

"AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER" REVIEWED

By Art Preis --- See Page 2 ---

THE MILITANT

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Stalinist "Auto" Sheet Slanders SWP Unionists



WHO ARE THE TROTSKYITES? WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? Many auto workers, having come into the industry in the past few years, may not be familiar with the past activities of the Trotskyites...

Reproduced above are the masthead of the Stalinist SPOTLIGHT and its article attacking the Socialist Workers Party unionists.

Rakes Up Old Lies About Smith Act's First Victims

The Communist Party on the West Coast has stepped up its red-baiting campaign against the Socialist Workers Party. The latest Stalinist stink-bomb was thrown in the April 1949 Spotlight...

They are worried because auto union militants, dissatisfied with Reuther's policies and looking for an effective program of action against the corporations, are attracted by the opposition group in which the Trotskyists participate.

CP LEADERS ALARMED

The Stalinist leaders are even more alarmed by the friendliness displayed by growing numbers of their own followers who judge the Trotskyists, not by poison-pen writings in the Stalinist press, but by direct observation of the SWP auto workers on the job...

The Spotlight's "exposure" is restricted to two quotations, one from the AFL Teamsters Journal and the other from a Minnesota State CIO resolution...

Next Week:

The A-Bomb and Your Future John G. Wright and Joseph Hansen review two outstanding books on the atom bomb, No Place to Hide, and Fear, War and the Bomb.

Where We Stand on the Draft Two letters from conscientious objectors criticizing the SWP position and a reply by Farrell Dobbs.

Send to The Militant for extra copies. Only 3c. each in bundles of 3 or more.

Kutcher to Tour 3 Western States To Rally Support for His Defense

James Kutcher, legless veteran fired from the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, has recovered rapidly enough from his recent surgical operation to make a West Coast speaking tour for his defense during June and July...

The main aim of his tour is to help raise the money needed to carry his case through the Federal courts. It is scheduled to begin in Minnesota on June 6.

Local sections of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are already busy arranging radio and press interviews, public meetings and appearances before trade union, religious and university groups, etc., in the cities he plans to visit.

CP DEFENDANTS HAUNTED BY MINNEAPOLIS CASE

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, May 25 — "The Dunne case is not parallel with the present case," lied the Stalinist lawyers, while arguing for a judgment of acquittal after the parade of FBI stoopigoes finally came to an end last Thursday.

They referred to the conviction in 1941 of 18 Trotskyists under the same thought-control Smith Act that is now being used against 11 Stalinists on trial here at Foley Square.

The Dunne case is not parallel with their own case, ran the Stalinist falsification, because the Trotskyists did more than advocate ideas; the Trotskyists were charged with conspiracy to organize armed bands and secure firearms and explosives to overthrow the government by force and violence...

Since the Stalinists, on the other hand, supported the capitalist government in the last war, they could not possibly have advocated the violent overthrow of the government, they whimpered.

PARROT BIDDLE

Parroted here are the police-mind arguments of Francis Biddle, predecessor to Attorney-General Tom Clark, who declared in 1941 that "arming workers... is clearly sufficient to remove the case from one involving expression of opinion."

In addition to the Smith Act, Biddle invoked against the Trotskyists an old Civil War statute, enacted in 1861 and aimed at the slave owners who were then in armed rebellion against the Lincoln government.

CIO Leaders Deal Blow To Membership's Rights

Boss Press Aids Right-wing Victory In Buffalo Union

BUFFALO, May 23 — Progressive forces led by the Solidarity Caucus of Westinghouse Local 1581, CIO United Electrical Workers, were defeated by the right wing by a 2 to 1 margin in an election contest which aroused widespread interest in the Buffalo labor movement.

The UE Solidarity Caucus, organized late last year by a broad grouping of militants opposed to the Stalinists as well as to the right wing, is headed by George Gould, former local president, Jim Larby, and Anthony Marino.

The right wing, led by incumbent President Ted Wierzbick and "Brownie" Golubski, ran on the so-called Rank and File slate and had the tacit support of the company as well as the capitalist press.

The UE Solidarity Caucus, probably the only substantial grouping in UE organized on the basis of militant opposition to the Stalinist machine as well as the Carey bloc forces, has earned the combined wrath of the company and all the reactionary forces in the local labor movement.

POISON PEN ATTACK

Last January, the anti-labor Buffalo Evening News got its poison pen artist, Fred Turner, to go to work on the Solidarity Caucus.

Prior to the 1941 trial, a gang of fascist hoodlums, called the Silver Shirts, became active in Minneapolis and hurled threats at the union movement.

But the caucus remained solid.

Ford Shutdown



Members of the CIO United Auto Workers leave the Edgewater, New Jersey, plant of the Ford empire, shut down as a result of the militant strike at River Rouge. (Federated Pictures).

LIBYAN UPRISINGS FORCE U. N. DELAY ON COLONIES

By Ruth Johnson

LAKE SUCCESS — The Bevin-Sforza-Wall Street plot to partition Libya and re-impose Italy's rule over most of its former African colonies, was defeated in the final sessions of the United Nations.

Delegates of the National Council for the Liberation of Libya, elated by this "great moral victory," are making plans to renew the battle when the UN meets again Sept. 20.

The UN vote, of course, only means a postponement of the issue. The Libyans' demand for unification and immediate independence of their country, was supported in the UN only by the Arab bloc.

U. S. delegate, Warren Austin, supported this scheme vigorously, even assailing a shame-faced amendment proposed by Liberia — that Somaliland's independence be "considered" after 15 years.

IMPERIALISTS EXPOSED

But no one could have listened, as I did, to these stormy sessions without recognizing the decision as a set-back for the imperialists. Even though the set-back is momentary, it will inspire the colonial peoples with new confidence in their strength and

Decisions of National Board Strike at Union Democracy

The top CIO leadership last week struck further blows at trade union democracy and the rights of the CIO membership. At the three-day session of the CIO's National Executive Board in Washington, Philip Murray's machine demanded the resignation from the Board of all members who do not actively support the Marshall Plan and the political line laid down by Murray.

The Board majority further demanded that affiliated unions remove from the Board their members who fail to carry out the political edicts of Murray and to nominate replacements who will docilely comply with his

Arbitration Offer Of Reuther Angers Ford Militants

DETROIT, May 25 — Ford workers, now in the third week of their strike against the CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther's proposal to submit the principal issue in dispute to arbitration. This proposal would put the workers back in the identical position they were in before hitting the bricks to force a shutdown of the inhuman pace of production.

STALINIST ROLE

The Stalinists, who are the immediate target of Murray, can put up no principled fight against him. They themselves supported the bureaucracy's moves at the 1946 convention, when it tightened its control over local CIO Councils.

The threatened purge of the national board will be accompanied by intensified raids and pressure moves against Stalinist-led unions.

JOKER IN PROPOSAL

It is obvious that even should the arbitrator side with the union on this point, the main evil would still remain, for the company would merely have to readjust its "work standards" to remain within Reuther's "100

The Kremlin's Strikebreaking in Berlin

For the third time in the last two months the railway workers of West Berlin, affiliated to the Independent Trade Union Federation (UGO) scheduled a strike. But unlike the previous times when the Stalinist railway administration arranged a shabby compromise, the workers struck at midnight May 20.

On the fifth day the Stalinists retreated, realizing that their strike served only to arouse fiercer resistance. It is reported that the Stalinists have offered to grant the central demand of the strikers that they be paid in Allied-sponsored currency instead of the Moscow-backed Eastern marks provided the

Western powers share in financing the wage increase. The Berlin railway workers had refused to be victimized any longer by the currency battle between Moscow and Washington.

They seized the first pretext to order the police to fire at point-blank range. They wasted no time in running trains of armed reinforcements plus scabs into the area.

WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT

From all indications, the strikers received from the outset wide popular support. The workers themselves stood solid, with some 15,000 out of Berlin's total railway force of 30,000 manning the picket lines.

Allied Western officials — with U. S. big brass in the van —

went to the limit in attempting to exploit the strike for their own propaganda purposes. Gen. Hays, U. S. commandant of Berlin, demonstratively affirmed a "hands-off" policy, as did Gen. Hays, deputy U. S. military governor.

The Stalinist authorities, for their part, did everything they could to break the strike. Their railway administration cancelled all holidays and days off — in order to facilitate scab-herding. Their railway police immediately announced that armed squads would occupy — as they did — all stations in West Berlin.

They seized the first pretext to order the police to fire at point-blank range. They wasted no time in running trains of armed reinforcements plus scabs into the area.

DEFAME STRIKERS

In their propaganda they, of course, tried to place the blame

on the strikers, defaming them as puppets of American imperialism, as a handful of "malcontents," "hoodlums," and the like. After engaging openly in gun play themselves, they resorted to a devious plea for the deployment of American, British and French troops against the strikers. This "suggestion" was made by Gen. Kvaschnin, Soviet transport chief in Berlin, at a four-power meeting of transport officials on the day following the first clashes.

THREATEN WORKERS

They coupled all this with an official threat to fire all strikers from their jobs. In brief, they exposed themselves for the sinister enemies that the Stalinists are inside the labor movement not alone in Berlin but everywhere else.

Roman Chwalek, chief of the rival Stalinist-run rail union, (affiliated to the "Free German

Trade Union Federation") and other labor officials of the same stripe, took to the radio and the press, appealing to workers to ignore the strike call, not to "obstruct" the Paris conference of foreign ministers (which opened on May 23), and so forth.

The lies they peddled were faithfully reprinted here in the Daily Worker. The Stalinist liars in this country invariably referred to the Berlin strikers as "mobsters" or mere criminals, while calling the scabs and the brutal cops "loyal workers." In a word, they borrowed here, too, from the arsenal of all strikebreakers.

WORKERS NEEDS IGNORED. The crying needs of the workers were scarcely heard. Resolutions on unemployment, wages, Taft-Hartley repeal and other problems of urgent importance for labor, were crowded into a single day's agenda. The wages and unemployment resolutions were worthless because neither presented concrete demands or any program of unified, militant action to implement such demands.

The May 23 issue of the CIO News, which reports the anti-"leftist" decisions in great detail, does not report any action or statement by the Board on the crucial Ford strike, the very spearhead of the CIO's fourth-round wage struggle.

SEE EDITORIAL Who are the Criminals in Berlin? — See Page 3 —

"American Freedom and Catholic Power"—Truthful, Courageous Book

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. By Paul Blanshard. 350 pp. Boston: Beacon Press. \$3.50.

By Art Preis

The witch-hunt atmosphere of American imperialism's cold war provides the ideal climate for the flourishing of every reactionary, anti-democratic institution. All democratic traditions, including the separation of church and state, are under ferocious assault. One of the most powerful and aggressive spearheads of this assault is the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Behind its all-purpose slogan of "Down with Atheistic Communism!" this clerical "Powerhouse of Reaction" is encroaching in every sphere of American life, educational, cultural, scientific, economic, social and political. Its inroads since the end of the war are appalling. Its menace to democratic freedoms and institutions in America is real and growing rapidly.

No more courageous and effective voice has been raised against the Roman Catholic hierarchy's invasion of democratic freedoms in this country than Paul Blanshard's. His scholarly, accurate series of 12 articles last year in *The Nation*, America's oldest liberal weekly, brought down on him and *The Nation* the vituperative wrath of the Catholic hierarchy. *The Nation* was banned from public school libraries of New York and Newark, two of America's largest cities, where Catholic political blocs dominate. Only last week, the New York City Board of Education renewed the ban.

ARSENAL OF FACTS

Blanshard has re-written and expanded the material in his *Nation* articles into a book, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, a factual, fully-documented study of the organization, aims and program, activities and significance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country. This book is a veritable arsenal of impregnable facts — quoted almost entirely from authoritative Catholic sources — and is certain to withstand the furious assault launched against it by the Catholic hierarchy and its apologists and protectors of the *Big Business* press.

a church enters the arena of controversial social policy and attempts to control the judgment of its own people (and of other people) on foreign affairs, social hygiene, public education and modern science, it must be reckoned with as an organ of political and cultural power. It is in that sense that I shall discuss Catholic power in this book."

HOW HIERARCHY WORKS

Blanshard lives up to his thesis. He starts off with chapters on "How the Hierarchy Works" and "Church, State and Democracy," an illuminating and completely documented description of the organization of the Catholic hierarchy, with all its authority ultimately centered in the Vatican State, headed by its "infallible" Pope. He demonstrates how the hierarchy holds full authoritarian sway over the laity, who are regarded merely as "subjects" of the Church. He proves to the hilt, from a host of Catholic sources, that the organization and ideology of the hierarchy is wholly alien to democratic concepts and practices.

PEOPLE VS. HIERARCHY

Chase delivers a blanket attack on the facts in Blanshard's book — that is, on the most invulnerable aspect of the book — but without citing a single line of the book. "It would be idle to list the author's 'facts,'" claims Chase, "without appearing to set down the curious slanders beloved of the 'Know-Nothings' in the Eighteen Fifties or of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1928 Presidential campaign."

Blanshard himself, in his book, anticipates this very charge and takes great pains, with eminent success, to distinguish between bigotry and intolerance against the Catholic people, particularly the poor immigrant workers, and factual discussion of the role of the Catholic hierarchy in attempting to foist its censorship, bigotry, clerical authoritarianism and superstition upon all the American people, including the Catholic workers.

Blanshard states his thesis in his opening chapter, "Personal Prologue: The Duty to Speak," as follows: "The policy of mutual silence about religious differences is a reasonable policy in matters of personal faith; but when it comes to matters of political, medical and educational principles, silence may be directly contrary to public welfare. When

"The Gospels show that Christ founded the Church in the form of a visible, hierarchical society, that is, one made up of subjects and superiors who rightfully rule subjects. The Roman Pontiff and the bishops under him are the ruling hierarchy of the Church. The Church is also a monarchical society in which the Pope rules with full power, that is, with jurisdiction over the entire Church." (Emphasis added).

MEDIAEVAL CONCEPT

The chief attributes of the Catholic Church are described as "authority, infallibility and ineluctability." This "infallibility,"

defined through "the Pope alone" extends to all matters of "faith and doctrine," which includes any matter on which the Pope desires to declare himself. The Pope does not always speak "infallibly," but even when he doesn't, "Catholics must accept such teachings, not on faith, but in obedience to the authority of the Pope and in respect for his wisdom," says the *Baltimore Catechism*.

This medieval concept of a "monarchical society" of "subjects and superiors" requiring unquestioning "obedience" to a supreme "authority" is an abomination to the democratic traditions of the American people, traditions cherished no less by most of the Catholic populace than by the non-Catholic majority in this country, as Blanshard points out.

DEVASTATING INDICTMENT
His book then cites chapter and verse, in overwhelming detail, on the increasing interference of this totalitarian hierarchy in public education, in medicine and science, in marriage and divorce, in motion pictures and literature — in short, in every sphere of American life. Many of the cases he cites are well known; a number of them have been reported in *The Militant* and *Fourth International*; all of them add up to a devastating indictment of the activities and aims of the hierarchy with respect to democratic rights and institutions in America.

The chapter on "Fascism, Communism and Labor" is of particular interest to the American labor movement. Against the present campaign of the American Catholic hierarchy and the *Big Business* press to whitewash the Vatican's dealings with the fascist powers before and during the war, Blanshard hurls a demolishing barrage of facts. The continued Vatican support for fascist Spain and Portugal, those "model states" praised by Pius XI and Pius XII, is cited by Blanshard as further evidence of the kind of regime favored by the Catholic hierarchy, so long as its special interests are protected by the government.

He shows, with example after example, how the Catholic hierarchy in America, while spreading the myth of its "liberalization" and new-found love for "democracy," is basically hostile to social change and improvement. The most recent evidence of this, since Blanshard wrote, is the public opposition of leading Catholic agencies to the Administration's national health insurance plan. As for the hierarchy's claimed concern for labor, the newspapers blazoned in headlines a few weeks ago Cardinal Spellman's strike-breaking against Catholic cemetery workers in New York.

ONE WEAKNESS
Blanshard writes as a liberal supporter of American imperialism's foreign policy. He deplores the fact, however, that the general campaign against "communism," which he approves, has provided the opportunity for the present aggressive drive of the Catholic hierarchy in this country. He can but express "misgivings" about the motives of the Church in its opposition to "communism," because the hierarchy's real aims are anti-democratic, whereas those of American imperialism and its liberal apologists, presumably, are "democratic."

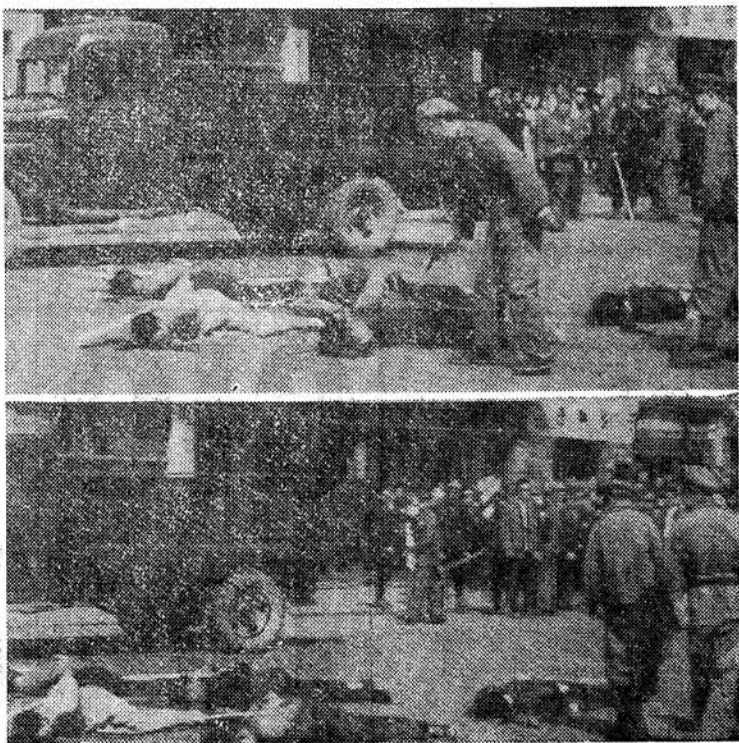
Here is the chief weakness in an otherwise powerful work. Blanshard shows that the Church is barely holding its own, even declining in membership and in its hold over its laity. Yet the wealth, power and influence of the hierarchy is growing, its influence on public life mounting each day. What is the reason?

The American capitalist class and its government, predominantly Protestant, are protecting and supporting large sections of the labor movement. And today, despite their irreconcilable political opposition, the SWP defends the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act.

From this record the auto workers can easily judge who are the real "enemies of the working class" and "the unprincipled clique of union disrupters" — and who are the defenders of labor's rights.

San Francisco-Oakland
Fourth Lecture
STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT OF WORKING CLASS
San Francisco Friday, June 3
Oakland Tuesday, June 7
Fifth Lecture
BOLSHEVISM, The Leninist Conception of the Party
San Francisco Friday, June 10
Oakland Tuesday, June 14
Admission Free — 8:00 P.M.
San Francisco—1739 Fillmore, 4th floor
Oakland—1408 Webster

Kuomintang Terror



Chinese Nationalist forces, fleeing from Shanghai, left political prisoners dead in the streets. Above, five victims with placards naming their alleged crimes, are publicly executed. (Federated Pix)

CP DEFENDANTS HAUNTED BY MINNEAPOLIS CASE

(Continued from page 1)
The union hall against the Silver Shirts.

THE "CONSPIRACY"

Biddle's special prosecutor branded this act of self-defense carried out by a few dozen union members "a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence."

So less fantastic was the government's attempt to prove that this "armed band" had secured firearms and explosives to pit its mighty dozens against the feeble army, navy and air force on which the government had to rely because the atom bomb had not yet been invented. A gentleman of leisure, who had hung around the union hall mooching dimes for beer, testified that the firearms and explosives in question were said to be concealed in the basement walls of a Minneapolis church.

The jury rejected all this nonsense about armed bands, firearms and explosives. It found all the defendants not guilty of that count in the indictment, and thereby narrowed the case down to the charges under the Smith Act.

MORE FANTASY
Included in the allegations under the Smith Act was the charge that the Trotskyists "conspired to foment insubordination in the armed forces." At that time the United States was not yet officially at war with the Axis powers, but a large conscript army had already been drafted.

Ford Militants Arbitration Offer Of Reuther Angers

(Continued from Page 1)
percent" formula. In addition, up to now, in each case involving the speedup in the Ford factories submitted to arbitration by the union, the umpire has decided in favor of the company.

What the top UAW brass is now trying to sell to the Ford management are the same intolerable practices they have sanctioned in the General Motors, Chrysler and Hudson corporations against widespread opposition of the workers. The Ford strike was resisted by the International leadership until the last moment when a tidal wave of rank and file revolt forced them to authorize it.

The stubborn determination of the workers to end the speedup has now forced the International to broaden the issues of the strike to include all contractual questions. 15,000 strikers have unanimously rejected the company proposal that all Ford workers, with the exception of those in the "B" building and the Lincoln plant where the struggle originated, return to work pending settlement of the speed-up issue.

BITTER HARVEST

Not so the Stalinists. They cheered the government's attack on the Trotskyists and sabotaged the pardon campaign. They added infamy to treachery by demanding that the government suppress *The Militant*. Nevertheless, the Trotskyists today support the Stalinist defendants on the principle of defending democratic rights.

The Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of the convicted Trotskyists; Roosevelt ignored the petition for a presidential pardon; and the 18 defendants were compelled to serve terms in the federal penitentiary. Meanwhile, the unprincipled Stalinists continued to aid the witch hunters by slandering the Trotskyists as "agents of Hitler" because the Socialist Workers Party opposed the imperialist war.

There came a day, however, when the Stalinists reaped the bitter harvest from the dragon's teeth they had sown. Prosecutor McGohey, who appears to have made a careful study of the frameup techniques used to convict the Trotskyists, argued last Friday that the Dunne case has not been reversed by the Supreme Court and it therefore carries full weight as a legal precedent for the present trial of the Stalinists.

WANT FULL NEGOTIATIONS

At the same time they voted to open all contract negotiations realizing fully that they would be in a poor position if they return to work now and are then forced to go on strike again on July 15 when the present agreement runs out.

The hostility of the strikers to Reuther's arbitration scheme arises from a well-grounded fear that the union tops are trying to push the speedup question into the background or to make it a point of trading during negotiations on other issues.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Simmering Revolt in Soviet Buffer Zone

Nearly a year has passed since the Yugoslav revolt against Kremlin domination became public. The predictions of a rapid liquidation of the Tito "heresy" — issued by most of the imperialist experts, such as Charles Bohlen of the U. S. State Department, as well as the Stalinist apologists — have not been fulfilled.

On the contrary, there are abundant indications of the deep and widespread nature of this revolt throughout Eastern Europe. Among these are the open humiliation and reduction in rank of former Premier Gomulka in Poland for "nationalist deviations," the secret GPU liquidation of General Markos in Greece last winter and the recent open removal and disgrace of former Vice-Premier Kostov of Bulgaria.

Viet Nam Trotskyist Killed by Imperialists

La Verite, newspaper of the French Trotskyists, reports the slaying of Chu-Van-Binh, one of the leaders of the Viet Nam Trotskyist organization, by French troops in Northern Indo-China. Chu-Van-Binh was a founder of the broad Viet Namese movement in France — known as Tranh-Dau ("Struggle") — in the course of the "liberation" in 1944. He was one of the first to join the Vo-San ("The Proletarians") movement which soon thereafter became the official Trotskyist organization of the Viet Namese and adhered to the Fourth International. He had been repeatedly elected an official representative of the Viet Nam workers in their labor camps in Paris, Marseilles, Bergerac and Biais.

Last year, during one of the campaigns against the war in Indo-China, he along with others, was seized by the police of "socialist" Minister of the Interior Jules Moch and sent to a concentration camp at Hai-Phong. With two other comrades, Chu-Van-Binh recently escaped from this camp in order to join the Viet Nam Resistance Army. While the others succeeded in reaching their destination, Chu was killed in an ambush by a French patrol.

Reformists in Canada Rebuffed on Pact
The sharpest rebuff yet received by the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation of Canada from a rank and file seething against its acceptance of the Atlantic Pact (see previous report in this column, May 9) took place at the convention of its organization in British Columbia. This strongest of the CCF sections voted 54 to 46 recently against support of the pact, despite a barrage of national speakers and bureaucratic manipulation which allowed the leaders to retain organizational control.

and Elaine participated in this distribution. "Although we consider the activity a success, we are conscious of having made some organizational mistakes. . . Will improve our technique next time."

The Stalinists who covered the meeting were shouting "Read the only paper that supports Henry Wallace," writes Comrade Deck. The slogan used by the Trotskyists was: "Stop the imperialist war-drive against the Soviet Union."

F. S., a Jehovah's Witness who met the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party imprisoned in Sandstone during World War II for their opposition to imperialist war and advocacy of socialism, writes from Minneapolis: "I am impelled to address you as friends, for I certainly appreciate your stand for truth and honesty. I admire Farrell Dobb's courageous and outspoken speech given before the Foreign Relations Committee at Washington. It was a serious speech, and a speech that people who desire a righteous government rightly appreciate. I must say that you have a lot of truth in your Militant paper too. And again I wish to thank you for those splendid articles on Jehovah's Witnesses."

Paul D. of Pennsylvania, sending in subscriptions for two of his friends, writes: "I think that short term subscriptions will help many to subscribe for themselves after reading *The Militant*." We agree 100 percent with Comrade Paul D. Many backers of *The Militant* today first became acquainted with America's leading socialist weekly through a friend thoughtful enough to subscribe for them.

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Last Thursday we distributed 500 Militants at the Ford 600 meeting at the Fair Grounds," reports Howard Mason, Literature Agent for Detroit. "The reception was very fine. So much so, in fact, that the Stalinists, who were peddling their sheet, held a little caucus and then began to give away their paper."

In addition to this, Comrade Mason writes that a distribution was made at a small meeting of about 70 people celebrating the anniversary of the local Stalinist paper, the *Michigan Worker*. "We sold six copies of *The Militant* and five copies of the pamphlet *Socialism on Trial*."

On the previous Sunday, the Detroit comrades took their literature to a Henry Wallace meeting. "Besides distributing a leaflet, we sold 22 Militants."

The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party likewise organized a successful distribution at a Henry Wallace meeting, according to Literature Agent Bert Deck. "This is what was sold: 26 Militants, 7 copies of *Socialism on Trial*, 10 copies of the 1918 Manifesto of the Fourth International Against Wall Street, and the Kremlin, 15 copies of *Only Victorious Socialist Revolution Can Prevent the Third World War*, 3 copies of the pamphlet containing excerpts of Leon Trotsky's writings against fascism, and one copy of *Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism*."

Comrade Deck reports that Myra, Ruth, Jeanne, Marj, Al, Troy, Lloyd, Paul, Matt, Fred

Stalinist "Auto" Sheet Slanders SWP Unionists

(Continued from page 1)
that would expose their own falsehoods.

Democratic union procedure was the main issue in the struggle between the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 and AFL Teamsters International President Tobin out of which the government prosecution arose. When Tobin tried to impose a dictator-receiver over this progressive local, which had helped make Minneapolis a union city, the membership voted overwhelmingly to join the CIO. It took an alliance of Tobin and his goons, the Department of Justice and the FBI, and the Republican State administration to crush this movement by railroading its leaders to prison and denying the CIO union free collective-bargaining elections.

At that time the Stalinists who dominated the Minnesota CIO kicked the Minneapolis teamsters, sabotaged their fight to preserve militant unionism, and aided the prosecutors. Now they quote

Tobin, the enemy of progressive unionism and the instigator of the frameup, as their authority on democratic procedure!

CIO'S OPINION

The National CIO had a different opinion on the matter from the Stalinists. For example, the UAW convention held in Buffalo in August 1941 pledged full support to Local 544 in its fight.

The SWP and CIO teamster leaders were indicted and jailed under the Smith "Gag" Act. The Minneapolis Case was the first time this law was applied. The Trotskyists pointed out at that time that their conviction under this thought-control statute would set a dangerous precedent which could be directed against others.

Today this same Smith Act and its application in the Minneapolis Case is the basis of the indictment against the 11 Communist Party leaders now on trial in New York City! When the Spotlight says that "For the first time in the history of the United

States men are being tried solely because of their political beliefs," it is trying to wipe out the Minneapolis Case and whitewash the shameful role of the CP in it.

While the Stalinists were sabotaging aid to the 18, labor organizations representing over five million members came to their defense. Warning that the Minneapolis Case "involves a serious threat to labor generally," R. J. Thomas, then UAW-CIO President, said: "I am of the opinion that these people should be supported for two reasons: first, the National CIO takes that position, and second, they were undoubtedly sent to prison under a law with which we cannot possibly agree."

Thus, in the Minneapolis Case the Communist Party disrupted working class solidarity, openly aligned itself with the destroyers of union democracy and with the government prosecutors. Out of factional hatred toward the Trotskyists they sharpened a knife — the Smith Act — which is now being used against their own leaders.

The Socialist Workers Party defended union democracy against the AFL bureaucrat Tobin, adhered to its socialist and anti-war principles despite persecution, and thereby earned the sympathy and support of large sections of the labor movement. And today, despite their irreconcilable political opposition, the SWP defends the Stalinist victims of the Smith Act.

From this record the auto workers can easily judge who are the real "enemies of the working class" and "the unprincipled clique of union disrupters" — and who are the defenders of labor's rights.

POLITICALLY IMPORTANT

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Monday, May 30, 1949



TROTSKY

Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

— Leon Trotsky, Interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 1940.



LENIN

Who Are The Criminals in Berlin?

The plight of the Berlin railway strikers epitomizes the trap in which German workers generally and those in Western Europe, as a whole find themselves today.

In Berlin, as in Paris or Rome, the workers are caught in the middle between the two rival camps — Washington and Moscow. Each side tries to use the workers for its own aims in the game of power politics in which they have been contending since the termination of hostilities.

Each employs essentially the same methods, using a different set of lies and tricks to cover up their hostility to and contempt for the mass of the people. Frequently, they find their roles reversed, because this, too, happens to serve their respective interests.

Last September in France the Stalinists supported the hungry coal miners. This served the Kremlin's foreign policy at the time. The French capitalists, backed by the American imperialists defamed and shot down the coal strikers. The Stalinists shrieked in cynical indignation.

A few days ago, the Stalinists in Berlin, again for the Kremlin's own sordid reasons, shot down in cold blood hungry railway workers. This time, the no-less bestial imperialists, with the most vocal protestor in a general's uniform, are pointing "with alarm" and viewing "with indignation" the Berlin outrages.

These butchers, like the Stalinists, are banking on people's short memories. They hope that American workers have forgotten how another American general, MacArthur, broke strikes in Japan not so very long ago.

To come closer home, it was not so long ago, either, that the U.S. Big Brass was riding herd on hungry demonstrators, slash-

ing rations and breaking strikes in West Berlin and surrounding areas. Do many of us, right here, need to be reminded that our own recent experience with the anti-labor militarists strikes-even closer?

Yet these are the creatures who are now so shamelessly pretending that the lesson of the Berlin experience is this, that "communism" means union-busting and strikebreaking and all the other abominations of Stalinism.

The real lesson of Berlin is entirely different. It shows once again how sinister an enemy of the working class Stalinism really is. The retreat of the Stalinist authorities in Berlin is the most eloquent refutation of their slanders and crimes against the strikers. It is, at the same time, the best proof of the real scope of the strike movement itself.

By their deeds Stalin and all his Vishinskies have shown themselves to be far more closely related to the Pinkertons and Bergoffs than to such noble fighters for human liberation as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky. Everything that Stalinism does and represents is alien and abhorrent to the letter and spirit of genuine communism.

The real lesson of Berlin is that the legions of Washington and of Moscow alike are in Germany to oppress and not to promote the interests of the people there.

Until the occupation troops of both these ruthless destroyers are withdrawn, crimes, such as those witnessed in Berlin, will be repeated time and again — with both sides equally to blame.

Let them all get out and stay out of Germany. For the American workers this just demand means, first and foremost, that American troops must be withdrawn.

A New Leadership Needed

Under attack in the current fight within the CIO Executive Board are the autonomous rights of CIO affiliates and the right to freedom of thought, freedom of expression and freedom of political action in the CIO ranks.

The Murray majority has gone all-out in the service of the State Department, violating the most elementary principles of democracy in their eagerness to support the cold war against the Stalinists. In return for their slavish support of the imperial rulers of America, who aim to conquer the world, the Murrayites hope to receive economic and political concessions sufficient to maintain their domination over the membership of the CIO.

Confronted with this attack, the Stalinist hacks in the CIO seek to represent themselves as fighters for autonomy and democracy, and in general they are talking pretty radical. No one should be deceived by this fake militancy on the part of the Stalinists; least of all the CIO workers who remember too well how the Stalinists supported the

speedup, scabbed on strikers and victimized militant workers during the war.

Just as the Murray majority serves the State Department, the Stalinists are slaves of the Kremlin, never hesitating to betray the workers at Stalin's command. Wherever the Stalinists are in control of unions, they rule with an iron hand, trying to smother opposition with slander and frameups. They are no more democratic than the Murrayites.

The workers need leaders who will serve neither the State Department nor the Kremlin, but only the interests of the workers. They need leaders who sincerely share and will faithfully support the desires of the working people to live at peace with the world, to enjoy genuine democracy and to have absolute economic security.

These leaders must rise from the union ranks, just as they did during the stormy battles through which the CIO was born. Gathered together in a powerful left wing, they will fight for the social, economic and political interests of the workers and for no other interests.

The Spy System in America

The hall-mark of every totalitarian regime is the secret political police and the paid informer. This is the mechanism for ferreting out even the mildest critics and gagging them before they can voice their complaints. The models for the internal spy system were perfected by Hitler and Stalin.

Mindful of the uses to which the internal spy system has always been employed, millions of people in this country must have felt a cold shiver when they read or heard about the parade of paid FBI informers testifying in the trial of the eleven Communist Party leaders.

This was the first public revelation that there is in operation in America today a secret political police functioning with the aid of an army of paid stoolpigeons. These informers are also planted in the unions, as several admitted on the witness stand at the Stalinist trial.

No unionist can regard this disclosure with indifference. It is a truly ominous sign of how far Washington has moved to a Gestapo or GPU system in America.

What unionist can feel secure knowing the person working next to him, the very top

officer of his union, may be an undercover agent for the FBI? Who can tell what words of his, uttered in momentary anger or jest and long forgotten, perhaps, will be taken down by some eager-beaver informer anxious to make a good report to his FBI paymasters? Who can doubt that the infernal affairs of the unions, as recorded by FBI stoolpigeons, do not also find their way to management's desk?

We know that in the Truman administration's "loyalty" purge of government employees, hundreds have been fired on the "evidence" of undisclosed squealers, whom their victims were not even permitted to confront and cross-examine. An envious or busy-body neighbor, a landlord "getting even" with a tenant who refuses to pay higher rent, a personal enemy, a shady character seeking to get in good with the law — it is on the "evidence" of these types that the government purge operates.

The internal spy system spreads fear and division. It turns neighbor against neighbor, worker against worker. The labor movement can tolerate the extension of an internal spy system in this country only at its great peril.

Political Lesson from France

(The article below, reprinted from the French Trotskyist paper La Verite, describes the political degeneration of the centrist RDR group. Deserting the revolutionary movement to find a "third force" that they expected to be "independent" of both Stalinism and capitalism, they have wound up in the camp of American imperialism.)

By Pierre Frank

The RDR (Rassemblement Democratique Revolutionnaire) organized a little over a year ago in France, claimed at the time that it would serve as the spokesman for millions of free men who refused to be swallowed up in either one of today's two great power blocs. It has now blossomed forth as the organizer of a "peace" conference in Paris serving the interests of Wall Street.

Many among its few hundred followers are asking how this could have happened. Several factors are involved. Some place all the blame on the activities of David Rousset. To be sure, his role was by no means an insignificant one. A psychological study of Rousset's evolution would disclose that this young and ambitious Socialist first turned up in the Trotskyist ranks in 1933. Then upon his return from a concentration camp, a certain amount of popularity came his way because of a few books he had written, books interesting enough not to be underestimated although it would be false to exaggerate their value.

Finally, having exhausted his creative literary spurge, he flung himself head-long into unprincipled and maneuverist politics. Rousset is as well-informed in these matters as is the next person. He knows very well that Supreme Court Justice Douglas lectured the CIO Convention last December on the urgent need for American imperialism to utilize Green, Murray, Reuther, Dubinsky, et al, to force the European workers to swallow what the old-school diplomats of the State Department could never ram down their throats.

ROUSSET'S ZIGZAGS

In 1945 Rousset returned to pay a brief visit to the PCI (French Trotskyist party). Here he presented a thesis whose main theme was: "The Soviet bureaucracy finds itself impelled in its actions today... to initiate and to realize in life the Socialist revolution in other countries..." In the new stage which we have now entered [the Soviet economic forces] represent the only real, effective guaranty of socialist revolution throughout the world."

In other words, socialism was to be realized under Stalin's leadership. And this in spite of Stalin's police regime and of his concentration camps of which Mr. Rousset was then not unaware.

The change in David Rousset's convictions did not spring from any sort of analysis for he happens to be one of those petty bourgeois who simply yield to the pressure of that force which happens to be the strongest at the

such were the means they hit upon for revitalizing the labor movement! And in the RDR this policy and these methods were employed without any restraints whatever. We saw the results at the Sorbonne and the Vel' d'Hiv' [balls where the RDR staged its counter-rally to the Stalinist "Peace" Congress.]

In place of the "rehash of old Bolshevik ideas" they have presented us with such new ideas as the "critical philosophy" of Kant, the Trilogy of Republicanism, all the old ideological baggage of the 1848 French revolution, the rituals of Free Masonry along with those of the MRP (a capitalist-clerical party). And instead of expressing their convictions, the rank and file members of the RDR have been used as flunkies in a conference that did violence to these convictions. Only the "sectarians" were able to utilize the occasion to present their position in opposition to the champions of Ku Klux Klan democracy.

The past struggle in the PCI was a struggle against a petty bourgeois tendency which succumbed to alien pressure. But this was a struggle within the revolutionary party — that is within the camp of the working class. The split with our party and the Fourth International has shifted the ground on which this tendency is evolving.

No longer faced with our "sectarianism," in these days of acute tension they have swiftly found themselves rubbing elbows with agents of imperialism. There is no "third force," there is no independent petty bourgeois force standing between the working class and capitalism.

The "gathering of free spirits" brought about at great expense for Washington's benefit, was converted through the intervention of Hook, Farrell, Kadt and Compton, the defender of the atomic bomb, into the most valuable service that could have been rendered to the Stalinists. This same "free gathering" received its set-back from the "sectarians" whom the monstrous machinations of Moscow have never been able to destroy.

The experience of the "free men" began by delivering some blows to the Revolutionary Party; it will soon terminate to the advantage of that same party.

"HOME OF THE BRAVE"—HOLLYWOOD'S NEW APPROACH TO THE NEGROES

By Paul Schapiro

Hollywood has just discovered that Negroes are human beings. Home of the Brave, Walter White announces triumphantly, is "the first of at least eight Hollywood films which break with the traditional treatment of the Negro as menial or buffoon." It was, as a matter of fact, made secretly and at great speed in order that it might be released before these productions by rival companies.

The producers have evidently decided that, although these films may be banned by reactionary state governments in the South, the market of Negroes, their friends and sympathizers in the North more than offsets this.

The making of these films also reflects the concern of American imperialism over its self-created Negro problem: it is a cancer which drains imperialism's strength as it prepares for war, but, being too deep to be cut out by surgical action, it can only dab at it with the salve of words.

NOT USUAL HOLLYWOOD

Home of the Brave tells the story of a Negro soldier in World War II who has volunteered for a dangerous mission on a Pacific jungle island, the accumulated tensions within him which grow as he is baited by a Negro-hating member of the group, and his crack-up and psychiatric treatment. The forthrightness of its depiction of chauvinism, in its subtly veiled as well as in its ugly, crude form, is indeed in sharp contrast with the usual Hollywood make-believe portrayal of American life.

FALSE IMPRESSION

The pseudo-psychology of Home of the Brave, with its disregard of social traits, conveys a false impression. The corporal, who cannot adjust himself to the army, is shown to be a rabid chauvinist; the major, who is somewhat uncertain of himself, is shown to be mildly chauvinistic; the colonel, who is entirely sure of himself, is shown to be devoid of chauvinism. Chauvinism thus seems to be an expression of the individual's character which is unrelated to his place in society. As a matter of fact, however, it is well known that anti-Negro feeling is especially rampant among the high brass, coming, as most of them do, from the traditionally militaristic upper classes of the South.

"MESSAGE" OBSCURED

If Home of the Brave is honest in its presentation of chauvinism, however, its "message" obscures an understanding of the problem and its solution. Those who taunt you, the psychiatrist tells the Negro soldier, do so because they themselves feel inwardly insecure. Understand that you are not the only one who has emotional problems, and you will not

Negro problem to lie in Negroes seeking to adjust themselves to society rather than in working to change it. "Is Jim Crow getting you down?" it says in effect. "Just bear up against it. Life is tough, and every one has his troubles." This kind of advice cannot help a people and can help individuals only to a limited extent. "You have a right to be angry," the Negro is assured — but anger which does not lead to purposeful action can only end in bitter frustration.

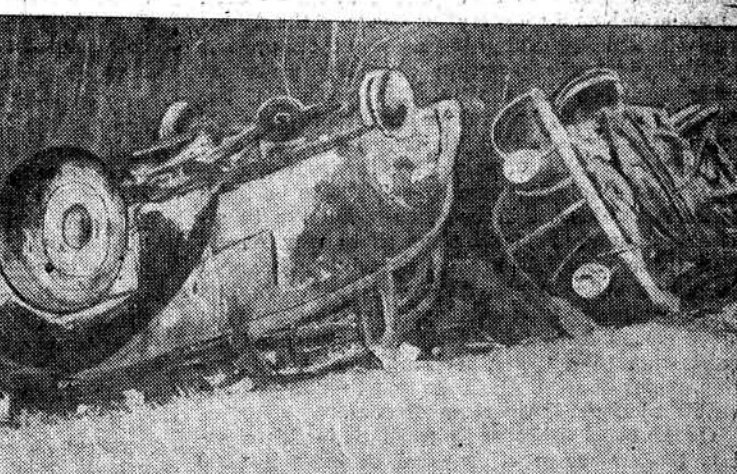
SYNTHETIC PRODUCT

Aside from its "message," Home of the Brave as a movie is an expertly made synthetic product. It pulls open all the stops ("Ladies, bring your hankies!" said the advertisements), so that the spectator draws back warily, conscious that his emotions are being artificially manipulated. It's all there — the gruff, affectionate name-calling through which the lifelong friendship of two men is expressed; the enforced listening to the agonized cries of one's buddy when he is powerless to help him; the dying soldier crawling from out of the jungle to expire in the arms of his Negro friend, who rocks him as he would a child while the background music is turned on to a spiritual.

The scenes depicting the idle talk of the soldiers and the boorishness of the bigot are, however, realistic enough to hold up the film. And even when the film gives the impression of a man shouting at the top of his lungs without real passion the unaccustomed shock of a theme laden with such high-voltage electricity is enough to hold your attention.

Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3 Leon Trotsky—The Permanent Revolution \$2.50 Leon Trotsky—The Lesson of Spain — The Last Warning! 25c Leon Trotsky — Stalinism and Bolshevism — 10c K. Tilak — Rise and Fall of Comintern \$1.50

Five Strikers Died Here



Three hundred armed cops assaulted the picket lines of French Canadian workers, on strike against the Johns Manville Company in Asbestos, Que., since Feb. 13. The toll: five dead, sixteen union officials under arrest. (Federated Pictures).

LIBYAN UPRISINGS FORCE U. N. DELAY ON COLONIES

(Continued from Page 1)

dependence for Libya, after 10 years of continued imperialist rule.

ARAB DEMONSTRATION

The imperialists sighed with relief when the Assembly voted Cyrenaica into British trusteeship, and Fezzan into French trusteeship. But they soon discovered that their opponents had not been bought off.

ASSEMBLY IN UPROAR

The Assembly was in an uproar. Arab delegates jubilantly rushed from table to table, shaking hands with everyone who befriended them. The British and American delegates sat glum. Latin-American delegates who had fronted for the plan throughout the debate, clamored for the floor to announce that now they would vote against the resolution as a whole, thereby admitting that restoration of Italian rule in Africa is pivotal to the scheme.

It was 2:35 a. m. when the session closed. Returning to New York with the weary but happy Libyan delegation, I asked Dr. Shukry how soon he was going back to Libya.

"The British will never allow me there," he laughed. "I will only go to Cairo. But we will be in touch with all our leaders. And this is only the beginning."

His biggest disappointment at Lake Success was evidently the violent opposition of the United States. "The American people should know better what is being done with their Marshall Plan," he said. "They should see how it is used to get votes against our freedom. We have seen it work here in the delegations."

He smiled. "But you will please thank your paper for us. We are grateful for what The Militant has written."

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AMA on the Defensive

By Grace Carlson

That some drastic steps should be taken to right the wrongs of the great toll which preventable illnesses take in this richest country in the world now seems to be apparent to all — even to the hide-bound conservative heads of the American Medical Association! However, their present totally inadequate program does not represent their response to the medical needs of the American people, but rather their desperate attempts to maintain their tight jurisdictional control over any and all public health programs.

Doctors fondly imagine themselves to be independent thinkers. At times, they indulge themselves in amused speculations as to why American trade unionists are so fiercely partisan in struggles between the AFL and the CIO. But there has never been developed in this country a more closely-knit, bureaucratically-controlled organization than the American Medical Association, which controls the lives and thinking of the vast majority of American doctors.

Of the 200,000 licensed physicians in this country, 165,000 are practicing and, of these, 140,000 belong to the AMA. A critic of the policies of the AMA or of its leaders faces a very shaky professional future. No one can offer better testimony on this point than Dr. Michael Shaddid, the courageous founder of the Community Health Center of Elk City, Oklahoma — the first cooperative hospital in the United States. Today the AMA has been forced to accept voluntary health insurance programs, but at the time that Dr. Shaddid undertook his pioneer work in this field, he was persecuted and blacklisted by the AMA.

In his fascinating — and very informative — autobiography, *A Doctor for the People*, Dr. Shaddid coins a striking phrase to describe the doctor's "closed shop." He calls it the "American Meddlers Association." And Dr. Shaddid adds this blistering description of the AMA:

"It established a code of ethics that was originally drawn up for the protection of the public against unscrupulous doctors but which is now twisted so as to serve for the protection of unscrupulous physicians against the public. . . ."

There are opposition groups of physicians with-

in and without the AMA. They are groups which favor government health insurance, such as the Physicians Forum, which has 3,000 enrolled physicians among its members. Then there is the Committee for the Nation's Health, which includes both physicians and laymen.

There is also a group of outstanding physicians who oppose the AMA's "standpat propaganda" against the National Health Insurance Program, although they do not look upon themselves as supporters of compulsory health insurance. In opposing the compulsory \$25 assessment, which has been levied upon every member of the AMA in order to fight the National Health Insurance Program, these 167 distinguished physicians pointed out that consumers outnumber the medical profession by 1,000 to 1 and called upon the AMA to sponsor a sincere down-to-earth national health conference attended by labor, industry and farm groups as well as medical people.

But the Editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (and that is the title of Dr. Morris Fishbein's \$25,000 a year job for the AMA) quickly retorted that these protesting doctors were just "men in plaster towers who thought that this would be a good thing to holler about."

And thus does a medical "pie-card artist" like Dr. Morris Fishbein throw mud upon such outstanding medical research men as Dr. H. Helmholtz and eleven of his distinguished associates in the Mayo Clinic of Rochester, Minn., and Nobel prize winners, Dr. Ernest Goodpasture, Dr. George Minot and Dr. George Whipple, and Dr. George Baehr, former president of the New York Academy of Medicine.

But in the 25 years since he was made the Editor of the *AMA Journal* and the "power behind the throne" in the struggles of American medicine, Dr. Fishbein has never faced so fierce a struggle as he does today over the issue of government health insurance. Despite surface successes he is fighting a rear guard battle now. He does not have the masses of the American people on his side.

Job insecurity and fear of hunger cut ever sharper ridges in the jaw of suspense. From day to day, nay, from one moment to the next, no one knows when, where, or how much work there will be, if any. To the second jaw speedup adds prongs, just as keen as the ridges on the other side. As for prices, there is more leverage here than two months ago.

While virtually everything else is sliding downward, the living costs keep inching upwards. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has just reported the second consecutive month of retail price rises "for foods, rents, miscellaneous goods and services, more than offsetting lower prices for fuel, clothes and house furnishings." (N. Y. Times, May 23.)

No housewife, paying through the nose, for the necessities to keep her family going, needs explanations of what this means. Millions of working class families are realizing on their backs and bones that in many respects they now find themselves worse off even than large sections were during the great depression. Today the squeeze is really on!

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The Squeeze Is On

By John G. Wright

In addition to millions of unemployed, there are today other millions — no one knows how many — who find themselves in dire straits, and seemingly without recourse. There are millions whose meager wages assuredly do not suffice for the food, clothing and shelter their families must have to stay healthy, and satisfy their several other human needs, so cruelly ignored by those who continue to wallow in luxury.

To get down to cases, it is enough to single out the auto kings of Michigan who are deliberately keeping their employees off the unemployed rolls. In our previous issues we have reported how as little as one hour a week "employment" suffices in some states to keep a worker's family ineligible for either unemployment or home relief. These Michigan royalists have set the pattern. The others, from the biggest to the shyest, have been following suit, each in his own fashion, each adding his own cunning touches.

They all do it not only to cut their "overhead" by such chiseling on social security payments. They also aim at something bigger. What they want is to demoralize the workers by catching, one section after another, in a fearsome vise.

Suspense provides one jaw. Speedup, the other. Fantastic living costs are the lever that keeps

screwing these two jaws tighter and tighter, slowly but inexorably.

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RIGHT-WINGERS WIN WESTINGHOUSE ELECTION WITH AID OF BOSS PRESS

(Continued from Page 1)

The baiting, however, coming at a time when a general anti-red hysteria was raging throughout the country, could not but affect wide sections of the workers and deter them from adhering to the progressive forces organized into the UE Solidarity Caucus.

From the point of view of struggle on behalf of the elementary trade union demands of the workers, the Solidarity Caucus should have been the victor by an easy margin. In addition to being the peace-setter for chalking up plant grievance victories, it made an outstanding achievement by first proposing and then carrying through a reclassification program which won for the workers more than \$200,000. It is doubtful whether there is another plant in the entire Westinghouse empire which can boast of such an achievement. But the right wing administration, led by Wierzbick-Golubski-Poole, had no intention of campaigning on the basis of its record or program.

EXPERT FINGERMAN

In the inner councils of the Rank and File Caucus is a member sympathetic to the Shachtmanite ex-Workers Party, now the "Independent Socialist League," who has justly earned the title of "expert Trotsky-baiter and finger-man." Samples of the election circulars handed out by the Rank and File administration show to what depths he stooped. Not content with slandering the leaders of the UE Solidarity Caucus, he linked them with well-known progressives in other local unions, such as Bell Aircraft and Chevrolet Local 424. This was recognized by all who are in the know as a none-too-subtle hint to Fred Turner, the Buffalo Evening News' Westbrook Pegler, to put the Trotskyist label on all these progressives.

Sure enough, on May 16, just three days before the election, Fred Turner carried a long, vicious, Trotsky-baiting article against the UE Solidarity Caucus. Turner all but rewrote the slan-

derous leaflet written by the Shachtmanite supporter.

BOSS PRESS TAKES SIDES

"What the slinger did not say but could have," says Turner, referring to the leaflet, was that "those at Bell and Chevrolet were Trotskyists and Trotskyist liners." And then Turner, of course, added his usual stuff about the "Trotskyists being identified with the Socialist Workers Party, an organization designated by Attorney General Tom Clark as subversive," and as "an organization which seeks to alter the form of government of the U. S. by unconstitutional means."

Both the Buffalo Evening News and the Courier Express made sure to plug for the right wing administration. Where the News had earlier said that the right wing had introduced an era of peaceful relations with management, they now added that they were also "hard bargainers." The Courier likewise noted that the right wing conducted its negotiations "amid a surprising labor peace," but was careful to throw out the bait that they had distinguished themselves by "hard-hitting bargaining."

ALL-TIME LOW

The last leaflet written by the Shachtmanite supporter on behalf of the right wing hit an all-time low. It proclaimed an all-out war against "phony political parties" and "phony theories." Everyone understood that the reference here was not to the Democratic and Republican parties nor even the Communist Party, which is an insignificant factor in the plant, but to the Socialist Workers Party, whose supporters in the various local plants constitute, according to the right-wing leaflet, a "noisy, high-handed power politics clique."

The defeat of the progressives in this key UE plant is, of course, not entirely attributable to the tactics of the right wing and their Shachtmanite mentor. The general passivity in the local labor movement and the anti-red hysteria throughout the country

made it almost a foregone conclusion that an avowedly militant grouping, such as the Solidarity Caucus, could not, under present circumstances, win a majority of the workers to their banner. Nevertheless a vote of more than 800 for the Solidarity slate, in spite of the Trotsky-baiting from within and without the plant, was a considerable achievement.

News Notes

THE WELFARE STATE — "About one-third of the homes in the United States lack either cooking equipment, a kitchen sink, or a bathtub-shower," a Census Bureau report showed last month. "In cities, only 2 out of 10 living quarters lack all 3 conveniences. . . . In rural nonfarm areas, the ratio is 4 out of 10, and in farm areas 7 out of 10."

JUST "DETERIORATION" — Harvard's Professor of Business Economics, Joseph L. Snider, according to the May 20 N. Y. Times said that while "deterioration of business" is to be expected, "happily it does not appear likely that we shall have one of our severe depressions." Production, however will "deteriorate" another 15 to 20 per cent, he admitted.

BROAD MINDED — Rexford Tutwell, Vice-Chairman of the Progressive Party for the State of Illinois, has okayed the University of Chicago's ban on the campus chapter of the Young Progressives. The youth group charged that their academic and student rights were being violated by University officials.

NO FAITH — Five hoboes living on the site where the United Nations buildings are supposed to go up, expect to stay there "at least another two years." And maybe longer. The UN, they say, won't work.

LABOR'S FRIEND — District Council No. 3, Brotherhood of Painters (AFL), sent a protest to President Truman about his home in Independence, Mo. — the Summer White House — being painted by non-union labor. Truman refused to comment on the union's complaint.

A SOLID FRONT

The 7,000 Singer workers, who voted overwhelmingly for the strike, are presenting a solid front to the company. They are conscious that their struggle revolves around the right to work and the maintenance of their union. They see what is happening all over: The increasing cost of living, lay-offs, entrenchment of union-busting politicians in Washington, and the ineptness of their own so-called labor leaders. They are resigned to a long struggle.

Art Symposium In N. Y. to Aid Kutcher Defense

NEW YORK — An art symposium featuring four nationally famous critics, will be held in New York on Friday, June 10, for the benefit of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee.

The round table discussion on "The State of Art Today and Its Future" promises to be a lively one, with presentation of their views by Meyer Schapiro, professor of fine arts, Columbia University; Clement Greenberg, art critic of *The Nation*; James J. Sweeney, author and lecturer; and George Morris, artist and art critic.

The audience will be invited to participate in the question period, with Professor Schapiro acting as moderator, directing questions to his co-speakers, and conducting the discussion.

The symposium will open at 8 p. m. at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street, New York. Admission is 83c, tax included. Proceeds will go to the KCRDC to aid the legless veteran's fight against the "thought-control purge" and for preservation of civil liberties.

THE MILITANT

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SWP Tells Stand on FEPC To House Committee Hearing

Singer Strikers Fight Speed-Up And Layoffs

ELIZABETH, N. J. — Singer Co. workers of CIO United Electrical, Workers Local 401 have been on strike here since May 1. The main issue in dispute is the speedup, which has resulted in layoffs and a shorter work week with a corresponding decrease in take-home pay. In one department, for example, work that formerly required six men is now done by two, not because of any change or replacement of machinery, but solely due to the speedup.

The foundry department, where the hardest work is done, is comprised 90 per cent of Negro workers — naturally. Here the speedup is inhuman. The number of Negro workers reporting to the plant hospital has been far greater proportionately than white. Serious injuries and burns from molten metal are suffered because of the killing pace.

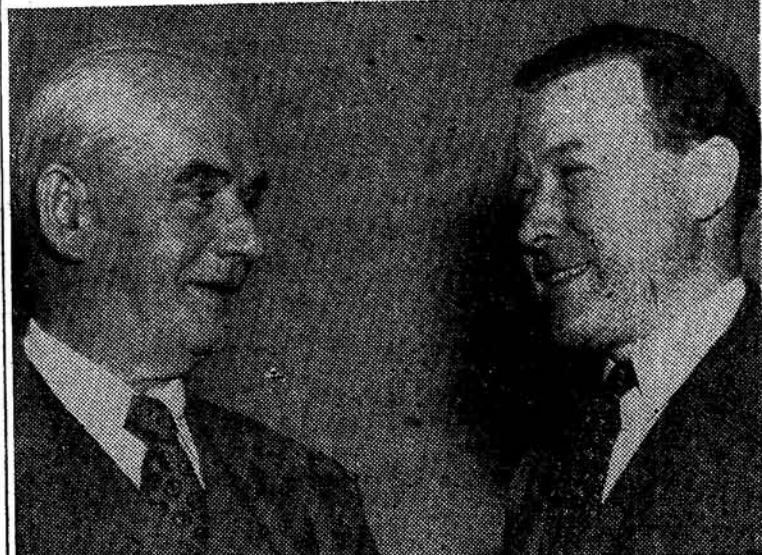
STALINIST ROLE

The Stalinist leadership of the union disclaims any responsibility for the speedup. However the Stalinists acceded to company demands to initiate throughout the plant and in the union contract a so-called "standards" system, which is merely a euphemistic term for speedup. Now they seek to squirm out of the blame with the lying excuse that the company promised to revert to day-work if the "standards" system wasn't satisfactory.

Thoughtful workers are not fooled by this bilge. They well remember how during the war these same Stalinists were the chief recruiting sergeants in the plant. They recall how the Stalinists outdid the company in urging more production to "beat the Axis." Then too they remember the past year, when the company was able to violate almost every clause in the contract while the Stalinists were busy whooping it up for Wallace.

Important to the abolition of the speedup is the demand for a 35-hour week at 40 hours pay, which the union is asking. This issue is almost one and the same with maintaining the union.

Tighten Their Grip



CIO President Philip Murray (left) and UAW President Walter P. Reuther at the CIO Executive Board meeting in Washington. (See story on page 1.) (Federated Pictures).

ILLINOIS STATE CIO BACKS DEFENSE OF JIM KUTCHER

At its executive session on April 26 the Illinois State Industrial Union Council unanimously voted to back James Kutcher's fight for reinstatement to his job in the Veterans Administration. The resolution of the Executive Board condemns the legless-veteran's persecution "as an outrageous violation of free speech and the right to hold public and private employment regardless of political beliefs."

It calls upon the President to grant Kutcher's request for a public hearing at which his party, the Socialist Workers Party, can defend itself against the "subversive" charges. The resolution also pledges support to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee "in every possible manner in its campaign to win justice for this veteran."

Maurice F. McElligott, Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Industrial Union Council, reports that copies of the resolution have been sent to all its members.

Illinois is the ninth CIO state body officially aligned behind Kutcher's campaign. Endorsements of his case have been previously voted by CIO state organizations in New Jersey, Connecticut, Ohio, Rhode Island, Minnesota, California, Washington and Pennsylvania.

A new chapter of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, formed in Chicago, held its first meeting on May 9. The committee members, well-known labor, educational and religious leaders, are:

Rev. James Luther Adams, Professor of Ethics, University of Chicago; Sol Alinsky, Chairman of the Back-of-the-Yards Council; Rev. James M. Evans; Anton J. Carlson, Professor of Physiology, University of Chicago; Charles Chikulas, International Representative, CIO United Auto Workers; Patrick Gorman, International Secretary-Treasurer AFL Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butchers; Dr. John Lapp, Honorary Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union branch in Chicago; Leo Lerner, editor of 28 neighborhood newspapers; Willard Motley, author of "Knock on Any Door"; Sidney Lens, International Representative, AFL United Service Employees; Willard Townsend, International President, CIO United Service Transport Employees; Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, American Jewish Congress; and Stephen Zeluck.

The Committee has announced the election of Professor Anton J. Carlson as chairman, Charles Chikulas as treasurer, and Stephen Zeluck as executive secretary. It has secured endorsements for the Kutcher case from the Chicago American Civil Liberties Union, the Independent Voters of Illinois, and Illinois State CIO Council.

Plans are being made to secure newspaper publicity, as well as financial and moral support from local unions for the case of the legless veteran. The Chicago CIO Council, which recently endorsed the case, has sent copies of its resolution to all CIO locals in the city.

New Workers Camp in N. J. To Open Season on June 18

Mountain Spring Camp, a new vacation school and resort for workers and their families, will open its first season on June 18. Located near Washington, New Jersey, in the beautiful foothills of the Poconos Mountains, the camp covers 83 acres of hills, woodland and recreation grounds, at an elevation of 1200 feet.

The camp's facilities include swimming, volleyball, baseball, ping-pong and other sports. A recreation and social director will be on hand to organize group activities and entertainment including picnics, outings, plays, movies, dancing and campfires.

Among the outstanding features of the camp is the educational program under the direction of William Warde and David Weiss. Classes, with attendance optional, will be scheduled on the ideas of socialism and the history and problems of the labor movement. Special attention will be paid to individual participation, recommended reading, and supervised study in conjunction with each course. There will also be special lectures and discussions on current political events and trade union issues.

Excellent meals will be served in a large, airy dining hall. Modern kitchen facilities have been installed and the services of a competent kitchen staff have been secured.

Accommodations include private quarters for couples or families, and dormitories for single vacationers.

Rates are \$35 per week for adults and \$20 for children. A special season rate for adults has been set at \$30 weekly for four or more weeks. Daily rates are \$6 for adults and \$4 for children.

A special camp for children between the ages of 5 and 10 will be held for two weeks, Aug. 8-21, with a staff of trained counselors to care for the children and conduct group activities. A wading pond, arts and crafts studios, and other special arrangements will be available. Rate for the children's camp is \$25 weekly.

Although children any age are welcome to attend with their parents throughout the summer, no special facilities or care can be provided by the camp except during the Children's Camp.

Reservations should be made immediately, as the camp capacity is limited. Write direct to Mountain Springs Camp, R.D. No. 1, Washington, N. J., for applications.

Brooklyn Youth Forum Marxism and War

Speaker: BEN REIFMAN
635 FULTON STREET
Friday, June 3 8:30 P.M.
—Admission Free—

MAY 24 — The Socialist Workers Party, through its National Chairman, Farrell Dobbs, today submitted a statement on FEPC legislation to the hearings being held in Washington by the Powell subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Education. The full text follows:

Resistance to effective FEPC legislation is not confined to its open enemies — the Dixiecrats, Southern Democrats and other reactionary elements in the two major parties. These people take their stand in the open and oppose any interference, governmental or otherwise, with the sacred institution of job discrimination that props up the capitalist-nurtured Jim Crow system itself. Such elements are easy to spot for the enemies they are to all civil liberties and they can be overcome.

There are, however, other enemies of effective FEPC legislation. These people see the way the wind is blowing and know that outright resistance to the demand of the mass of the people is neither feasible nor expedient. Such individuals are more subtle and cunning and consequently even more dangerous than outright reactionaries. Their conduct follows two main patterns.

1. They acknowledge the evil of job discrimination, deplore it noisily, and demand steps to curb it. FEPC is needed, they say, and they even take the initiative in sponsoring such measures in local, state and federal legislative bodies. But, they insist, the true answer to ending discrimination lies not in "compulsion," but in "education." As they see it, the function of the FEPC is to investigate, arbitrate and mediate and try to convince the miscreant Jim Crowers of the errors of their ways, but never, never under any circumstances, to "force" anyone to cease and desist from discrimination.

The effect of legislation promoted by such people is to divert the fight against job discrimination into channels that are completely ineffectual — harmless for the Jim Crow elements and demoralizing for the masses. This kind of legislation is already on the books in some states. And some among the Dixiecrats have expressed a readiness to accept such "compromises" whenever they find themselves unable to stymie FEPC legislation in any other way. "Education" or "Compulsion"?

This attempt to distinguish between "education" and "compulsion" is false to the core and must be exposed. Not a lack of education motivates Jim Crow discrimination, but rather the economic and political advantages that accrue to the ruling class by keeping the Negro people and the white workers separate and divided. The Jim Crow system is maintained by "compulsion" (as every Negro in the South knows) and it will be ended only by the use of stronger compulsion. Laws that do not compel the Jim Crow elements to desist from their violations of democratic rights are just so much window dressing. And what is more, compulsion, too, is a form of education. Strict enforcement of adequate anti-discrimination legislation will educate the Jim Crow elements a thousand times faster and more thoroughly than the best "educational" tracts.

2. But, when they are smoked out on this position the liberal opponents of effective FEPC legislation fall back on their last and most strongly fortified line. Yes, they admit, an FEPC with teeth is necessary and they are ready to support and adopt it, as has been done in New York State, for example. And they immediately proceed to render such a law utterly worthless, despite its teeth. This they accomplish by the type of personnel they place at the head of the FEPC and by the compromising policies they pursue in the operation of the FEPC.

Your Committee has heard much praise for the New York FEPC, which bears the name of the State Commission Against Discrimination. You have also received many recommendations that the proposed national FEPC should be modeled after the SCAD. To do so, however, would be in effect to betray the fight against discrimination. Because the truth is that the SCAD has done virtually nothing beneficial in this field, despite ample authority and funds at its disposal. In fact, the SCAD operations have succeeded to date only in discrediting the very idea of FEPC action.

Let me illustrate by calling to your attention a recent protest by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the SCAD's inaction and "delay in the enforcement of the law." This protest was lodged because of SCAD's "three-year delay in settling the case of a Negro seaman who was refused employment as a radio operator on the S.S. Lehigh Victory on April 25, 1946, because the officers of the ship would not sail with a Negro. A complaint filed with SCAD on April 30, 1946, and amended on July 7, 1947, has not yet been satisfactorily settled despite the fact that SCAD found 'probable cause' for the complaint almost a year ago. . . ." (NAACP Press Release, May 5, 1949).

From the beginning the SCAD had legislative authority to act on this case and to take it before the courts at the very least. It failed to do so because it is still trying — after three long years — to educate the guilty parties into mending their evil ways. At all events, the SCAD has never taken a single case into court. And not because it is so overworked, either. (The SCAD has the powers to initiate cases but refuses to do so, waiting instead for someone else to lodge a complaint.) But after a few experiences of this sort, how many workers are going to bother or waste time lodging complaints?

Prevent Law's Circumvention

The Socialist Workers Party has supported the struggle for FEPC legislation from the beginning and has given and will continue to give critical support to legislation along this line. For the above stated reasons, however, and in the light of experience, we stress our repeated proposal to the effect that not only shall Congress pass an FEPC bill, and not only shall such a law have the necessary teeth, but also that specific provisions shall be included in such legislation to prevent circumvention of its aims through practices such as have been condoned in New York State.

Concretely, what I and my party propose is that the administration of the FEPC not be left in the hands of people who are either chosen for patronage consideration or inclined to stress "education" to the detriment of legal enforcement. Administration of the FEPC must be controlled by the masses themselves through representatives responsible to their needs and wishes. These must be chosen by the labor movement and by Negro, Jewish and other minority organizations. There is no other way for legislation to achieve favorable results in the struggle against discrimination.

In conclusion, allow me to point out that the FEPC movement did not arise out of the activities of capitalist politicians, who pose as "humanitarian" protectors of minority rights only in order to protect the capitalist roots of racial and religious discrimination.

Actually the FEPC movement stems from the revolutionary changes in the thinking of the masses that are occurring because of the social ferment. During the Thirties, these new mass moods received their clearest expression thus far in the upsurge of the CIO that has brought large numbers of white and Negro workers together in a common organization for the first time. The fight for the FEPC itself got its initial impetus in the course of the brief life of the Negro March on Washington Movement.

If the 81st Congress through its major capitalist parties fails to pass effective legislation along the lines I have indicated, then the mass of white and Negro people will be heard from again. And you may be sure, they will persist until not alone job discrimination but all of its defenders are swept out of their way.