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KENYATTA -- LEADER OF AFRICA IN REVOLT

(See Page 3)

CIO Convention Is Dominated by Leadership Battle

Dec. 4 — The CIO national convention, convened since Dec. 1 in Atlantic City, has thus far been dominated by the struggle for the top post left vacant by the death of Philip Murray, to the virtual exclusion of consideration of vital issues facing labor.

United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther and CIO Executive Vice President Allan S. Haywood head opposing factions in a struggle for the CIO presidency. At this writing, although no decision has yet been reached, Reuther appears to have the edge. Attempts of the officials to avoid an open contest by an agreement have thus far proved fruitless. The issue will come to a roll-call vote tomorrow unless Haywood, as rumored, withdraws at the last moment.

The sharpness of the contest for leadership contrasts with the almost total lack of discussion of issues. While there is a difference of age, temperament and background between the contestants, they express no fundamental differences on the crucial issues affecting labor. Both boast they are faithful disciples of Murray.

Thus, it would appear that the conflict over leadership is nothing but a power fight between two cliques, lacking any demonstrated principled basis. Neither side has presented the convention an effective program dealing with the big and grave problems of the CIO; nor has there been even an attempt at honest and critical analysis of the recent great electoral defeat of the 20-year-old Democratic-labor coalition.

Both sides have been busy scrambling for votes in event an open show-down comes. The leaders of the different affiliated unions are lining up on the basis of the bureaucratic advantages offered by each side. There is some shifting back and forth among the leaders of smaller unions as



WALTER REUTHER, auto union head, shown with the late CIO President PHILIP MURRAY (seated), whose death set off a leadership struggle in the CIO.

they weigh inducements and promises. But in the entire process of choosing a top leader the CIO ranks are being little consulted. Whoever wins, the problem of leadership will not have been really solved. A full report from the convention will be published in the next issue of The Militant.

CIVIL WAR, STILL RAGES FIERCELY IN SO. KOREA

By Joseph Keller

Anti-Rhee guerrillas by the thousands are still operating behind the battle-lines in South Korea despite two-and-a-half years of "extermination" campaigns by dictator Syngman Rhee's army and police

aided by U.S. forces. A revealing picture story of this "savage, secret war" that "Eisenhower will not see when he is in Korea" appears in the Dec. 1 Life magazine, which contains 11 pages of vivid photographs by Margaret Bourke-White, who visited a guerrilla-constituted area.

Life discloses the surprising extent of the guerrilla warfare "about 150 miles to the rear of the Korean battle-line . . . in territory officially held by U.N. forces." It conservatively estimates that "perhaps 10,000" guerrilla fighters are pinning down several times that number of South Korean police and armed guards "aided by U.S. arms and advisers."

Virtually the entire region of south-west South Korea, comprising North and South Cholla provinces, an area of about 8,000 square miles or roughly a fifth of the whole country below the 38th Parallel, is disputed territory. In North Cholla alone, says Life, "5,000 regular police and 11,000 young volunteers are engaged in fighting them (the guerrillas)."

That Life actually underestimates the scope of the guerrilla forces is indicated by the Nov. 29 report of Lindsey Parrott, Far East correspondent of the N. Y. Times. He says, "There exists, despite all suppressive measures, an active guerrilla movement . . . possibly numbering more than 20,000 armed insurgents." Associated Press dispatches of Nov. 1, 10 and 22 tell of guerrillas striking on the opposite side of Korea from the Cholla provinces, near Taegu and the port city of Pusan. In one instance, "the Reds battled for several hours" with South Korean forces.

RHEE BUTCHERY

Margaret Bourke-White's photographs graphically present the ferocity of the Rhee forces against guerrilla fighters, of whom 13,000 have been killed and thousands of others captured in the past 13 months, according to the claims of the Rhee government. Trussed-up corpses of guerrillas are brought in for "identification" and when this is too difficult, "only the grisly heads are retrieved." Those prisoners not murdered on the spot are tried before kangaroo courts—martial which frequently impose death by firing squad.

Several photographs of young guerrilla prisoners awaiting trial — including a moving study of captured girl guerrillas — are included in Life. They are in striking contrast with fat, cruel-looking provincial police chief Han Kyon Lok, shown celebrating the "victory" of 900 of his police against a hundred guerrillas at a party where he is "regaling his men and 'Kisang girls' (Korean geishas) with popular Japanese song, China Night."

"FINAL" CAMPAIGN
A year ago, in Dec. 1951, the Rhee government announced a "final mopping-up, extermination" campaign against a claimed 10,000 surviving guerrillas. Now we are informed that after "the hunters have killed 13,000 in 13 months, captured thousands more, converted many to the Republic's side," the guerrillas are as numerous as ever and "still a formidable foe." Evidently their forces are being constantly replenished and augmented by the people.

The persistence and extent of this guerrilla warfare serves to remind us that the Korean struggle began as a civil and class war, with workers and peasants arrayed against the landlords and capitalists of the Rhee regime, which the U.S. militarists are backing. Such guerrilla resistance can be maintained only amidst a friendly, supporting populace.

State Dept. Blocks UN Truce Move; "Hotter" War Feared

Dictator Voids Election Result In Venezuela

An election, designed to provide a democratic facade for the dictatorship in Venezuela, has backfired. The URD (National Democratic Union) won by a landslide. This forced dictator Perez Jimenez to black out all news to the outside world while the election results were falsified and Ignacio Arcaya, the head of the winning party, jailed. The election outcome is an unexpected blow not only to the military dictator Perez Jimenez but to his backers — the U.S. State Department and the U.S. oil and steel corporations.

By December 1 it was clear that the URD had won the election held the previous day. It led in 18 of the country's 20 states and another opposition party led in one of the remaining states. Even the government tabulating agency reported that the URD was leading with 54% of the vote. Then censorship was clamped on the country, no telephone communication with the outside world was allowed until the night of December 2 when the Army pronounced the dictator president and declared that his party was leading in the election tabulation.

FOR NATIONALIZATION
The URD not only opposed the totalitarianism of the present regime with its concentration camps for union members but also called for nationalization of Venezuela's rich oil fields and iron ore deposits.

The present dictatorship rose to power in 1948. The overthrown president, Gallegos, accused U.S. oil companies of financing the revolt of the military junta. He also declared that the military attaché of "a large power" had participated in the military coup. The "large power" was understood to be the U.S.

WANTED FIG LEAF

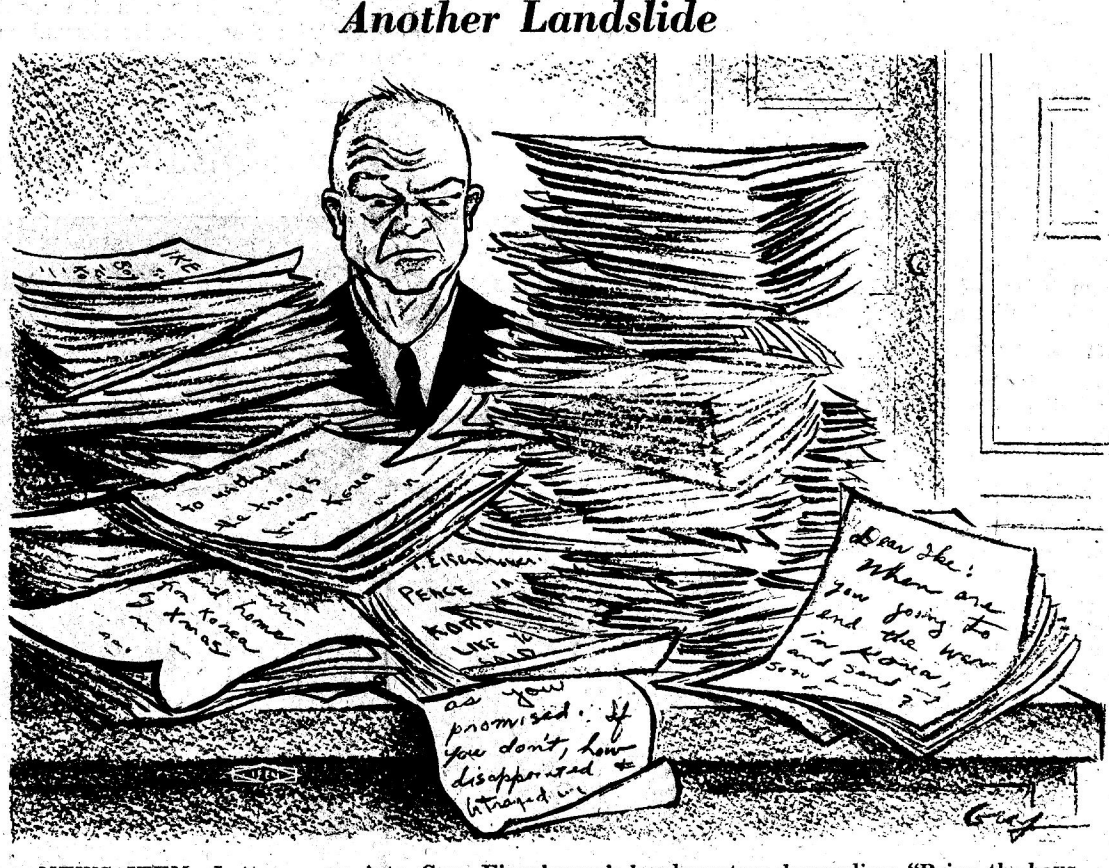
The recent election was held because the U.S. State Department wanted a democratic fig leaf to cover the naked brutality of the Venezuelan regime which is scheduled to play host to the Tenth Inter-American Conference in 1953. The Ninth Conference, held in Bogota, Colombia, five years ago, was interrupted by a popular uprising. Diplomats have no desire to repeat their harrowing experience so it is assumed that the 1953 conference will be postponed.

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NEWS ITEM: Letters pour into Gen. Eisenhower's headquarters demanding, "Bring the boys home from Korea."

FI DEMANDS REVIEW OF CZECH TRIAL BEFORE IMPARTIAL LABOR TRIBUNAL

PARIS, France, Nov. 28 — The International Secretariat of the Fourth International yesterday condemned the Czech frame-up trial as a new monstrous crime of Stalinism and appealed to members of the Communist Parties and progressives everywhere to protest against the trial and demand it be reviewed before an impartial, international working-class tribunal. The International Secretariat is the leading body of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky before he was murdered by an agent of Stalin. The full text of the appeal follows: . . .

Eleven of the defendants in the Prague trial have been condemned to death. Among them are veteran Communist leaders some of whom, like Slansky, Clementis and Geminder, occupied the highest posts in the hierarchy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and international apparatus of the Kremlin. Their "crime" was probably the loss, for one reason or another, of the absolute confidence of the Kremlin as faithful instruments of its policies, or their displacement in the bureaucratic leadership of the Czechoslovak

CP by a rival clique which won the definitive backing of the Kremlin. This is the way in which under analogous circumstances trials will be prepared tomorrow for the French Slansky and Geminders, the Martyrs, the Tillons and even the Thorezes.

WHY THEY "CONFESSIONED"

The grotesque and odious character of the accusation in this new monstrous "trial" did not escape any observer, even the least critical. Accused in the same breath of being agents of imperialism, Titoists, Zionists, Trotskyists, bourgeois nationalists, Prague victims naturally "confessed" all up and down the line. Imprisoned for long months, broken morally and physically, tried in a completely hostile atmosphere in which their own wives and children under the most infamous pressure called for their execution, these old bureaucratized functionaries of Stalin's international apparatus (not one of whom was really a Trotskyist) could not find the strength to resist. Genuine revolutionaries, infinitely superior to these figures, were not able to summon power for that in the Moscow Trials of 1936-38.

Without doubt the police apparatus of Stalin prepared this trial in the classic manner of the other trials of the same kind, slipping genuine agents provocateurs and doubtful elements among the authentic Communist leaders who up to yesterday were loyal servants of the Kremlin.

STALIN'S TRADEMARK

The method of amalgams is a trademark of the GPU and Stalin. It can fool no one save those who having lost all critical perception and courage are already prepared to quiet their conscience by painting up the bureaucratic police regime of Stalin in the colors of the struggle for the revolution and for socialism.

This is the worst manner to serve either one or the other. Without critical reflection and without courage to protest the abuses, the abominations and the crimes of the bureaucratic figures which history temporarily lifted to the head of the USSR and of the workers' movement, it is impossible to prepare a better future for humanity, to serve either the workers' movement or socialism, or to maintain even the moral base for protest against

U.S. Troops to Remain in Korean War Despite Eisenhower Promises

By Art Preis

Washington has whipped its reluctant allies into line on the Korean truce negotiations. India was forced to revise its original "compromise" plan — already in accord with U.S. demands that have held up a truce for a year — and to accept further "amendments" dictated by the U.S. State Dept. These are calculated to make UN truce terms fully unacceptable to the Chinese and North Koreans.

In their latest UN maneuvers, the U.S. diplomats gave further evidence that the prisoners-of-war issue is not the only, or even the most important, issue blocking a truce. Their objections to the original India plan were based on that section referring to a political conference to be held between the belligerents after an armistice is reached. The U.S. delegates demanded elimination of this reference. They indicated that Washington has no intention of dealing with the real issues behind the Far East conflict — recognition of New China, return of Formosa, withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea to permit the Koreans to settle their own fate. Wall Street's government is determined on the ultimate destruction of the present revolutionary governments in China and North Korea.

Washington Faces Dilemma in Bolivia Tin Mines Seizure

"Will the Eisenhower administration buy Bolivian tin . . . ?" is the question posed by a featured dispatch from Bolivia's capital, La Paz, in the Nov. 24 issue of the Wall Street Journal. The Journal says this is a big question especially in the event that the Bolivian government fails to pay what it calls "fair compensation" to the nationalized mines' stockholders, many of whom are Americans.

According to the Wall Street Journal, the Bolivian question poses the following dilemma: "If the U.S. doesn't buy Bolivia's tin, the mining industry here may well collapse, and Uncle Sam would lose the only major source of tin in this hemisphere — a big blow if war should come. A U.S. boycott of Bolivia would also bring hunger, hardships and new political upheavals to this country, and would fan the already strong anti-American feeling throughout South America."

"On the other hand, if the U.S. does buy Bolivia's tin — without satisfactory compensation having been paid the mine owners — it would amount to condoning expropriation of private investment abroad. Chile (with its U.S.-owned copper mines), Venezuela (with its U.S.-owned oil wells), and other Latin nations might be encouraged to believe they could get away with the same sort of thing."

The Wall Street Journal points out that "the country's 60,000 tin miners are still toting the rifles, machine guns and grenades

FORMIDABLE PROBLEMS

Despite Eisenhower's implied promise to the American people that he is going to Korea to end the war, all press comment and speculation seem to turn on alternatives for continuing the war. This is what Eisenhower, they say, is really going to Korea to try to decide.

Formidable problems confront the U.S. diplomatic and military planners, both the U.S. News and World Report and Life magazines emphasize in leading articles in their current issues. If the American ruling class hasn't attempted to push through to a definitive military settlement in Korea, it is because the obstacles in all directions are fearful and there are no guarantees for successfully overcoming any or all of them. But neither is there any assurance that the arrogant, brutal and wilful minority who run America won't attempt to buck through these obstacles in spite of the hazards to the American people and the people of the world.

CURTAIN RAISER

TO WORLD WAR III
A decision in Korea must be made in light of the entire world strategy of U.S. imperialism, says the Dec. 5 U.S. News and World Report. "Its solution, to be successful, must not compromise the West's future chances in Indo-China, Malaya, Europe, in the U.N. in any war that may lie ahead," meaning World War III.

Life also emphasizes: "The Korean War — Eisenhower knows well — is but a momentary stage in the struggle for Asia — which in turn is a stage in the world struggle." But to this "momentary stage" in the struggle against the Asian revolution the U.S. has already committed "upward of 30% of the 'ready' strength of the Army, at least one fifth of the combat strength of the Air Force and a substantial segment of the Navy."

The U.S.-controlled ground forces in Korea now number 900,000 men, including 400,000 Americans, 450,000 South Koreans and 50,000 from UN countries. The Chinese and North Koreans number nearly 1,200,000, "deployed in strong positions, rich with new Soviet equipment." Just "waiting for the cruelly elusive truce, the U.S. Army has suffered in casualties some 9,000 killed, 39,000 wounded, 750 missing."

The alternatives on Korea facing the American Big Business ruling class and its war leaders, as the U.S. News outlines them, are a "bigger war," or a "hotter war," or a "diversion effort" with use of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, or more South Koreans and troops from Japan, or "finally" a "withdrawal from Korea." These more nefarious schemes.

(Continued on page 4)

Labor Can Build Mighty Party of Its Own

By Art Preis

Shortly after the election returns were in, The Militant pointed out that union workers continued by and large to follow the political policies advocated by their organizations. Contrary to the claims of the Big Business press, there was no significant shift of union labor to the Republicans. Both AFL and CIO leaders also stress this fact.

"Contrary to the sneering conclusions of the daily press," says a survey of the election results in the Nov. 14 AFL News Reporter, "union members throughout the country voted overwhelmingly for Adlai E. Stevenson for President, analysis of the final returns proves. Stevenson received almost 27 million popular votes, most of his strength coming from the industrial centers and big cities, where the labor vote predominates. His vote exceeded the winning total of President Truman in 1948. . ."

Similarly, CIO's Political Action Committee Director Jack Kroll stated on Nov. 29 that "CIO members to a very large extent followed the recommendations of the CIO leadership. A reasonable estimate of CIO members who

agreed with the political recommendations of their leadership is 70 to 75 per cent." He observed in this connection that "Herbert Morrison, Deputy Prime Minister in the British Labor Government, estimates the British Labor Party receives a maximum of 75 per cent of the British labor vote."

SOLID RANKS

From these same sources we gather that the labor organizations dragged along a lethargic Democratic Party. "Actually, the labor vote held truer and more solidly for Stevenson than the Democratic organization vote," concludes the AFL News-Reporter survey. Field reports from key industrial areas to The Militant indicate wide-spread disgruntlement among PAC and LLPE workers against the local Democratic machines because they claim the real work of getting votes for the Democrats was done by union people.

If American union leaders carry as much political weight among American workers as the British union leaders among British workers, then it is reasonable to conclude that formation of a labor party in the United States backed by the trade unions has every

chance of achieving as great power and influence here as the British Labor Party in England. That being the case, it would hardly hold that "now is not the time" to form a labor party in this country.

Furthermore, if labor's support is the most important source of continuing strength for the Democrats and if the Democratic Party machine is incapable on its own of rallying any significant forces, then what advantage is there for labor to remain a political adjunct to the Democratic machine? The Democratic Party is a drag on the American labor movement, holding it back from political progress.

WOULD WIN SUPPORT

In fact, there is every reason to believe that a labor party based on the trade unions would win support not only from virtually 100% of the wage-earners — who constitute an outright majority of the population — but from low-income farmers, hard-pressed small business-men, professionals and many of the non-organized poorer layers of society who have turned to the Republicans in sheer desperation and for lack of anywhere else to go politically.

These people did not go over to traditional Republicanism, it is true. But they did repudiate what they have come to think of as the program of the Democrats — war, inflation, high taxes. They voted for Eisenhower because he gave them the hope that he might end the Korean war, first of all, and then bring down prices and taxes. But many of them might have voted even more readily for the candidate of a labor party which would have offered an effective program to establish enduring peace and economic security.

What the American people want is some political perspective that looks toward better days. The labor leaders fail to offer such a perspective because they are still looking backward to the "good old days" when they got a few minor concessions and crumbs from the Democratic administration. And while they still profess fears of the consequences of Republican victory, they advance no program to fight Republican reaction except to wait until the next big election. They hold out only the prospect of a possible Democratic revival in the Congressional elections two years from now and the presidential race in 1956.

They do not neglect however, to arrange whatever modus vivendi they can with the Republican administration. Both AFL and CIO leaders have expressed their eagerness to cooperate with the new President and are trying to wedge a foot into the White House door once more. Thus, ten top CIO leaders last week demonstratively paid their respects to Eisenhower at his Commodore Hotel headquarters in Washington.

POWER BRINGS RESPECT

Instead of trying to curry favor with the Wall Street General, the union leaders would assure labor of a lot more respectful treatment from the government if they helped to arm labor with a big club of genuine independent political action in the form of labor's own party. Labor allied to the reactionary Democrats is no threat to the Republicans today. Labor allied in its own party with the other dissatisfied sections of society and driving for political power in Washington would strike fear in the hearts of all the reactionaries and force them to shrink back from carrying out some of their more nefarious schemes.

OLE PROVES THAT A WORKER CAN GET RICH IN AMERICA

By F. Powers

For years now, I've been busy trying to disprove the old school-book lie about hard work, thrift, economy and so forth enabling a man to accumulate a fortune in this great capitalist democracy. Armed with Lundberg's book "America's 60 Families," I try to show that it just ain't so, and follow up with ammunition from Marx's "Value, Price and Profit" to explain just why it ain't so.

In fact, I was doing pretty well until I heard that Ole was worth some \$40,000! Now, \$40,000 is only about a month's salary for my boss, Eugene Grace, but when one of his steel workers manages to accumulate that much money and at the same time provide a tidy profit for Bethlehem Steel, it's news of the "man bites dog" variety.

At first, of course, I was skeptical. Then I began to look into the matter. Ole came to work in the steel mill in the late twenties when he was already 35. Just over from the old country, he had little education, no mechanical experience, was thumb-fingered and superstitious. He dreamed of having a little money in his old age, of being able to go back to Norway and visit his relatives after making good in the new world. So Ole went down to the steel mill to sell his labor power and get rich.

Now a hand mill is no place for a thin man of 35 even if he is raised on a farm like Ole. It's tough enough for a guy in his twenties hitting a well-built 200. A strander on a 12-inch mill will repeat bars which finish at as large as one and a quarter inches in diameter, catching and bending around him about 50 bars in 15 minutes. He works in a ring of red-hot steel and has to be relieved every 15 minutes for a 15-minute rest spell.

After a guy has been there a few years, he begins to give ground both ways — he gets older and lighter. But by the time his age and strength are against him, he's learned a few tricks, has his timing set and can keep going a few more years. Once in a while, a big bruiser with no sense of timing can make the grade by just bulling his way through until he gets the hang of the job, and occasionally a light man with exceptional mechanical aptitude (a born mill man!) can manage the job.

But anybody with half a brain could tell that Ole, all thumbs, slight 35, could never make the grade. Ole, however, knew different. The hand mills paid good wages; and there are a few things a man will overcome to make the jump from the 35 cents an hour of the laborers to the \$2 and \$3 an hour of the stranders.

So Ole went on the mill. He worked his 15 minutes, then thoroughly exhausted, walked out to the yard and lay down on the cool billets to recuperate during his off spell. The men laid bets he wouldn't live long enough to come in for his next spell. Ole made it. He always made it. Somewhere inside that thin, beaten body he always found the strength to work 15 minutes more.

Directly across the street from the mill, there was a tavern where the steel workers went during their off-spells or mill breakdowns. Whenever they had a chance, the stranders would take off for a cool beer to take out some of the heat they had accumulated. Ole never indulged in such vices. If his income increased to \$20 a day, his living habits remained at \$3.50. He ate only the cheapest food, bought a small house to save on rent and brought his lunch to work in bread-wrappings which he faithfully folded for re-use. The men stopped going fishing with him when he offered to sell them some of the fish he had caught when they had caught none. Ole knew the meaning of a dollar.

Work was scarce during the depression years, but the hand mill managed to keep up part-time operation. Ole held on, and when the war came he had become a rougher, making about \$3.50 an hour. Men were scarce but work wasn't, and though Ole was now in his fifties, he worked all the double shifts he could — 16 hours a day — and was able to make with his overtime pay \$60 to \$100 a day. He never missed a day, and with Saturdays, Sundays and holidays thrown in, he was doing right well.

So, adding it all up, I think the story of his \$40,000 is true. Without children to support, working incessantly, living without relaxation or enjoyment, Ole made it. At 59, he was set for what was left of his life.

And then one day he did not show up at work. The news got around that he had cancer of the stomach and the doctors had given him only six months to live. They thought it best that he not know. When he recovered from his first operation and began to feel better for a while, everybody tried to convince him to take a vacation, to rest a while, to take the trip to Norway and see his family.

But the habits of a lifetime are not easily overcome, and Ole could not be convinced. He came back to work in the mill at a lighter job until — he hoped — he would feel better again. And there he labored until the week before he died.

Well, that's the story, for whatever comfort the believers in capitalism can get from it. A worker can accumulate during the course of a lifetime the equivalent of a month's salary of his employer, if he's willing to slave and die for it.

Slansky Frame-Up Trial Signals Blood Purge in Czechoslovakia

By John G. Wright

The Slansky frame-up trial in Czechoslovakia is monstrous not only in its charges but also in its dimensions. From all indications, the 14 convicted defendants, most of them former top Kremlin agents in Czechoslovakia, are only a tiny fraction of the total number of Stalin's victims.

The 14 scapegoats figured as the alleged leaders of the mythical, underground "anti-state conspiratorial center." Their "confessions" involved not merely Czechoslovakia but the rest of the "people's democracies" as well. The main arena for their "counter-revolutionary conspiracy" was "inside the Communist Party," the defendants affirmed. This means that nothing less than the Czech Communist Party itself is involved.

Time and again the defendants "confessed" that they and their agents had penetrated "vital sectors of Party and State apparatus." They pleaded guilty to a charge of having organized a whole network of agents "in vital industrial regions." It was reiterated that "Zionist and adventurer elements of the same type became leading secretaries and functionaries of the regional committees of the Party apparatus" all over the country.

INVOLVES THOUSANDS

In a highly industrialized country like Czechoslovakia, such sweeping "confessions" cannot fail to involve thousands, if not tens of thousands. Many old-time local Czech Communist leaders are of Jewish origin. The Slansky frame-up renders suspect all those Jewish leaders who have not already been purged. Suspect is every Communist militant of Jewish origin or ties. So is every party member and every non-party element in any way connected with the party and government apparatus, for years dominated by Slansky and his group.

It is the Czech working class, above all its politically-minded layer, that is indicated as Stalin's main target. Stalin has ordered a line of blood drawn inside the Czech party, inside the country as a whole and by the same token throughout the East European countries. The Slansky frame-up is in the first instance intended to provide the political and legalistic cover for Stalin's latest blood purge.

MASS DISCONTENT

Why has the Kremlin found this bestial course necessary? Because of the growing mass discontent with the complete submissiveness of the Czech party and government to the Kremlin. Because the Kremlin's domination cuts across the needs of the Czech economic life and progress.

All the defendants, beginning with Slansky, kept repeating that they "tried, first of all, to weaken and destroy the fraternal relations" between Czechoslovakia and the Kremlin. Virtually each time, they added "in the same way as in Yugoslavia." Henceforward, the slightest opposition, the least criticism of the Kremlin's domination and oppression of Czechoslovakia is placed under the sign of "counter-revolutionary conspiracy."

Every crime of which Stalin has been guilty in Czechoslovakia is imputed, as is Stalin's custom, to his victims, in order then to be used against anyone bold enough to question or even doubt Stalin's regime.

TRADE AGREEMENTS

Upon Czechoslovakia the Kremlin has imposed unfavorable trade agreements, just as it has upon the other East European countries. The Slansky scapegoats provide Stalin with a cover by pleading guilty to having negotiated "unfavorable trade agreements with capitalist countries."

The Kremlin overcharges for its deliveries. The defendants plead guilty to pursuing this very course toward the Soviet Union and the countries of "people's democracy." Some of the Kremlin's shipments are shoddy, others fail to arrive. These are likewise turned into crimes for which Stalin's scapegoats are made to assume responsibility.

Czech factories suffer from lack of raw materials. L. Frejka, former head of Czech State Planning, confesses to having made Czech heavy industry "dependent upon Western raw materials imports."

ECONOMIC DISPROPORTIONS

The Kremlin imposes on the Czechs, as it does on all the East European economies, a disproportionate development of heavy industry, without regard to civilian needs. Again the blame is transferred to the "conspirators." The same Frejka is forced to testify: "I sabotaged in such a way that there is still rationing of electricity and food in Czechoslovakia." Later Frejka added: "We deliberately caused a disproportion between the demands

of power and the supply of coal. It will take a long time to end the results of this mismanagement."

The list of these "mismanagement" of which the real fountainhead is the Kremlin, is a long one. For each of them the Czech workers pay through successive blows at their living standards, moods of discontent and opposition are generated.

There have been rumors of demonstrations, slowdowns, strikes in Czechoslovakia. There is no way of verifying these rumors. But it can be shown from the columns of the Cominform press itself that there is resistance among the Czech workers and that resistance has proved strong enough to affect sections of the Czech bureaucracy, especially those closest to the workers.

For example, the leading editorial in Nov. 21 issue of Cominform weekly For a Lasting Peace, etc., complains about instances of

Czech "local party organizations" tolerating "non-fulfillment of Party decisions on vital issues." The workers refuse to carry out "vital" decisions, the party apparatus in the localities "tolerates" this. Also cited were other "instances" of "direct distortion of the Party line on the part of individual Communists and even on the part of lower Party organs." Here is proof that anti-Stalinist opposition reaches directly into party ranks!

OPPOSE STALINISM

If we had nothing else to go by except these tell-tale admissions, it would be correct to conclude that there is a sharpening opposition to Stalin's rule in Czechoslovakia. But there is other irrefutable evidence. And the most striking of all is afforded by the Slansky frame-up!

The Kremlin needs the most brutal methods in its arsenal in order to restore its Czech repressive apparatus, in order to dis-

cipline the party, especially the "flower bodies," in order to stifle every voice of criticism.

As Leon Trotsky correctly pointed out, the Moscow Trials of the Thirties expressed the growing incompatibility between Stalin's regime and the needs of Soviet economy and the Soviet people. Soviet society was then moving, as it still is, to rid itself of the Stalinist incubus. Stalin drowned these Soviet oppositional moods and trends by his multi-millioned blood bath of the Thirties.

We have a postwar repetition and extension of this development in Eastern Europe. Czech society, together with that of the rest of Eastern Europe, is today moving toward ridding itself of the Stalinist incubus. Under new conditions, Stalin is trying to repeat in Eastern Europe his Soviet "success" of the Thirties by another blood bath for which the Slansky trial comes 'as the signal.

The American Way of Life

A Lesson in Gratitude

Mrs. Helen Bosler, employed for 24 years at the Curtis-Stephens-Embry shoe plant in Reading, broke an axle while driving back from her Yellowstone Park vacation last summer. She was two days late before she managed to get back to work. Faced with this perfectly reasonable excuse, the company decided to play tough and fired her from her job.

That's not the whole story. Mrs. Bosler's job record shows that she has missed work on only three past occasions during her entire period of nearly a quarter of a century of employment with this grateful concern. On one occasion, she broke a leg, but was back to work while her leg was still in a cast. Another time, she was kept from reporting for work by some broken ribs. The third time she had pneumonia, and had to be sent home from her job.

Mrs. Bosler is quite plainly that type of worker who doesn't lose a day's work if she can help it. Since we know nothing more about her than the above facts as reported by a press association, we don't know why she is that way. Maybe her fellow-workers call her "hungry." Maybe she just can't afford to lose any pay. Maybe she has had the kind of experience with the Curtis-Stephens-Embry company that taught her to keep her nose to the grindstone. Certainly last summer's action by her boss shows that if she feared being shown the gate because she was prevented from coming to work by some unavoidable mishap, her fears were very well justified.

We don't know any more about the motives of the company executive who ordered the firing than we do about those of Mrs. Bosler. But we do know the meaning of the action. It is a certification of the infinite hostility and ingratitude which U.S. capitalists feel towards those who do the work of this land.

In effect, Curtis-Stephens-Embry was saying to its employees: "Don't presume on our gratitude, because we don't have any. We don't care how 'faithful' you've been. We don't owe you a plugged nickel."

Now, surprising as this may often be to capitalists, workers are also thinking and reasoning beings who can draw the obvious conclusion. If the company doesn't owe us a thing, most workers have decided, we don't owe them a bit more. Bosses who have pleaded in vain with workers to return to work during a strike out of "consideration" for them know the truth of this very well.

Fortunately, the story of Mrs. Bosler has a happy ending. Local 496 of the AFL Boot and Shoe Workers fought the case through every step of the grievance procedure and finally won an arbitration ruling putting Mrs. Bosler back to work and paying her for four months lost time.

As we said before, we don't know why Mrs. Bosler has been so conscientious about being on the job in the past. She may have had very good reasons about which we couldn't say a word of criticism. But if she has acted that way out of mistaken notions of loyalty to the firm, or in the hope of inspiring a spark of gratitude in her employer's breast, then she knows better now.

— Thomas Raymond

Wins Full Pay Boost



United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis (L.) at a recent special hearing in Washington where he argued for government approval of the full \$1.90-a-day wage boost the miners won from the operators but were denied by the W.S.B. Knowing the miners would strike once more if they did not get the raise granted them in negotiations, Truman on Dec. 4 was forced to reverse the ruling of his own hand-picked Wage Stabilization Board and approve the miners' full wage increase.

Letters from Readers

'Go Out of Business,' Huberman Advises Progressive Party

Editor:

The readers of The Militant may be interested in the crisis in the "Progressive Party" since the elections of Nov. 1952. Leo Huberman, one of the editors of the Monthly Review and one of the authors of the 1948 Progressive Party Program and its nationalization of industry plank (dropped for the 1952 elections), discussed the prospects of the Progressive Party at a recent forum of the West Side Compass Club. He recommended that the Progressive Party go out of business since there is no room for a party of capitalist reform.

Huberman is active in circles largely under the influence of Stalinist ideas, and to them he proposes that the supporters of reform capitalism should join the Democratic Party and try to push it to the left from within. He neglected to elaborate on their prospects for success. As for the bulk of the Progressive Party supporters, Huberman asserted that they are confirmed "socialists," and he proposed that they should carry on socialist educational work among their friends and acquaintances. He stated that he thought this course could only lead to the concentration camps, now being prepared by the government reaction, but he assured the Compass Club audience that they too would probably suffer the same fate. For his part, Huberman announced in advance his intention to stick to principle come what may.

It was his opinion that the election results showed that the "socialists" would gain more by campaigning for their own "socialist" views than for reform capitalism. He stated that even Roosevelt failed to solve the contradictions of capitalism or abolish unemployment, a fact that Eisenhower, a reactionary, made use of in his campaign.

Huberman proposed that should a labor party based on the trade unions be launched because of the personal ambitions of a Walter Reuther and other right wingers, all elements of the Progressive Party should enter it to "push it to the left."

If Mr. Huberman was abstract throughout most of his analysis, he was concrete enough in repeating and defending a couple of Stalinist slanders. One slander

charged that the Socialist Workers Party was an enemy of the Soviet Union. Challenged on this by a member of the audience, he refused to retract, maintaining that "the Trotskyists say they are against Stalin but for the Soviet Union, but I say that is no difference."

The second slander charged that the Russians never knew political freedom as we know it, that there was always dictatorship and repression of political opponents. This long time friend of the Stalinist bureaucracy tries to ignore the fact that the Russian Revolution brought millions of workers and peasants into activity on the political arena, whereas before the revolution they were barred by Czarist repression.

When Lenin and Trotsky headed the Communist Party of Russia, the worker controlled the factories, the peasant soviet expropriated the property of the landlords and divided the land among the peasants, the workers and peasants unions and soviets published their own periodicals, the Anarchists, Mensheviks and SRs published papers, ran political candidates and elected representatives to the Soviets, the last of their publications being repressed by the Stalinist bureaucracy in 1925. There was free discussion of political questions by varied wings of the Bolshevik Party until the final victory of the Stalinist bureaucracy over the Left Opposition in 1927, when the monolithic bureaucracy completed the liquidation of political freedom. All this, Huberman waves aside.

Mr. Huberman may follow his "socialist" convictions and from now on refuse to support capitalist candidates. It should not be forgotten, however, that his "socialist" views seem to have been consistently directed toward supporting capitalist candidates — probably since Browder returned from Moscow in 1934 with the "People's Front" line.

H. Robins
New York

U. S. Women Hold 19,000,000 Jobs

There are now 19,000,000 women in the U.S. labor force, a half million more than in 1951, reports the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor in its 1952 handbook, released Dec. 3. In all occupations women's earnings average less than men's.

FI Urges Review Of Czech Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

the crimes of imperialism and of capitalism.

Neither the proletarian revolution nor the USSR as a workers' state is identical to the bureaucratic police regime of the Stalins and Gottwalds. It is in rallying powerfully against them, in not capitulating before their savage pressure and their monstrous trials which offend the dignity of every revolutionary and of every honest person that one effectively serves the workers' movement and the inevitable socialist future of humanity.

Communist workers, progressive intellectuals, protest against the new crime of Stalin! Halt the new crimes he is preparing against Gomulka in Poland, Anna Pauker in Rumania, and other victims elsewhere. Demand a review of the Prague trial before an impartial, international working-class tribunal.

It is necessary to overcome the fear, the cowardice and the stifling of conscience over the crimes and propaganda of the Kremlin in order to speed the victory of the proletariat and socialism.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on
Crisis in the
Middle East

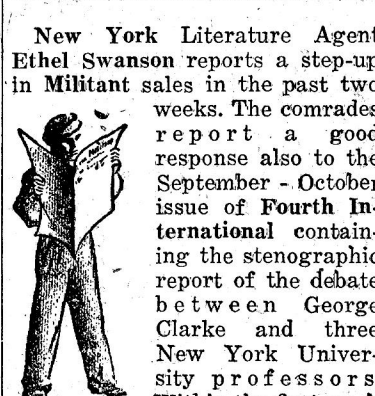
Speaker:
Lewis Scott
Fri., Dec. 12, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market St.

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

CIO Convention Report and Analysis
Speaker:
Harry Frankel
Staff Writer of The Militant
Fri., Dec. 12, 8 P.M.

Militant Hall
116 University Place
(Near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion,
Refreshments
Contribution 25 cents

THE MILITANT ARMY



New York Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports a step-up in Militant sales in the past two weeks. The comrades report a good response also to the September-October issue of Fourth International containing the stenographic report of the debate between George Clarke and three New York University professors. Within the first week 27 copies were sold and plans are being made for wider sales.

Ethel reports the following sales: At the New School Berta and Pauline sold five Militants two weeks ago and Berta and Harold D. topped the score to nine papers and six FI's last Tuesday. At his regular beat at the Community Church John T. sold 10 Militants at the William Shirer meeting. On the N.Y.U. campus Larry sold five papers and five FI's and Ray sold 10 FI's. Leney

Los Angeles Friday Night Forum "America's Road to Socialism" A Series of 6 Lectures Speaker: James P. Cannon National Secretary of the SWP (3) "The Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism in America" — The contradictions of American domination of a declining capitalist world. What the United States won and lost in World War II and its aftermath. The crisis latent in the arms economy and war program. Can American capitalism remain stable in a world of social revolution and colonial revolt? Fri., Dec. 19, 8 P.M. 1702 E. 4th St. Tel.: AN 9-4953 Questions — Discussion Refreshments Tuition: 35 cents.

sold four Militants at the Jefferson School Sunday forum. At the Monthly Review Club meeting Connie and Caroline sold eight papers and six FI's. The Brooklyn Branch turned in five more Militant subs sold by Julie, Cathy and Calvin. The Youth turned in two subs. At one of the projects Joyce and Murry sold 17 copies of The Militant and three subs.

Literature Agent Nick Bennett reports continued good sales in San Francisco and the expectation of raising their bundle. He writes, "Last week Marie Hahn sold 25 Militants at one of the universities. Dick is still covering the route each Sunday and Marie is helping him. She is doing a good job in promoting the selling of our paper. G. Bailey is a regular weekly seller as well."

In spite of cold weather and fewer people on the streets the Chicago comrades have conducted some encouraging sales in the past few weeks, writes Literature Agent Jacki Booth. "Our sales this month have been concentrated on street corners in the same area in which we had our election campaign. Tops for this month so far, Irv has sold 45 Militants. Other scores are Frank, 39; Elaine R., 19; Bert, 12; Manny, 24; Jacki, 17; Muriel and Don, nine; Ed Sc., 10; and Snow, 4. We've also sold eight subs to The Militant and three to Fourth International."

Many thanks to J.R.B. of Chicago, Ill., for his contribution of \$3 sent in with his subscriptions to The Militant and Fourth International.
CHICAGO Socialist Forum
"World in Crisis 1953"
A Series of 6 Lectures
(2) "Bevanism — Is England Facing a New Revolution?" — Growth of the left wing in the British Labor Movement.
Speaker:
Frank Roberts
Sun., Dec. 21, 7 P.M.
734 So. Wabash

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Monday, December 8, 1952

The Durkin Appointment

If ever there was a game so thin you could see right through it, it is Eisenhower's game in appointing Martin P. Durkin of the AFL plumbers to the post of Secretary of Labor in his cabinet.

Eisenhower is anxious to take the curse off the Republican Party. The anti-labor reputation of that party is a handicap to the incoming administration. Eisenhower hopes to continue the same policy that the Democrats have used — at least for a while. He doesn't want an open break with labor now. He wants a continuation of the present relations so that war preparations can go on undisturbed. He wants to jolly labor along as Truman and Roosevelt did.

Jolly labor along is a game that takes two to play. The administration does its part, and the union leaders do the rest. Eisenhower's appointment of Durkin is his first gambit in the game. Whether the Republicans and the labor leaders will be able to play out this miserable farce at the expense of the American working man just as the Democrats and the labor leaders have for so many years still remains to be seen. But the start has been made, and it is obvious that Eisenhower is going to make some kind of a stab at it.

The appointment itself is typical of the kind of "concessions" labor is getting in Washington. The secretaryship of labor has been reduced to a ceremonial position whose holder has the power to go around

making speeches that nobody pays any attention to and issuing statistics that nobody reads. This is all it takes to buy the labor movement, in Eisenhower's mind.

Of course, where some labor leaders are concerned, such a cheap price is enough. Durkin himself, within hours after his appointment was announced, indicated: (1) That he thought the Taft-Hartley law could be amended to labor's satisfaction (a week ago he was for repeal), and (2) That perhaps he would become a Republican (a month ago he was campaigning for Stevenson).

So that, if it is Eisenhower's intention to soften up the labor opposition, he already has the former president of the Plumber's union all softened up. Durkin may have been a "solid Irishman," as President Meany of the AFL described him, but he melted down to a bowl of jelly the minute he got that telephone call from Republican headquarters.

Durkin is certainly taken care of, but there are still millions of workers who will get no benefit from his being in the cabinet. Their suspicions of Republicanism probably remain in full force. They are likely to move out in an independent political conflict with Washington. That is the course labor should steer for right now without wasting time to see who will come off best in Eisenhower's game, the sucker or the con man.

Demand Clemency for the Rosenbergs

Unless clemency is granted, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be electrocuted the week of January 12.

While new voices are raised for reduction of the sentence to life imprisonment or a new trial, more powerful voices are being raised to smear all who ask clemency for the Rosenbergs. Not only is the yellow press clamoring for the Rosenbergs' execution but the New York Post, which is rapidly becoming a "liberal" version of the gutter tabloid Daily News, has opened a campaign to make sure the Rosenbergs are electrocuted.

The Rosenberg case cannot be divorced from the witch hunt. Had there been no witch hunt, they never would have received death sentences. Such sentences in time of peace are unprecedented in U.S. history. In recent espionage trials in Canada and Britain, the sentences were terms of imprisonment. Why is it different in the U.S.? The answer is the carefully-promoted witch hunt and the resulting hysteria.

The Rosenbergs were not even accused of aiding an enemy nation. Their alleged espionage took place at the height of the alliance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Memo to the "Daily Worker" Staff

We note that during the Prague frame-up trial of "Trotskyite-Titoite, Zionist, bourgeois-nationalist traitors and enemies of the Czechoslovak people" you played down the "confessions." Some days you did not even print the news.

Your embarrassment over this new frame-up trial staged by Stalin is understandable. You have been trying to save the Rosenbergs, sentenced to death under the witch-hunting Truman administration. But unless you expose the frame-up, and protest the anti-Semitism, in the Prague trial and the inhuman death sentences passed on the victims there, your appeals for the Rosenbergs lose their moral weight.

We can appreciate another reason for your finding the Prague trial distasteful. How many frame-ups does this make that you've had to explain away? The first big ones back in the Thirties so startled the world that you could get away for a while with defending these judicial murders. After the show trials were exposed by the John Dewey Commission in 1937 as the biggest frame-ups in history this was no longer possible. Today, even you must flinch a little when word comes that another one is in the works.

However, if you faltered, it was only momentarily. Your Dec. 1 editorial should prove that no sympathy for these latest victims of Moloch-Stalin can be found in

the Daily Worker staff. You insist — a little hysterically it's true — that there was no anti-Semitism at the trial. You faithfully repeat the GPU tripe about the "nest of paid spies," the "miserable plot to re-enslave the Czech people" that was revealed. Your conscience must now be at rest. You did your duty. You helped crucify your fellow Stalinists. Once again you approved the forced "confessions," the stupid frame-up script, the phony petitions for the death sentence.

We doubt that anything we might say could touch the hearts and minds of people as deeply hypnotized as you. Just the same here's a tip. Don't take a trip to Eastern Europe in the coming days — in case it's offered. More frame-up trials are being cooked up, and the GPU needs American spies to make them look more plausible. If there's a shortage of real ones, the GPU, may we remind you, knows how to get "confessions" out of fascimiles. You are just as logical candidates for this role as the Prague victims, who helped build their own gallows by defending and justifying the previous trials the way you are defending and justifying the current frame-up.

To tell "the truth," as you blandly put it in your editorial, are you at bottom really so loyal to Stalin? Confess, isn't it more likely, after all, that you are really just a nest of police agents, old Gestapo men and anti-Soviet spies in the pay of John Foster Dulles? In fact, from the very beginning of your careers, nothing but "Trotskyite-Titoite, Zionist, bourgeois-nationalist traitors and enemies" of the working people? Tell the facts! Didn't you worm your way into the Daily Worker staff as part of a plot to "shorten the life" of the great Stalin?

Jomo Kenyatta -- Leader of Africa in Revolt

By William de Silva and T. B. Subasinghe
 (As reported in previous issues of The Militant, the vast surge of colonial rebellion against imperialist rule has brought into the headlines a country little known in America — Kenya. British terror in this African colony is aimed at some 5,000,000 Africans forced off their land by 29,000 European settlers. A number of African leaders have been seized by the Kenya authorities. Among them is Jomo Kenyatta. As admitted by the British Colonial Secretary Lyttelton, Jomo Kenyatta has been jailed only "on suspicion." The following article about this native leader is reprinted from the Nov. 20 Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International. Ed.)

"Why should your people steal our lands? Why should your settlers live in great mansions on vast estates whilst our people must exist in leaking insanitary sheds and primitive mud huts?"

Jomo Kenyatta, imprisoned leader of the Kenya African Union, asked that question in an interview with the Sunday Pictorial just before the present "emergency" began in Kenya. He went on: "We do not wish to drive out the white man. We want him to remain — but as a partner. We do not grant him the right to live in luxury while our people starve, to have fine clothes while our people are in rags. Above all, we do not grant him the right to insult us, to ban us from his hotels, and to push us into the gutter as he walks by."

The British East African Colony of Kenya has been in the news twice during this year. First was in February when the heir to the

British throne went with her consort on a safari in this white man's paradise. How our Lake House scribes dished out details of Her Highness' royal pleasures for consumption at the breakfast table every morning! Few people expected this country, sanctified by the tread of royal feet, to come into the news again on a different plane.

Did not the news dispatches describe how loyal crowds of Kenya Africans thronged the streets to obtain a glance at the Lady who a few days later was to be their ruler? These same people are today in revolt against Her Britannic Majesty. It did not take the newspapers of the capitalist world to show their readers the seething ferment that was Kenya even at the time of the Royal visit.

As usual, the capitalist press is minimizing the significance of the recent happenings in Kenya. It tells us only what the British government wants it to say. According to the British, the Mau Mau boys are some bloodthirsty African cannibals on whom the civilizing influence of British imperialism has not had the desired effect.

Reuter dispatch recently reported the arrest of a so-called terrorist leader — Jomo Kenyatta. We knew Jomo Kenyatta during our student days in London. We were closely associated with him in conducting anti-imperialist propaganda in the imperial metropolis. Having known Kenyatta, we can appreciate the developments in Kenya more fully.

Kenyatta is no uncivilized brute as the imperialists would have us believe. He is no terrorist. He has been a fighter for African freedom from his early youth. His anti-imperialist activities forced him to leave his homeland and seek asylum in Britain. It sounds paradoxical. But it is true that imperialism shows greater tolerance to its slaves in the metropolitan country than in the colonies.

In London, Kenyatta attended the London School of Economics for a time. Active politics interested him more than academic studies. He became a central figure in various anti-imperialist groups of colonial youth both in

KENYANS DEFY BRITISH

The people of Kenya are hurling defiance at their British oppressors. Here is a typical statement, publication of which was forbidden in the colony:

"You must feel very happy at the outward success of your cruel operation. Thousands of Africans, leading a normal life, have been stopped, searched, beaten, humiliated and arrested. Creating the emergency, you have brutally treated us and now you cannot claim democracy and freedom. Fascism has come to Kenya.

"You destroyed our press by arresting our editors and suppressing our newspaper. But you cannot suppress the voice of the people. The brutality and suppression, the show of force and the rule of the gun, will not stop us from our goal. . . .

"We have been forced to go underground. If we are known, you will murder us. We are not afraid. We ask how many of us you will imprison, how many of us you will kill? We are six millions and power is in our numbers. We shall retaliate in the method you have employed. We shall not forget the bad treatment we are suffering. When our time comes, we shall not show mercy, because you do not know what mercy is. We will kill you like you are murdering us today. This is no threat. It is how we are feeling today. Africans unite!"

England and on the continent. Affable, vivacious and cheerful, Kenyatta had a knack of winning the friendship of all who came into touch with him. He was polite and sociable. His politeness however did not permit him to be in the least compromising in his deep-seated hatred of colonial oppression. Books on history and geography written by apologists of imperialism attempt to make out that the Negro is uncultured and uncivilized. Kenyatta belied that widely held notion. He is cultured in the best sense of the word.

About five feet, four inches in height, broad shouldered, a finely trimmed French beard adding color to his face with character, clad in heavy flannel trousers and sport jacket, a long scarf wrapped around his neck, a heavy walking stick with a silver knob in hand, Kenyatta could be met at any meeting place of politically conscious colonial youth.

He, like most of us, was a frequent visitor to the flat of George Padmore in the working-class district of Mornington Crescent. Padmore's was the rallying point for many colonial youth, students and seamen. Padmore, who is a Negro from the West Indies, was one of the Negro students selected by the Third International in its early days for training in anti-imperialist agitation and organizational work. He broke with the Third International because of its compromising attitude towards British and French imperialism in the pre-war period. Padmore is today one of the leading Negro intellectuals and a leader of the Negro world. Kenyatta came very much under the influence of this militant socialist.

To understand Kenyatta's political outlook, one must bear in mind the social and political background of the African colonies. African life is predominantly tribal yet. There is no powerful indigenous bourgeoisie as is to be found in the Asiatic countries that were under colonial domination. The British make use of the reactionary, ignorant tribal chiefs to hold the masses in subjection.

There is, however, a rising small middle class which is highly politically conscious. The educated elements of this class are leading the fight against imperialism. Their political philosophy may be best described as nationalist in form with a vaguely socialist content.

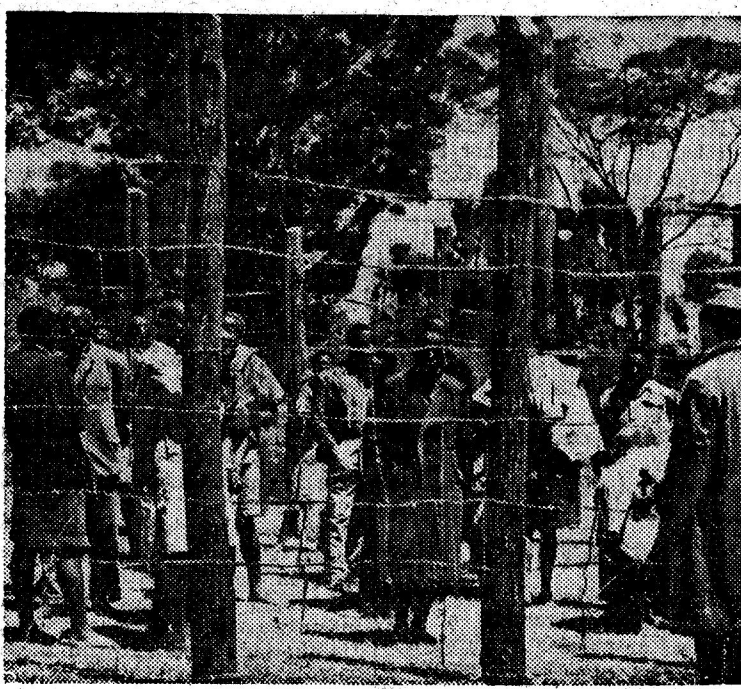
Kenyatta is part and parcel of this form of nationalism. There was a spirit of militancy in the man. As such he came into conflict with those English friends whose attitude was, "Well, the colonies must be free, but you see freedom must be won gradually."

Shortly before the outbreak of the second imperialist war, the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain and the Workers' and Peasants' Party of France under the leadership of Fenner Brockway and Daniel Guerin respectively, summoned an anti-imperialist war conference in Paris. Kenyatta and the two authors of this article travelled together as delegates to the conference. Attending the conference were some veteran socialists from a number of European countries. Kenyatta presided at one of the sessions.

Some delegates attempted to characterize the impending second world war as a democratic war. Kenyatta would not have it. He forgot the fact that he was chairman. And he let the social imperialists have it with all the venom he could command.

(To be continued.)

British Cage Africans



British authorities in Kenya are corralling Africans in barbed-wire cages, like the one shown above, throughout the Kikuyu reserve. Mass arrests and Nazi-style "collective retributions" against whole towns are being used by the imperialists in their attempts to smash the colonial independence movement.

THE PEKING CONFERENCE -- A DELEGATE REPORTS

By Edmund Samarakkody

(The following article is reprinted from the Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International. Edmund Samarakkody was one of this party's delegates to the Peking Conference. Ed.)

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions held in Peking at the beginning of Oct. was attended by over 400 delegates and observers from 37 countries. As a broad-based organization the conference, as was expected, had the task of reconciling various shades of opinion regarding the questions of war and peace.

Owing to the larger representation that the middle class had received at this conference the humanitarian approach to these questions was worked. Nevertheless from the fact that a considerable number of delegates were from countries where the fight for peace is integrated with the fight for national liberation and against imperialism, a new note was evident.

The Conference had on its agenda the following questions: (1) Japanese question, (2) Korean question, (3) Cultural, (4) Development of Economic Relations, (5) the problem of National Independence, (6) Defense of Women and Child Welfare, (7) the question of concluding a Five-Power Pact.

Except for National Independence, all other questions were of a non-controversial nature. The Korean and Japanese questions brought to light forcibly and emphatically that the threat of a third world war is real. The delaying and sabotaging tactics of the imperialists in the truce negotiations was clearly proved and the intention of the imperialists to extend the war was also revealed.

The Japanese question focused attention on a menacing situation. The militarization of Japan and conversion of Japan into a single military and strategic base of imperialism was shown very clearly from the reports of the Japanese delegates.

The expansion of the Police Reserve Corps of Japan and the transformation of the government apparatus into a police state was also exposed. The imperialist war-mongers have even now converted Japan into a base to prosecute their savage war against Korea. The intention of imperialism to extend this war to the Peoples Republic of China

and to south-east Asia and Australasia was made crystal clear.

Delegates who represented countries where an armed struggle is going on gave a harrowing tale of French, British and American imperialist destruction and atrocities. The wanton destruction of all grain in Malaya and Viet-Nam and the havoc played on crops with chemicals was a terrible tale.

The herding of 216,000 people of three villages of Viet-Nam by French and U.S. imperialists into a concentration camp and exposure to slow death by starvation was a grim story.

In both Malaya and Viet-Nam the imperialists have been guilty of crimes against humanity. More than 80% of the women of villages under the occupation of imperialist forces in Viet-Nam have been raped. Incidentally all the nuns of Cao Mai Church were said to have been raped.

The delegates from the countries of Latin America revealed the existence of a determined struggle against imperialist infiltration and interference in the internal affairs of these countries. Mass demonstrations in these countries have in fact prevented the dispatch of troops to Korea. In the countries of Central America — El Salvador, Guatemala, Costa Rica — the masses are actively resisting the feverish attempts to militarize these regimes for U.S. war purposes.

The war preparations of imperialism in the Middle Eastern countries of Turkey, Syria, Iran was revealed. The Middle East governments were exposed as puppets where imperialism is permitted economic penetration and infiltration leading to political influence.

This focusing of attention on the mass struggles in the countries of south-east Asia and the Pacific against imperialism in all its forms made the discussion on the question of National Independence and Peace interesting. It was clear beyond any doubt that the delegates of most of these countries that the struggle for peace is not separated and isolated from the struggle for National Liberation and better living conditions. It was in this context that the delegate from our party got the opportunity of effectively pointing out that in whatever form it may express itself the struggle for peace in all the countries of the Pacific and south-east Asia is the struggle against imperialism.

Washington Faces Dilemma in Bolivia Tin Mines Seizure

(Continued from page 1)

they used to kick the army out of power in the April 9 revolution" which led to the nationalization of the mines. "Some of these gun-packing miners can be seen patrolling the streets of La Paz itself, stopping and examining cars and trucks entering the city. The Bolivians," adds the Journal, "think the United States may be able to make or break their tin nationalization experiment and thus affect prospects for a '180th revolution' by these armed miners." (The April 9 revolt is said to be the 179th revolution in Bolivian history.)

The situation on compensation is as follows: The Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo companies, 72% foreign owned, say their companies are worth \$60 million. But the Bolivian government has made its own estimate: \$21.7 million. However, the government points out that tax evasions, foreign exchange manipulations and sabotage carried on by the companies put them in the position of owing the Bolivians some \$520 million, for which they are being billed. The rank-and-file of the miners and rest of the Bolivian working class is strongly opposed to the payment of any money to the companies.

Recent examination of income tax returns, reported in the Dec. 1 Christian Science Monitor, shows that four members of the Patino family, immensely wealthy from their control of the largest of the Bolivian tin mining concerns, paid an average income tax last year of \$2.02 each. Of the four (all living in France), one paid \$85.90, and the other three \$15.66 each. Naturally, the Bolivian people feel that the tin magnates have already taken their "compensation," many times multiplied, out of Bolivia.

Still 'Casualties'

In announcing that American casualties in Korea up to Nov. 30 were 127,383, the Defense Department said it was no longer using the word "casualty." It was good enough for World War I and World War II but today the public seems to have become too sensitive to the word. From now on the Defense Department (formerly the War Department) will list the killed, wounded and missing in action but they won't be "casualties," they'll just be killed, wounded and missing in action.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

MARTIAL LAW IN IRAQ

is the answer of the corrupt ruling class and its Anglo-American imperialist backers to the demonstrations a few weeks ago against the rigged election laws and imperialism. The new premier, General Mahmoud, dissolved all political parties and jailed the leaders of those that demanded electoral reforms. Demanded and students are being screened to get rid of "troublemakers." Baghdad primary schools were ordered reopened after the teaching staffs have been purged. The propaganda line of the military regime seems to be to blame the demonstrations on the educated youth and on Communists from Iran.

AN AFRICAN TRIBE

from Tanganyika, British-run territory adjacent to seething Kenya, pleaded for return of its lands before a UN committee. Spokesmen for the Mery tribesmen told how British authorities a year ago evicted 3,000 Mery men, women and children from their lands to make room for thirteen white settlers. British authorities came to the village of Ngare-Nanyuki last year, ordered the Africans out and set fire to their houses. One woman in childbirth was driven out into the fields to give birth. Her husband was arrested and after four days in the open the child died. British spokesmen before the UN committee replied: "The extent of damage and loss suffered in the case of the Mery is, considering the measure of non-cooperation by the people themselves, very small indeed." Eight colonial and semi-colonial countries of the UN submitted a resolution denouncing the British action and asking return of the land. This unheard-of boldness by small countries was attacked by the imperialist powers as "light headed," "blind," "erroneous," etc. The delegate of one major Western power remarked: "There is a strange atmosphere here today." Unfortunately the small countries

cannot force the return of the lands to the Mery since the U.S., Britain and other colonial powers have veto power in the UN Trusteeship Council.

IN CEYLON

the Lanka Samasamaja Party, a section of the 4th International, has invited all other parties based on the working class to join it in a United Front to meet the growing unemployment and drive for wage cuts that the bosses are expected to launch soon with government backing. Among the parties invited to cooperate are the Communist Party of Ceylon and the Ceylon Indian Congress.

CHILE

has cancelled a concession for the exclusive exploitation of Easter Island by a British company. Since the government has set up a state body to carry on the extensive sheep herding of the island the step is hailed by Chileans as nationalization. Santiago newspapers point out that while the company paid less than \$500 a year rent for the island its yearly profits were \$80,000.

EDUCATOR

Stephen Penrose, president of the American University in Beirut, Lebanon, told a New York audience that in the minds of the people of the near East the U.S. comes close to being Public Enemy No. 1.

BRITISH TEACHER

Peter Wright, was dismissed from his job as senior assistant master at the school for Indians in Nairobi, Kenya, and then expelled from the British colony. His crime was showing sympathy for the native Africans and the Indian population, both of whom suffer from racist imperial rule.

1,146,121 CANADIAN WORKERS

belong to unions, according to government figures. This is an increase of 117,600 in a year and comprises one-third of the entire labor force.

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

64 pages 25 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Don't Blame the Women

By Joyce Cowley

There's an old device that's handy when things don't go your way. If you lose out because of your own stupidity or double dealing, find a fall guy. Or, like the editors of the United Mine Workers Journal, a fall gal.

In spite of the efforts of the union bureaucrats, their friends the Democrats made a poor showing in this election. So there must be a reason. Not of course, the obvious reason — that the working people, sick of the Democrats, sick of high prices and taxes and above all the Korean war, turned in desperation to what seemed an alternative.

It's the union leaders who are chiefly responsible for the fact that there was no real alternative, no labor candidate the workers could vote for, so they don't care to discuss this point. In the Nov. 15 issue of the United Mine Workers Journal they discover the real culprits — American women.

"Women," they explain, "turned a political debate into a resentment contest." While women generally don't even know the name of the Secretary of State, they "seemed to be well informed about Acheson. . . What they didn't know, they invented and they used it with an invective which made the barroom orators of old look like a bunch of Epworth Leaguers."

"Not alone the women of the white collar segment but also the wives of the horny-handed sons of toil saw red when they read or heard the name of Acheson." When Truman defended Acheson "women

became more and more infuriated." "Stevenson," they conclude, "committed a cardinal political sin when he attempted to talk rationally and in honest appraisal of the nation's affairs."

Eisenhower apparently won the election because women are emotional, unreasonable and can't appreciate honesty. Not because the union big shots supported the status quo, failed to give political leadership and show that the only possible way workers can get somewhere is through independent political action. Not because women hate the foreign policy of the Democrats, hate the war which takes their husbands and sons to a foreign battlefield to die without honor or purpose, hate all the things at home that go with a policy of world domination — the draft, thought control, the high cost of living, taxes to support the war machine.

"Time for a change" — with this slogan, according to the United Mine Workers Journal, Eisenhower charmed the women's vote. Yet it's a good slogan. Time to scrap the sell-out policies of the union leadership. Time for labor to go into politics with a program that answers the real needs of the people of this country.

So if you're a mine worker or an auto worker or a steel worker and you feel depressed about the election, don't raise hell with your wife. Raise hell with the cowardly, compromising, do-nothing tactics of the union leaders and demand that they learn the basic lesson of this election, that it really is time for a change.

The Negro Struggle

No "Loyal" Opposition

By Jean Blake

One of the most disgusting aftermaths of the election campaign is the undignified spectacle of labor and Negro "leaders" scrambling to get over on the other side of the political fence.

The election had hardly been conceded before telegrams were being sent by all the major and minor labor bureaucrats pledging support to the man they had been damning as the Prince of Darkness a few hours earlier. (Talk about Stalinists switching their line!)

A similar course is being followed by some spokesmen and writers in the Negro press. One of the worst of these is Dean Gordon B. Hancock, whose syndicated column for the Associated Negro Press is used as editorial page filler by many weeklies. "As citizens in a democracy," he wrote in his Nov. 15 column, "we are entitled to the great privilege of bitter opposition to men and measures until the vote is taken; and then we are morally bound to cease our opposition and turn our attention and energies to cooperation. Such will be the course of this column."

Such will not be the course of THIS column.

We have a very different concept of democracy and of our rights and moral obligations. We believe we are obliged to tell our readers the truth as we see it, and to continue to struggle for democratic rights for all before, during and after the vote is taken. We recognize obligations of loyalty to principles, not to men — even Presidents.

But aside from the moral concepts involved, Mr. Hancock's "practical politics" isn't very smart, either. The policy he advocates — cooperation with the administration which condones and perpetuates

Jim Crow — has a simpler and less pretty name in some circles: Uncle Tomism. That's all right for people who are satisfied to accept a lower class position in society, not for those determined to win full equality.

Before he dashed into print with his post-election column, Mr. Hancock should have studied the lessons of the campaign a little. Particularly, he should have learned a few things from the "practical politics" of the chief enemies of Negro rights — the Dixiecrats.

They demonstrated that the way to win is by standing firm on your principles, whatever they may be, and remaining loyal only to them. The Southern Democrats refused to remain loyal to the Democratic Party if that meant making any concessions to civil rights, even in the form of election oratory.

As a result, both the Democrats and Republicans bent over backwards trying to win the Dixiecrat vote. The Democrats chose a symbol of the South as their vice-presidential candidate, and the Republicans refused to make even the campaign promises of the Democrats to attract the Negro vote.

By taking a stand independent of both the Democrats and Republicans, the Dixiecrats put themselves in a position to make demands, not promises. And they're not pledging to be a "loyal opposition," either. They're not tying their hands.

Neither should the advocates of civil rights. The only way to make any gains is through an independent, absolutely uncompromising stand on principles. Never be satisfied with crumbs, or that's all you'll get. Scraping and bowing to Eisenhower will win contempt, not civil rights.

Notes from the News

STUDENTS DEFY LEGION. A forum series at Marshall College in Huntington, West Virginia, was temporarily stopped when local members of the American Legion passed a resolution calling for the elimination of alleged "communist-front" speakers Margaret Bourke-White, Max Lerner and Paul Engle. Students called a meeting of all ticket-holders to the forum series, invited townsmen to the meeting and asked the Legionnaires to prove their case. The witch-hunters failed miserably and fell back on such arguments as students (many of whom are World War II veterans) are too young to understand the problem. The meeting voted almost unanimously to continue the forum series.

HEARD EVERYTHING NOW. CIO textile workers at the Beantit Mills in Cohoes, N. Y., were told by the president of the company at a plant meeting that they were not "morally entitled" to the vacation pay he fears an arbitration board may award them and that he was "relying on the decency of you people" to mail back the checks.

WARNING TO SUPREME COURT was issued by Virginia Attorney General Almond, who declared: "No greater catastrophe could befall the public school system in Virginia than a court decision outlawing segregation of students. . . . The public school system would wither and die." South Carolina white supremacists have already laid plans for ending public schools if segregation is declared unconstitutional.

A POLL ON CHURCH-GOING made by a commercial opinion research firm for the Catholic Digest states that 99% of those asked replied that they believed in God. Only about one-third of the population goes regularly to church. 18% of Catholics admit never attending, while 62% claim to go every Sunday. Among Protestants, 82% admit never attending church, while 25%

claim to go every week. It should be remembered that the pressure for conformity might induce a considerable number of those polled to make themselves out more religious than they actually are.

FEDERAL GRAND JURY in New York urged that certification by the National Labor Relations Board of four independent unions, which complied with all the requirements including filing of non-communist oaths, be revoked anyway on grounds of "national security." The unions, representing a half million workers, are the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the American Communications Association, Fur and Leather Workers, and the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers.

THAT NASTY WORD — "surplus" — is being eradicated from corporation balance sheets as the result of an organized campaign. The Wall Street Journal reports that a survey made by the Institute of Accountants of the annual reports of 600 corporations shows that 31% of the corporations have abandoned the words "capital surplus" in favor of "paid in capital." 44% have replaced the words "earned surplus" with "retained earnings" or some other disguise. One accountant explained that it was desirable to do away with the word "surplus" because "too many people think it means the corporation has a lot of spare cash lying around."

ROBERT MINOR, famous cartoonist and one of the founders of the Communist Party, died at the age of 68. A socialist during World War I, he spoke out in defense of the Russian Revolution. He was prominently identified with the Tom Mooney Defense and the Scottsboro case. His early political career showed great courage and militancy. The latter part, however, was just the opposite. He degenerated into a Stalinist hack following every twist and turn of the party line and betrayal of the workers' movement.

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THE MILITANT

Victim of Heartbreak Ridge



Grief-stricken Mrs. Joseph Maniscalco, in her Brooklyn, N. Y., home, holds picture of her 18-year-old son Mario and telegram informing her he was killed on Korea's Heartbreak Ridge, one of 40,000 U.S. casualties since truce negotiations began. Sharing her sorrow are her daughter and two other sons.

MORE READERS REPORT ON ELECTION REACTIONS

(We are continuing publication of comments by our readers and correspondents on reactions of workers to the results of the recent elections. We welcome reports from communities not yet heard from.)

SEATTLE

"Those workers who voted Democrat are stunned or bewildered or worried or angry and those who supported Eisenhower are almost cynically watching developments. An attitude of wait-and-see prevails, underlined with varying degrees of fear of an anti-labor offensive soon."

"Eisenhower did split the vote of younger worker-veterans, many of whom voted for Eisenhower in the belief that even a depression was preferable to another war. Some worker-veterans, however, supported the Democrats thinking they were 'realistically' choosing the limited Korean war to an all-out war with the Soviet Union which they were convinced the Republicans would unleash. Some good union militants voted Republican as part of a conscious repudiation of the dictates of the labor bureaucrats and in line with their opposition to PAC policy."

"Eisenhower's TV appearances and his demagogic promises of peace and peace-time prosperity, more homes, hospitals, roads, social gains, etc., led workers' wives with TV sets to hope that life would somehow be easier under his regime."

"The campaign and its aftermath raised political discussion in the plants and offices here to a very high level. One Dobbs supporter reported that the Democrats with whom he works are friendlier than ever to him — after all, they were both losers and both are now in opposition parties! Furthermore, these workers are not such defenders of the Korean war any more. Now that it is no longer Truman's and the unions' baby but Eisenhower's, they no longer feel such a strong obligation to defend it."

"Many workers realize the futility of voting for either of the two big bosses' parties and they are more than prepared to support a labor party. This is even true of a portion of the highly-skilled, well-paid, traditionally conservative workers who voted Republican."

"To sum up, the workers are confused and dissatisfied about the election. They express contradictory opinions daily."

CHICAGO

"Almost all who voted in my shop voted Democratic. Older workers see the Republicans as the party of the depression. There was much post-election joking, such as 'no more income taxes, no more income,' etc. Younger workers and those with sons over there — or soon to go — are concerned mainly with ending the Korean War."

"Two young women who discussed extensively with me were anti-war and could see no reason for our being there. They believed that none of the politicians of either party were serious about ending the war. One woman said that the war was kept going to keep us out of a depression."

"Most of them (women union workers) felt that the days of depression and pre-union conditions were back again or soon would be. They did not think that Eisenhower would stop the war. Some of them reported conversations they overheard between customers they knew to be

'bosses' — the gist was that the bosses would now have a free hand in dealing with employees and would try to get the union out or weaken it. In other words, Eisenhower's election gave these fellows added confidence."

"The members, further, thought the Army chief got in because so many mothers voted for him, misled by his false promise that he would send their boys home from Korea."

NEW YORK

"The attitude which I have heard in discussions with union members and have read in union papers is that they don't expect much from the Republicans and fear that the Republicans will try to take away some of their gains. They say, 'Let's wait and see. If the Republicans try to take anything from us, we will fight them. We are prepared to fight and we feel that the Republicans won't attempt to take any of our union conditions away.' Most workers I've talked with don't completely connect Eisenhower and the Republican Party with reaction — that is, not consciously. They say let us wait and see — maybe the Republican Party has changed."

Boulton Scores Move to Victimize PP in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE, Nov. 28.—James E. Boulton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator in the recent elections, protested moves by "socialist" Mayor Frank Zeidler of this city to deny third-party rights on the local election commissions to the Progressive Party which won them from the collapsing local machine of the Thomasite Socialist Party.

Boulton received 1,442 votes for Senator from Wisconsin, according to available election returns. The SWP candidates for President and Vice President, Farrell Dobbs and Myra T. Weiss, got 1,350 votes in the state; Hoopes, presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, 1,157; Hass, of the Socialist Labor Party, 770. Hal-linan of the Progressive Party polled 2,174 votes.

In an open letter to Mayor Zeidler, Boulton emphatically disapproved of the mayor's challenge of the PP's right to third-party legal status. "Our belief in equal rights for all minority parties was never based upon whether or not we approved of their members or supporters, their policies or aims," wrote Boulton. "It is Sen. McCarthy's method to set up an 'approved' list of parties and persons — to paste the devil-label of 'Communist' on all the others — then to set the machinery of injustice to work upon them."

He insisted that "the Progressive Party must be defended in its fight for third-party rights in Milwaukee County."

Not Enough Hospitals

Judged by the minimum accepted standard of 4 1/2 general hospital beds per 1,000 of population, only 14 per cent of the counties in the U.S. had adequate hospital facilities.

Jim Crow Puts Economic Blight on Negro People

By George Breitman

The Jim Crow system costs the average Negro more than seven years of his life and keeps his income down to around half of that received by the average white American.

These bare statistics, which explain why "the Negro question" is such dynamite, were not drawn up by radicals, who might be accused of exaggerating the picture. They were drawn up in a report on "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States" for the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations, and are based entirely on official government studies. Every class-conscious worker, white or Negro, ought to learn what this report contains.

You can get a free copy by writing to the above-named subcommittee, Washington, D. C., or to one of the U.S. Senators from your state. To show why this is worthwhile, we are going in this article to summarize the most important facts in the report.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

Scientific and medical progress has lengthened life for all Americans. But how long we live depends on other things besides medical care — it also depends on the food we eat, our housing conditions, the kind of work we do, the amount of rest we get, etc. That is why life expectancy figures give a fairly accurate guide to the effects of discrimination.

In the last 30 years the following gains in life expectancy were made: male Negroes 11 1/2%, male whites 10%; female Negroes 18%, female whites 13%. The improvement for Negroes was higher than for whites, but only a little bit higher, and the differences between them were still startling:

In 1949 the life expectancy at birth for the average Negro boy was almost 59 years and that of white boys 66 years, a difference of about 7 years. For Negro girls at birth it was 63 and white girls 71 1/2, a difference of 8 1/2 years. Jim Crow is literally a killer.

WAGES AND SALARIES

In 1939 the Negro wage and salary worker earned an average of \$7 a week, while the white worker earned \$18. That was during the depression, when as a result of discrimination unemployment was higher among Negroes than among whites. Between 1939 and 1950 the average wage of both groups went up. For the Negro it went up to an average of \$25 a week, for the white to an average of \$48.

The report says that in those 11 years "the average for Negro workers has increased relatively more than for whites." That's true. In 1939 the Negro was making 38% of what the white made, and by 1950 the figure had risen to 52%.

But that fact should not be misunderstood. It does NOT mean that the Negro's paycheck got an increase in more dollars than the white got. On the contrary, the Negro's pay increased only \$18 a week while the white's pay increased \$30 a week.

FAMILY INCOME

The report also contains figures on family incomes. In 1945, the last year of World War II, the average money income of all Negro families was \$29 a week, compared to \$52 for white families. Relatively, Negro families were making about 57% of what white families were making.

The incomes of both groups went up during the next five years. Negro families got an average of \$36 in 1950, while white families got \$66. This meant a comparative drop for Negroes, because now their family income was only 54% of that of white families.

In other words, the relative position of Negro family income improved during the war but has worsened since the end of the war.

Another thing to remember about the differential family incomes is that "a higher proportion of Negro family members are in the labor force." (Proportions of Negro and white men in the labor force are about the same, but among women they are 45% for Negroes to 33% for whites.) If not for that fact, Negro family income would be comparatively lower than 54% of white family income.

UNEMPLOYMENT, SENIORITY

The report shows that "for both Negro men and women the average rate of unemployment, from 1947 to 1951, has been more than 50% above that for whites." (In 1951 5.4% of Negroes were un-

employed, compared to 3.7% for whites.)

The same unfavorable situation applies to seniority. A survey in January 1951 showed "Negro workers had been on their current jobs an average of 2.4 years, compared with an average of 3.5 years among white workers." Furthermore, "20% of urban white men and only 13% of urban Negroes had worked on their current jobs since before January 1940."

This means not only that Negroes suffer more from unemployment today, but that they will be among the first fired when unemployment rises.

OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS

An important factor affecting all the other statistics, was the continued shift of Negroes from farm to city or town. Between 1940 and 1950 the urban population of the Negroes rose from 48% to 61% (almost the same as the 64% for whites). The percentage of Negro men engaged in agriculture fell from 42% to 25% (among white men it fell from 21% to 15%).

Meanwhile this is what was happening to the proportion of Negroes who were employed in manufacturing industries: Men — 18% in 1940, 24% in 1944, 21 1/4% in 1950, 26% in 1952. Women — 3% in 1940, 13% in 1944, 8% in 1950, 7% in 1952.

Negro men and women both lost ground in this field after the

war. The men made it up and even passed the wartime peak as a result of the post-Korean arms boom, but the women are still "way behind the percentage reached during the war. (This explains why hiring discrimination against Negro women is such a hot issue in many factories today.)

Lack of space prevents us from discussing the many occupational shifts. The report summarizes the total picture this way:

"The data show that the highest proportions of Negro workers continue to be found in the lower-paying and less-skilled occupations, such as service workers and laborers. Comparatively low proportions of Negroes are found in the professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales, and craftsmen occupations." In some of these better-paying occupations the proportions of Negroes employed has risen since 1944, but in others it has fallen.

What do these figures mean? Have the gains made by the Negroes in last 10-12 years been big ones or small? Are they permanent or temporary? What produced these changes? Will future progress against Jim Crow be automatic? Can the fight for equality be won by using the methods followed in the last decade, or are new methods needed? These are some of the questions arising from the Senate report that will be discussed in the next issue of the magazine Fourth International.

STATE DEPT. BLOCKS MOVE IN UN FOR KOREA WAR TRUCE

(Continued from page 1)

are also the alternatives summed up by Life.

GRIM ALTERNATIVES

The latter finds nothing hopeful or reassuring in any of the alternatives leading to continuation, intensification and extension of the war. "Turning the war over to the South Koreans can only be a slow and painstaking process" for instance and Chiang's forces on Formosa would scarcely alter the balance as they number "barely three divisions."

An attempt at "aggressively seeking a local decision on the Korean peninsula itself" — a limited offensive merely to gain a better and narrower line across Korea as Gen. Van Fleet has proposed — "would be a formidable job" which "might cost the Eight Army as much as 25,000 to 40,000 casualties" and "unless the Chinese forces were decisively crushed in a single grinding action . . . would mean still not winning the war."

As for an extension of the war into China proper, this "would, of course, raise diplomatic and military problems of the utmost intricacy" — not the least of which might be to "split the NATO alliance wide open" and "affect dangerously, perhaps even fatally, the strategic deployment now designed for . . . Western Europe," the present key strategic area for Wall Street's planned war against the Soviet Union. Moreover, says Life regretfully, "History affords little ground for

optimism that a Chinese capitulation could be easily forced."

Despite the terrible risks of these alternatives, both Life and U.S. News dismiss out-of-hand the one alternative that could quickly and definitely end the Korean war without further bloodshed and suffering: Withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from the Korean peninsula. Life calls this alternative "unthinkable," "ignominious" and a "betrayal of our South Korean allies, of American and allied dead." U.S. News claims it "would be unacceptable to most Americans."

It is "unthinkable," of course, to dictator Syngman Rhee of South Korea who threatens to continue the war on his own even if the U.S. agrees to a truce. It would indeed be ignominious for the arrogant U.S. militarists and the big-money boys who are trying to muscle in on the territory of the whole planet. But there is no solution to the war more acceptable to the Korean, Chinese and American peoples alike than immediate withdrawal of the U.S. armed forces from Korea.

MILLIONS HOMELESS

The Nov. 29 Voice of Korea, published by the Korean Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C., an organization of Korean-Americans who oppose Rhee but support U.S. intervention in Korea, points out that now the "paramount concern" is the sheer physical survival of the people in Korea, of whom half in South Korea, or 10,406,000, are destitute and homeless. The Voice assails the dictatorial Rhee regime and the demand for continuation of the war. It asks, "Would anyone believe there is popular support for the war, either in the South or the North?" It expresses the hope that Eisenhower "does not fall victim to the power-crazing Korean minority" who want the war to go on.

As for the American people, millions of them voted for Eisenhower in the mistaken belief — which he deliberately fostered — that he really intends to end the war in Korea and bring the troops home. The latest Gallup Poll, reported in last week's Militant, revealed that a majority of Americans think it was wrong for this country ever to have intervened in Korea in the first place. If the American people were given a real voice through a referendum on the question of continuing the war or withdrawing the troops, they would show the complete falsity of the U.S. News claim that withdrawal from Korea "would be unacceptable to most Americans."

Whatever the outcome of Eisenhower's trip to Korea, it is least likely to mean an immediate end of the war. Rather, the threat is of more U.S. casualties added to the 128,000 battle losses already suffered in 2 1/2 years of the Korean invasion — 23,000 more than in the first 2 1/2 years of the Pacific fighting during World War II and over 40% of the entire World War I toll.

Instructive Book On Stalin's System Of Frame-Ups

If you would like to know more about Stalin's use of frame-ups as a calculated policy, read "Stalin's Frame-Up System and The Moscow Trials."

This interesting and instructive book contains Leon Trotsky's famous speech before the John Dewey Commission during its thorough investigation into the first two big Moscow frame-up trials. Trotsky tells why Stalin needs frame-ups and at the same time does such a definitive job of exposing the first two that the Kremlin's judicial system never recovered from the blow in the eyes of impartial public opinion.

Besides Trotsky's speech, the book contains a foreword by Joseph Hansen that exposes the frame-up trials of Rajk and Kostov in Hungary and Bulgaria in 1949. Hansen also analyzes Moscow's main apology for the frame-ups in "The Great Conspiracy" presenting irrefutable proof of how the Stalinist authors doctor up "evidence."

"Stalin's Frame-Up System and The Moscow Trials" can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 118 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. The cost is \$1.