilet can in one corner." The cell doors have "slits six inches long and one inch wide through which guards observe the captives." From the women's section came "the wailing of infants." There "women guards patrolled similar corridors with slitted doors, behind which sat women. Some were nursing infants."

**"TRIALS"**  
 A description of a mass execution is given in an Oct. 30 International News Service dispatch from Seoul, which tells how

"twenty-three men and two women were lined up and shot to death" after a "trial" in which "the prisoners had no opportunity . . . to call witnesses and were denied the right to appeal the death sentences, a chance to communicate with relatives, the privilege of receiving counsel or other visitors and the right to receive last religious rites. Capt. Kim (in charge of the executions) explained that these customary rights granted to suspects and doomed men and women were denied the prisoners because of 'pressure of war.'"

These 25 whose execution the correspondent witnessed were "the first of 82 persons sentenced to death in the first seven days of collaboration trials in Seoul." They were tied together and driven to a desolate spot eight miles from the city where they were "lined up and a like number of soldiers in the firing squad

turned their American M-I rifles upon them. Those who did not die immediately were killed by repeated shots from close range." On the way to their place of death, the condemned were forced to "squat on their haunches in open trucks between two rows of soldiers" and "were required to keep their heads on their knees. Several times they raised their heads slightly to catch a glimpse of the countryside. They received a blow on the head from a soldier's rifle butt."

Scenes like this are being endlessly repeated today throughout Korea — mostly without benefit of "trials." Rhee has to make a pretense of "trials" in Seoul because of the presence of foreign correspondents, mostly Americans, who will then be able to tell about the "democracy" which American bombers have brought to the "liberated" Koreans.

## COST OF "LITTLE WAR" DISCLOSED BY BALDWIN

As more information leaks out from week to week, we must revise sharply upward our previous reports on the horrifying cost of Truman's "police action" and "little war" in Korea and to restate more emphatically what this means for U. S. imperialism's grandiose scheme to dominate all Asia.

The latest information, supplied from Tokyo by Hanson W. Baldwin, the well-informed military analyst of the N. Y. Times, is that "the United States has won a victory and bought some bitter experience at a price of about 35,000 American and 80,000 South Korean battle casualties. . ."

Counting the "250,000 to 350,000 casualties," including 125,000 prisoners, suffered by the North Korean forces, the staggering combat toll of this four month war has reached not less than 400,000 to 500,000. This does not include the untold numbers of civilians slaughtered, principally by U. S. "strategic bombing," as a result of which "great parts of Korea's principal cities lie in ruins," Baldwin reports.

Baldwin stresses particularly the huge concentration of military power the U. S. required for its successful invasion of Korea. "More than 250,000 Americans of all services, 100,000 Republic of Korea troops and 20,000 to 25,000 British and other United Nations personnel, in addition to a greater part of our ready military strength, were needed to defeat an enemy more primitive and barbaric than any we have faced

since the days of the Indian wars." Confronted with a small nation fighting for its national independence in a civil and revolutionary war, the U. S. and its allies had to employ a war machine approximating the forces that invaded North Africa against the combined Nazi and Italian armies in the last war.

This gives just a hint of the price of empire today and an intimation of what it will cost the American people should the U. S. imperialists attempt to go through with their plans for the conquest of Asia, which numbers a billion people who are in seething upsurge.

Moreover, Baldwin points out, the Korean adventure is far from concluded. "Intensive, protracted guerrilla fighting still lies ahead and only the future can tell whether we can ever clinch and consolidate the political-economic-military victory we have won." He reports "thousands of guerrillas" throughout the mountains in both North and South Korea and fierce organized military resistance in the area close to the Manchurian border. "Curfews still are necessary in most of the war-ravaged Korean cities."

This is only one of the "many headaches" remaining for the U. S. in Korea, Baldwin reports. There is the "immense" problem of "rehabilitation and reconstruction" because millions are homeless and "virtually all the important industry of North Korea" — where most industrial development was concentrated — "has been destroyed by our bombings." Added to this is the "political problem" of ruling North Korea. According to the UN, the Syngman Rhee government's authority does not extend into this territory, but his forces "are undertaking the principal mop-up job in North Korea." The nature of this "mop-up" can be gathered from Baldwin's further observation that Syngman Rhee's forces are "ready with the wine of victory" and "already have committed atrocities of their own."

He concludes that "the problems lying ahead in Korea still are huge." But they are as anathema to the Himalayas compared with the obstacles athwart the march of U. S. conquest across the whole Asian continent.

# LABOR MUST FIGHT UN MOVE TO BACK FRANCO

By Paul G. Stevens

By a vote of 37 to 10, with 12 abstentions, the Special Political Committee of the UN General Assembly on Oct. 31 adopted a resolution to revoke the Assembly's 1946 stand barring fascist Spain from any agency associated with the UN and recommending that member nations withdraw their major diplomatic officers from Butcher Franco's capital. The vote on the resolution, sponsored by eight "Spanish-American" countries, virtually assures similar action by the General Assembly itself.

According to the N.Y. Times correspondent at Lake Success, "The United States was reported to have contributed materially to the preparation of the final draft" and gave it "steady encouragement." By way of understatement, this is an admission of the fact that the Truman administration is the prime mover in getting Franco Spain cleared through the UN in preparation for including it in the North Atlantic Pact for the "defense of democracy."

To avoid making this farce look too raw, eight "Spanish-American" puppets — ranging from the Wall Street-operated regimes in Nicaragua to the one in the Philippines — were put to the forefront as the official sponsors, on behalf of their "Spanish mother country."

The State Department's cynical game was pointedly exposed in the Assembly when delegates of a Latin American country of a more independent stamp than most, got up to attack this resolution bitterly. Reminding his listeners that the 1946 resolution stated: "The Franco Fascist Government of Spain . . . does not represent the Spanish people," Delegate Fabrigat of Uruguay asked what had happened in Spain since 1946 that could excuse a change of position. "The same system still stands," he concluded after an enumeration of Franco's various violations of human rights, "the same totalitarian regime still exists." Instead of revoking the ban, he insisted, the Assembly should produce a stronger resolution against the Franco government.

## U. S. Cracks the Whip

But the U.S. cracks the whip and the resolution of "the eight" is passing through the General Assembly in the usual steamroller fashion. It is clear that Truman's State Department, that is, American imperialism, is committed to wooing Butcher Franco — under whom the workers are deprived of even the most elementary trade union organizations. For the lackeys of Wall Street in Washington, fascism is preferable especially as against any possibility of the workers of Spain raising their heads once more and establishing a government representative of the toiling population. Their concern is to integrate Spain, as it is, under the fascist dictator's heel, with their war plans.

But the American workers who responded with anger and hatred to Franco's bloody suppression of the Spanish working class in 1936-38 and poured out its warm-hearted support to the valiant fighters against fascism in Spain at that time, cannot have anything in common with such a view. In their trade unions, in the Political Action Committees of the CIO and the Labor Leagues for Political Education of the AFL, now is the time for trade unionists to raise their voices in protest against the atrocity perpetrated in the UN against the people of Spain and in favor of Butcher Franco. The leaders of the American labor movement must be shown that the rank and file will not stand for any move to strengthen Franco's regime through the UN or otherwise, that they will never swallow support of the fascist butcher in the name of "defending democracy."

# BELL REPORT: FILIPINO COLLAPSE, REVOLT LOOM

The report of the Economic Survey Mission for the Philippines — the mission headed by banker Daniel Bell — paints, in cautious language, the grim picture of a country whose economy is on the verge of bankruptcy, whose industry is stagnating and unemployment growing; whose agriculture is exploited by a handful of wealthy landlords while the mass of the peasants starve; whose fiscal system is on the verge of collapse and whose government is ridden by graft and corruption.

The conditions in the Philippines, as they emerge from this report, reproduce almost feature for feature the conditions that prevailed in Chiang Kai-shek's China on the eve of the downfall of his regime. Fear of similar consequences in the Philippines can be read between the lines of the Bell report.

The keynote of this report is that "economic conditions in the Philippines are unsatisfactory" and unless "positive measures" are applied promptly "the economic situation will deteriorate further and political disorder will inevitably result."

The situation is so critical that unless "prompt action" is taken "there is no certainty that moderate remedies will suffice."

The economy is being ravaged by inflation with prices averaging "three and a half times as high as prewar." Real wages are meanwhile sharply down while "the profits of business men and the income of large landowners have risen very considerably." Worst off are the mass of the peasants who live below subsistence levels, i.e., slowly starving to death. Agricultural laborers receive "in some instances less than one peso (50 cents) a day." (One of the proposed "reforms" of the Bell mission is that "a minimum wage for agricultural and other workers be established to provide subsistence standards of living.")

Although population has increased by 25%, both industrial and agricultural production remains below prewar. So do the living levels.

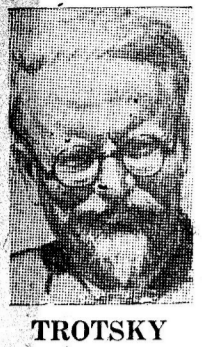
The fiscal system is on verge of collapse. "The finances of the government have become steadily worse and are now critical." An annual deficit amounting to 40% of the total budget keeps piling up. Imports cannot be paid for. Exports, consisting in the main of sugar, coconut and hemp, are "less than before the war and can be expected to grow only gradually." "Business men fear a collapse of the peso."

**NATIVE CAPITALISTS**  
 The native capitalists are engaged in an orgy of speculation. Philippine capital is fleeing abroad. Taxes on capitalists and landlords are low and besides tax evasion is the rule. Income from "large foreign exchange receipts" is largely "dissipated in imports of luxury and non-essential goods, in the remittance of high profits, and in the transfer of Philippine capital abroad."

The government circles are rotten through and through. "Inefficiency and even corruption in the government service are widespread."

Among the masses there is a "widespread feeling of disillusion." "Most agricultural and industrial workers have no faith that their economic position can or will be improved."

"The situation is being exploited by the Communist-led Hukbalahap movement to incite lawlessness and disorder." In other words, mass discontent, indignation and ferment are reaching the point of explosion.



TROTSKY

"The official struggle of the government with high prices is only a deception of the masses. . . To the capitalists' lamentations about costs of production, of transport and trade, the consumers answer: 'Show us your books; we demand control over the fixing of prices.' The organs of this control should be the committees on prices, made up of delegates from the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, farmers' organizations, the 'little man' of the city, housewives, etc. By this means the workers will be able to prove to the farmers that the real reason for high prices is not high wages, but the exorbitant profits of the capitalists and the overhead expenses of capitalist anarchy."

— Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism," 1938.



LENIN

## Our Epoch and the Russian Revolution

Thirty-three years ago a revolution broke out in the former empire of the Czars which has since dominated the course of history. This most important single event of the 20th century was the establishment of a new social order by the workers and poor peasants. The architects of the young Soviet Republic, Lenin and Trotsky, proclaimed that the victory of the Russian workers and peasants ushered in a new revolutionary epoch of world history that would not terminate until the world socialist order was established.

Precisely because history makes giant leaps forward, backward leaps are likewise possible. This happened in the wake of the Russian Revolution. The revolutionary tide was halted for the entire period between World War I and World War II. This interval of more than two decades was characterized by a virtually unbroken sweep of reaction which did not fail to leave its deepest imprint on the Soviet Union where a reactionary and barbarous bureaucracy usurped the banner of the workers' revolution.

The defeats and the prostration of the world labor movement in the interval between the two world wars gave a new lease on life to capitalism, on the one side, and the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy, on the other. The socialist perspectives opened up by the Russian Revolution appeared to swelling legions

of renegades, pessimists and faint hearts as nothing more than a mirage. Wholesale revision of Marxism, if not outright rejection of it, became the rage of the hour, as it still is, among the intellectual and pseudo-intellectual circles.

But events are once again demonstrating that after the temporary backward leap of the Twenties and the Thirties and amid the turbulent war and postwar Forties, history had prepared a whole number of forward leaps. The fires of revolution are burning bright in Yugoslavia, the key country in the once backward Balkans. The whole of Asia is now a giant volcano, with masses of downtrodden and oppressed moving onto the historical arena by the hundreds of millions and preparing for titanic events that will not only rock the world but change it as it has never been changed before.

It is such revolutionary developments that will ultimately determine the fate of mankind and not, as appears on the surface, the Big Power politics of mighty U.S. imperialism and of the Kremlin and its satellites.

The Russian Revolution was historically the starting point of the birth of the new world society and we, as orthodox Marxists, continue to take it as our point of departure in estimating the dynamics of our epoch, the most revolutionary epoch in world history. The future belongs to the world socialist revolution.

## Big Push on UMT

The big propaganda push is on now for the 82nd Congress to saddle the United States with the militarist measure known as Universal Military Training. The big brass, civilian as well as military, are popping off all over the country with speeches and appeals to soften up the American people for UMT.

All kinds of arguments are being used, but here we'd like to consider only one of the most specious — and most widespread — the argument used by President Truman in a speech on Oct. 25, and echoed by college presidents, generals, newspaper editors and veterans' commanders:

"You know, one of the most disgraceful things that ever happened to this country was to find (during the last war) that 34% of the young men and young women were not physically and mentally fit to serve the country. Now that is a disgrace to the richest nation in the world with all the medical knowledge that is supposed to exist in the world. A universal training program would eradicate that situation. . ."

We agree that such a high rate of physical and mental unfitness is truly disgraceful. But what causes it? Obviously, low living standards, economic misery, inadequate educational facilities,

insufficient medical care. The solution just as obviously, is to improve these conditions—raise wages, build more homes and more schools, provide more and better teachers, free medical attention, etc.

But the "solution" of Truman and the other advocates of UMT is — put the youth in uniform. What is such a proposal but an insult to the intelligence of the American people and a threat to the anti-militarist tradition which they have always boasted about?

UMT is another measure leading to the Prussianization of the United States. The McCarran-Kilgore police-state law imposes thought-control in the Nazi pattern while UMT, borrowed from the practices of an earlier period in German history, would burden us with the kind of permanent militarism that brought so much misery to the German people.

The American labor movement has a long record of opposition to compulsory military training which, as Kermit Eby, University of Chicago professor and former CIO publicist, says, is "nothing more than a potential strikebreaking force, more powerful than anything which we have known or dreamed of in the past." It is time for the labor movement to speak out vigorously now, and translate its words into some action.

## The Waterfront Purge

Only a few weeks ago leaders of various AFL and CIO maritime and waterfront unions were hailing the "voluntary" scheme they had worked out in collaboration with the Coast Guard and shipping officials for the so-called "screening" of "subversives." Now these same union leaders are complaining bitterly because Truman decided not to rely on "voluntary" methods and ordered the Coast Guard to take complete authority in determining who can and who cannot work on any U.S. dock or any ship in U.S. territorial waters.

The Oct. 27 Seafarers Log, publication of the AFL Seafarers International Union whose top leaders had joined in the original "voluntary" purge plan, bewails the "sweeping control of the nation's seamen" by the Coast Guard as threatening "grave abuses to merchant seamen." Under the new "alarming" set-up, they correctly point out, "a union militant could be blackballed off his ship because his 'habits of life' show him to be a 'trouble-maker' in the eyes of the Coast Guard" and union patrolmen

could be forced off the ships and "be pressured into leaving disputes unsettled, solely on the order of the port captain."

The SIU officials, however, don't offer any argument against the purge system as such. They complain chiefly that the method invoked by Truman isn't "needed." Paul Hall, Secretary-Treasurer of the union's Atlantic & Gulf District, stated, "We want communists off the ships too, but we don't like to feel we're having a choker put round our necks."

What the union bureaucrats had hoped for was a purge limited to their own lists of those they wanted kicked off their jobs because these workers had at some time or other opposed the officials' policies in the unions. But the shipowners have THEIR list — aimed at the unions as such — and that's the one the Coast Guard is going by.

The purge system has its own logic and it doesn't follow the convenience of the union leaders. Once they agree to any kind of purge, they have opened the trap door under the unions and under their own feet.

## YUGOSLAV DECREE BANS BUREAUCRATIC PRIVILEGE

(Continued from Page 1)

few others for minimal official use. Conceding that the immediate cause of the sweeping decree "establishing absolute equality between high officials and the rest of the population" is the serious drought situation, the Yugoslav Newsletter states that the new measures at the same time represent "a striking blow against bureaucracy, which has come to be recognized in Yugoslavia as one of the basic evils that a country on the road to socialism must avoid at all costs. . . in one clear, strong stroke, it is attempting to destroy the bureaucratic vestiges which still plague the young state."

**WORKERS FIRST**  
 The most significant aspect of the decree is its special emphasis on supplying the needs of the workers in heavy industry and children first. Economic and social usefulness is the standard for fixing priorities where there is not enough of certain foods to go around. Miners, industrial workers and workers in construction projects will get first call on the limited supplies of food. This is the exact opposite of what prevails in any capitalist state, where ownership of property, amount of wealth and official status determine who gets most or anything in periods of scarcity.

Since the publication of the decree on Oct. 15, public statements by Tito and a campaign in Borba, official newspaper of the Yugoslav Communist Party, indicate a determination to make the decree effective. Borba has exposed a number of instances where various officials and functionaries have attempted to circumvent the decree. Tito stated that those disobeying the decree will be severely punished regardless of the position they may hold.

It is already apparent that a struggle is being waged within the bureaucracy itself over the question of privilege and signs of a fierce conflict are evident. But the workers are strengthened by the official stand of the government and can be expected to give decisive support to the opponents of privilege.

The political significance of the equality decree is profound. Never before in history, except in the early days of the Soviet Union under Lenin and Trotsky, has the attempt to establish such equality been made. In the famine-ridden period of the early '30s in the Soviet Union, the Stalinist usurpers extended their privileges and enforced them by draconic violence against the masses, with the victims counted in the millions.

A leading American foreign correspondent, M. S. Handler, has called the decree a "revolutionary act." The American capitalist press, by its widespread comment on the decree, has indicated that its significance extends far beyond Yugoslavia's borders. Some papers have taken special pains to belittle it. But they cannot hide the fact that this action in Yugoslavia goes far to destroy the false propaganda, based on the example of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, that a workers state and the socialist revolution must inevitably lead to new forms of inequality and privilege.

Certainly no capitalist state, even under the worst famine conditions, has ever abolished special privilege or even attempted to. Recall Chiang Kai-shek's China, India and Greece.

This latest revolutionary progressive action in Yugoslavia is one more reason why the American workers should give all possible support to Yugoslavia's plea for immediate large-scale food shipments from America with no political strings attached.



# The Stay-Away Voters

By Paul Stenley

In the United States a smaller proportion of the people bother to vote than almost anywhere in the world. And official government figures show that the proportion of Americans boycotting elections is growing bigger all the time.

In Detroit, which is a typical city in this respect, City Clerk Thomas D. Leadbetter, Republican chairman of the city election commission, said in a statement reprinted in the Oct. 17 Detroit News: "It was brought sharply to my attention at the last census that about a quarter-million eligible people in Detroit were not registered to vote. There is a shocking shrinkage in the total number of votes being cast in the United States on a percentage basis. I call your attention to these figures:

"Fifty years ago, 83 out of every 100 eligible voters went to the polls. Thirty years ago, 72 out of every 100 voted. Fifteen years ago, 57 out of every 100 voted. But in 1948, in the Truman-Dewey presidential election, the vote dropped to an all-time low. Only 51 out of every 100 voted, and we had 96,000,000 in the United States with the right of franchise."

These figures show that since the beginning of this century the American people have lost confidence in the two-party system, as well as in the governments at Washington and state and local communities. They are convinced that their vital interests are not represented. Millions of eligible voters "vote with their feet," as Lenin used to say, and boycott the appeals of the major parties. Their so-called lack of interest is in reality a lack of confidence.

Congressman Jacob K. Javits of the 21st District in New York, has the following to say in a feature article in the Oct. 22 Detroit News:

"Over 95,000,000 Americans could go to the polls for the critically important 1950 elections. Probably scarcely more than 35,000,000 will do so. Why? . . . The record is much worse in congressional than in presidential elections — in 1946, for instance, 37.5 percent voted, 34,000,000 out of the 91,000,000 eligible. In 1942 it was only 32.4 percent.

"There have also been some interesting efforts to determine scientifically why so many Ameri-

cans don't vote. One of special significance was begun early in 1949 by Dr. Ernest Dichter, psychological consultant of New York City, who has since published the results of his study made in the city of Portland, Me.

"He tried to determine why only 15 to 20 percent of the eligible citizens of Portland voted in the city elections. Dr. Dichter found that non-voting was attributable not as much to political apathy as to political frustration. . . .

"The ordinary citizen's political frustration was found to be the dominant note throughout in Dr. Dichter's survey. He felt there was a feeling almost as if only rebellion would bring about changes and as the people of Portland were basically lawful they just shut their feeling up within themselves and did nothing."

The foregoing figures do not take into account the millions of Negroes and poor whites who are disfranchised in the South and elsewhere.

Millions of people are fed up with capitalist parties and capitalist promises. The tactics of the labor officials in urging people to vote for Democrats and liberal Republicans only results in more "political frustration." The unions lose prestige and standing among the general population. It is not the people who are in error, but the labor officials.

The answer is in a repudiation of both Democrats and Republicans. The answer is in a program of revolutionary change. Such a bold program alone can give the people real improvement in conditions.

This only the rank and file of the labor movement can accomplish, drawing to their side the minorities, the farmers, the white-collar and professional workers, the aged, the youth, the soldiers and sailors. All the victims of capitalism will rally to such a movement. That is why the Trotskyists advocate a labor party, which will abolish the rule of the bankers, bosses and landlords, in favor of a Workers and Farmers Government of socialism. If such a party and program is offered, then the millions of Americans who don't vote now will be eager to vote; then they will storm the voting booths because confidence based on political and living experience will return, and not till then.

# 45-Hour Week?

By Frank Poole

C. E. Wilson, president of General Motors, has sounded the call for a new offensive of the industrial corporations against the 40-hour week. His appeal is based on the need for "more production" to carry out the war program. "Temporarily, we should increase the average work week to as much as forty-five hours in order not to decrease the amount of consumer goods available and at the same time produce the necessary military goods," he declared in a widely-publicized speech on Oct. 26.

Of course, many GM workers are employed even longer than 45 hours a week right now — but GM has to pay time-and-a-half for the additional hours over forty and double time for Sundays and holidays. Wilson was speaking of a longer work-week with straight-time pay.

Spokesmen for both the CIO and AFL indignantly denounced Wilson's proposal and Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Automobile Workers, correctly charged that GM's president wants "simply that workers should work five hours more each week without being paid for the overtime as required by law and contract."

This immediate response to Wilson's proposal was to be expected at this time, but it by no means is absolute assurance that the union leaders will under any and all circumstances resist this move uncompromisingly. Wilson was not talking just for the record. He believes the time is growing ripe for the kind of move he has projected and he is preparing to pluck the fruit in season. And he knows that the present opposition of the union leaders cannot be taken as their final attitude on the subject.

# A Billion Dollar Industry

By Larissa Reed

"The business of influencing legislation is a billion-dollar industry," states Frank Buchanan, Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania and chairman of the House Committee on Lobbying Activities, which has released some illuminating facts about how much Big Business pays to keep its governmental machine well oiled. According to a report issued on Oct. 21 by this committee, 152 corporations admitted that they had spent over \$32,000,000 between January 1947 and June 1950 on "activities relating to attempts to influence legislation." Another 21 corporations, including U. S. Steel, refused the committee's invitation to supply this information, or failed to list any expenditures.

Most significant about this report are the many indirect and concealed methods used by Big Business to avoid full disclosure of their high-pressure activities under the Lobbying Act. Buchanan points out that the report covers only a small part of the half-million corporations in the U. S., and of these "the \$32,000,000 reported in response to our letter contrasts sharply with the \$750,000 reported by these same corporations under the Lobbying Act." The bulk of the millions of dollars was channeled into "advertising, pamphleteering, contributions and the like" to various "opinion-forming" groups. A total of \$27,000,000 was "in the form of contributions to various organizations," among them corporations and trade associations.

# Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

All the "moralistic" arguments of anti-Marxists — from the hoary charge that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were "amoral" to the current accusation that the guiding Marxist maxim is that "the end justifies the means" — are answered in this classic work. After taking them up one by one, Trotsky counterposes to the capitalist moralism and sycophants the highest morality of all — that of the socialist revolution.

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Buchanan makes haste to assure everyone that such expenditures are "good and proper, and in keeping with our great American rights of free speech and free press." All that he and other Fair Deal liberals want is "full disclosure" enabling Congress and the people "to know who is behind the gigantic campaigns to influence Congress either directly or indirectly."

But Congressmen already know who is behind them — and how they got into office in the first place. From their initial training ground in the colleges and political parties that serve the needs of Big Business, through their entire careers up the office-holding ladder, these hand-picked anti-labor politicians know whose interests they represent. If Big Business spends so many millions in this way, in the first place it is tax-free self-advertising, and in the second place this immense propaganda and bribery is intended to drown out any legislative demands of the exploited masses of people that may percolate into Congress.

As Buchanan points out, "millions of these pamphlets are distributed to school teachers, the clergy and other community-thought leaders . . . many companies distribute the pamphlets to their foremen and other supervisory personnel . . . to influence their thinking and the thinking of those under them." If the masses are sufficiently "influenced" through the schools, the churches and in the factories, the congressional stooges of Wall Street can feel freer and easier about doing the dictates of their capitalist masters.

Despite Buchanan's assurance, when the report was made public, that "I do not believe in curbing lobbying activity in any way," the Republican members of the committee are irritated at this disclosure of Big Business political manipulations. Refusing to sign the majority report, on Oct. 29 they denounced the "Fair Deal officeholders" in witch-hunt terms, complaining that the report was part of the Trumanite election campaign.

However true this may be, one thing is sure — the working people can gain nothing from any Congress hand-fed and hand-picked by Big Business, whether Fair Deal, Short Deal or Double Deal. What the workers need are their own congressional representatives, selected from their own ranks and steered to resist the "influence" of Big Business.

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# M'CARRAN BOARD READY TO START OPERATIONS

Truman's Subversive Activities Control Board was sworn into office on Nov. 1, and Chairman Seth W. Richardson announced that it was ready to do business

in enforcing the law "are typical of actions still to come, the sooner Congress reconsiders this legislation the better."

The Cleveland Press, a Scripps-Howard paper, commenting editorially on the case of two local non-citizens arrested and held without bail, cited the constitutional provisions violated by this procedure. It called for meeting the "Communist menace" by legal means, but "not at the expense of discarding sacred civil liberties."

Under another section of the law, however, McGrath began to relax the severity of his enforcement. Aliens with only "nominal membership, whether past or present, in either the Nazi, Fascist, Falangist or other totalitarian party or organization" would hereafter be admitted temporarily to this country, he declared.

He defined "nominal membership" as "mere membership during infancy, under 16 years of age, or for purposes of obtaining employment, food ration cards, general education, or through military service or similar circumstances." That hole is wide enough to drive a column of tanks through.

But the ban on those who are or ever were members of the Communist Party and similar organizations remains unchanged.

# James Boulton Advocates Mass Committees to Control Rents

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 31 — "The miserably inadequate federal aids to housing can now be counted a sacrifice to Truman's 30 billion dollar war program, and rent-gouging becomes one of the best ways to earn that 'honest' buck. Immediate restoration of nationwide federal rent controls administered by popular committees of the laboring people is in order," said James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senator, at a forum of the Public Enterprise Committee last Wednesday night.

"To dramatize and set a pattern for popular action on this question, I recommend that Mayor Zeidler erect a review board of responsible representatives from labor, consumers, tenants, and workers' political organizations to establish the validity of complaints of rent-gouging and building and health code violations. "I further recommend that the Mayor call upon the trade unions, the Public Enterprise Committee, the Socialist and Socialist Workers Parties, and like organizations, to form popular Tenants' Protection Committees in the wards and neighborhoods to police

# Obituaries

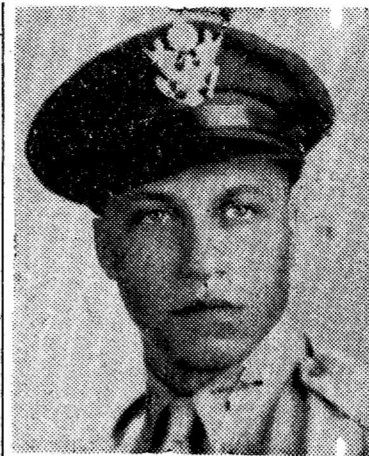
By Paul Williams

CHICAGO — A white back, Mrs. Henry Ford Sr. met her maker. The capitalist press noted this tragedy with the respect due to those who die and leave behind them a record of "accomplishment."

Mrs. Ford left behind such a record. On the day she died, the Ford Co. throughout the world notified its employees that they would be allowed the privilege of observing a period of three minutes silence to commemorate this great loss to mankind. The three minutes set aside were deducted from the lunch period of the production line workers, but that didn't matter, for, after all, she was an important person. At least some people thought so.

In Chicago, the front pages of the dailies have been filled with reports on the death of former Chicago Mayor Kelly. "Big Ed" they called him because of his physical stature. "The cortege, which traveled five blocks from the funeral chapel to the cathedral, was led by platoons of police and firemen in dress uniforms, and white gloves. Marching behind them were hundreds of mourners, including virtually all of the city's prominent Democratic leaders and officials and many Republican leaders as well."

"Big Ed" also had a record of "accomplishment." He entrenched into local politics the Kelly-Nash machine and made many people rich out of the sweat of the Chicago working class. During his lifetime, he was a faithful man, faithful to the steel and packing corporations that rule Illinois politics.



LT. LEON A. GILBERT, Jr.

# Democrat, GOP'er Smoked Out on McCarran Law

NEWARK, Oct. 30 — William E. Bohannon's fighting denunciation of the McCarran-Kilgore police-state law smoked his Democratic and Republican opponents out into the open during a three-way debate at the forum of the League of Women Voters in East Orange last Wednesday.

The SWP candidate for Congress had posed the issue so sharply — McCarran law or Bill of Rights — that their own supporters forced the capitalist candidates to speak up.

The Democratic incumbent and Fair Dealer, Hugh J. Addonizio, who has the support of the union leaders, lamely tried to explain why he had voted for the law by saying he didn't really favor it in its "present form" but the press had wanted it, etc., and so he had gone along.

An elderly Republican asked the GOP candidate, Albert L. Vreeland, for his stand. Vreeland replied that he favored "even stronger measures" (his speeches daily call for "the elimination of Socialism and Communism").

The questioner rose again, reflecting the uneasiness that the new law has created among many middle class elements, and said sorrowfully, "I was wishing that you would say you were against this law."

# Police-Staters Bar California Pastor From Broadcast

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 25 — Citizens of Southern California got another lesson on freedom of speech this week, helping to show clearly that the "anti-red" drive is not meant to be used only on so-called subversives, but is meant for all, especially minorities.

Rev. Clayton Russell, pastor of the People's Independent Church and a leader in the Negro religious Community, has just been barred from speaking over radio station KOWL which covers Southern California. He had been talking for one half hour each Sunday morning until barred from the radio this week by its managers who declared, through James Coyle, assistant to the owner: "The Rev. Clayton Russell was discontinued as a speaker and the reason is that we found on investigation his name is on several lists of persons supposed to be friendly to communism. We have watched his speeches closely and he has never uttered a word that could be objected to and we do not think that he is a Communist. But we do not want to take any chances. We are obliged to police our station carefully and we have every legal right to bar any person we please. There is no racial angle because we employ a well known disc jockey."

We are told that there is no reason for barring the speaker, but the station can't take any chances! Chances of what? It is bad enough that a so-called public medium of expression claims the right to deprive political opponents of the right to exercise freedom of speech. On top of that we are now being shown that everyone will be denied freedom of speech merely upon denunciation or because one's name is on some unknown list.

# Clyde Turner Pledges Support To Mrs. Gilbert

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 28 — Mrs. Clyde Turner, Militant (Socialist) Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, traveled to York, Pa., last

week to personally express her sympathy and pledge her solidarity with Mrs. Kay Gilbert in her fight to save the life of her husband, Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, of the 24th Regiment.

Mrs. Turner's conviction that continued mass pressure can bring justice for Lt. Gilbert was confirmed in the interview with Mrs. Gilbert and her attorney, Judson E. Ruch. Mrs. Turner states:

"Mrs. Gilbert is heartened by the support already expressed in letters from thousands of citizens all over the country. She was pleased to discuss with me plans for further activities to win support for Lt. Gilbert and expressed willingness to appear before as many Philadelphia organizations as would hear her story of her husband's victimization, particularly the NAACP.

"Recognizing that the final decision will affect the Negro people as a whole, Mrs. Gilbert is determined to win freedom for her husband. She feels confident that letters now pouring into the offices of Gen. Milen and Gen. Brannon will weigh heavily in that decision.

"Attorney Judson E. Ruch, legal counsel for the York NAACP Branch, hails the spontaneous response of American citizens to this injustice and considers it will undoubtedly affect the deliberations of army and government officials on the Gilbert case.

# STALINIST LINE RIPPED BY ROBERTS AT FORUM

By Clara Kaye

SEATTLE, Oct. 28 — Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for First District Congressman, scored a decisive political victory over his Stalinist opponent before an alert student audience

last Thursday at a forum sponsored by the University of Washington YMCA's Committee for Effective Citizenship and held at Eagleson Hall, across the street from the campus.

As against the weak and ineffective arguments advanced by his adversary, Roberts made an excellent impression on his hearers by clearly explaining the SWP program and answering the numerous questions quickly and thoroughly. After the forum officially closed, students remained to discuss political issues with the speaker.

All but one of a small group of CP'ers present stayed to listen to Roberts, who was the second speaker. They were visibly disconcerted by his vigor and logic and listened attentively throughout.

Paul Bowen, Congressional candidate of the presumably non-Stalinist "Independent" Party, opened the forum with halting complaints against the two big parties which "wanted war." He requested support for his party which "desired only peace." Bowen seemed well satisfied with his presentation of this anemic program, and was unprepared for the avalanche of questions which hit him from the floor. He hemmed, hawed, stuttered, evaded questions, contradicted himself and took a long time generally to search out answers for his audience.

# QUICK RETREAT

He was distinctly relieved when the chairman's bell sounded and left the hall immediately, without even extending the SWP candidate the courtesy of listening to him. This conduct made a decidedly unfavorable impression on an already skeptical audience, and the students, mostly supporters of the ADA and the Young Progressives, turned their attention eagerly to Roberts, their interest aroused by

the pointed questions that had so confused Bowen.

Asked if he believed in civil rights for Trotskyists, Bowen replied, "I believe in civil rights for everybody." Whereupon he was asked if he realized this contradicted Paul Robeson's position on the SWP. He answered unhappily that Robeson had a right to his own opinions. Bowen, not being an experienced Trotsky-baiter, thus found himself forced to differ with the Stalinist position.

When his position on Yugoslavia was requested, Bowen stated that the Independent Party hadn't yet "gotten around to discussing such minor issues. We're solely concerned with peace and can't bother with Yugoslavia!"

An opinion expressed by one of the audience to the effect that she didn't believe a lasting peace was possible under capitalism, elicited from Bowen only inaudible mumbling.

In striking contrast was Roberts' scathing denunciation of the futility and illusory nature of the Stockholm Peace Pledge and his attack on the Independent's milk-toast plank on Korea. He presented a stirring defense of colonial revolutions for national independence and explained how the Kremlin uses and sabotages these anti-imperialist movements.

# OTHER ACTIVITIES

Other Seattle campaign highlights include the distribution of special issues of The Campaigner to maritime and railway workers. These leaflets, dealing with problems of specific unions, met with a highly sympathetic reception. A special Campaigner has also been devoted to the subject of housing and distributed to residents of government housing projects.

Almost a square mile of homes in the Negro neighborhood have been visited by SWP door-to-door canvassers with copies of the special election issues of the Militant.

On Oct. 21, a successful social was held near campus. A number of students, newly interested in the SWP attended and enjoyed the spaghetti dinner, a three-piece orchestra for dancing, a skit satirizing the ADA and speeches by candidate Roberts and campaign manager, Marianne Stanley.

Daniel Roberts will make two radio addresses, one on Sunday and one on Monday evening. Listening parties are scheduled for these broadcasts. The final campaign rally is slated for Nov. 4 at the Workmen's Circle Hall.

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