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## The Peekskill Assault-Preview Of U.S. Fascism

An Editorial

New York State and Westchester County officials, police and newspaper editors all shared in the responsibility for the vigilante attack on the Robeson concert near Peekskill on Aug. 27. But the chief guilt belongs to the Truman administration.

The atmosphere for this mob assault on civil rights was created by the "subversive" list, which proscribes organizations and parties arbitrarily selected by the party in power. The administration systematically fosters public hatred and hostility toward these organizations by branding them as "disloyal" — although they were never given a chance to defend themselves against this characterization at an open hearing. By depriving these organizations of their civil rights, the administration in effect invites others to do the same.

### No Reliance on Government

The fascist hoodlums simply seized on this label of "disloyalty" to obtain the support of misguided youth for an orgy of unbridled violence against one of the blacklisted groups. They did it with impunity because they knew they had not only the connivance of local officials but the moral sanction of the federal government.

Thus the Truman administration's favorite witch-hunt device prepares the way for the rise of pro-fascist sentiment, activity and movements. And let no one make any mistake about it, the crime at Peekskill paralleled the early outrages of the Nazi storm troopers in Germany in every important aspect — not only in the tactics and brutality employed by the hoodlums, but in the tacit approval and collaboration tendered to them by the "democratic" government officials and law-enforcement agencies.

Reliance on such officials to defend civil rights would be the greatest mistake of all. As if to emphasize this fact so that no one can fail to see it, these scoundrels, after refusing to arrest a single one of the criminals, now dare to accuse the victims of the violence of having "plotted" the whole affair themselves.



PAUL ROBESON

There must not be another Peekskill! The way to prevent it is not by dependence on capitalist government officials, but by joint action of the labor and liberal opponents of the witch-hunt, organized to defend their own meetings and repel the assaults of the fascist forces.

The lead in organizing such joint action must be taken by the labor movement. American labor must not repeat the fatal error made in Germany where the Nazis began by attacks on unpopular minorities and the working class organizations failed to take quick and energetic measures to crush fascism while there was still time to do so.

### Don't Imitate the Stalinists

Nor must the American labor movement be permitted to adopt the blind and suicidal policy followed by the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress and Paul Robeson, who refuse to defend the civil rights of other witch-hunt victims because of political differences.

We Trotskyists, who are No. 1 on the Stalinists' own blacklist, warn the labor movement that its own head is at stake. If the fascists are not stopped now at the entrance to meetings of Stalinists and other groups on the "subversive" list, they will have to be fought later on at the entrance to the union halls — and at that time it will be much harder to defeat them.

## UNIONS FACE CHALLENGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT RISE

Truman has started a campaign to "psychologize" the country out of a depression. Recently the White House issued orders to the cabinet members to "talk business up."

Secretary of Labor Tobin, without consultation with employment experts in his own department who know the facts speak otherwise, promptly forecast a million more jobs by Dec. 31 — that is, just when the big wave of after-Christmas unemployment will hit.

Typical of the optimistically slanted and misleading propaganda is the Bureau of Employment Security report on Aug. 28 which played up a slackening "in the rate of new industrial layoffs." All this means is that there were "only" 259,207 new applications for unemployment compensation for the week of Aug. 20, a 10% decline over the previous week.

### TRUMAN'S INACTION

This propaganda is designed to cover up the administration's failure to take any effective steps to deal with the unemployment problem. Truman has promised only to shift some government contracts to a few dozen isolated "distressed areas" — meaning areas where more than 12% of the labor force is jobless.

Meanwhile, Defense Secretary Johnson on Aug. 24 ordered the firing of 135,000 government workers, mainly wage-earners in government shipyards, arsenals, etc. The New York State Labor Department reported last week that unemployment in the state passed the 700,000 mark — one out of every 10 workers.

The business and financial sections of the press reveal a totally different outlook from Truman's. Thus, a survey in the Aug. 28 N. Y. Times shows that plant managers and purchasing agents in the largest manufacturing concerns are planning "cut-backs of 15 to 20 per cent in their rate of expenditures" which "will involve further plant closings in many heavy industries."

The problem of unemployment will be the most pressing issue

## MOB BREAKS UP ROBESON CONCERT

Some 500 organized vigilantes on Aug. 27 mobbed and smashed up an open-air concert near Peekskill, N. Y., at which Paul Robeson was scheduled to sing for the benefit of the Harlem Civil Rights Congress.

The attack — carefully planned in advance and executed along lines made familiar by fascist gangs in Europe and Ku Klux lynchings in the South — was led by officials of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and Catholic War Veterans. They were aided and abetted by state and county officials and police who had been asked to provide protection for the concert but deliberately stayed away until after the hoodlums had finished their work.

The vigilantes began with a parade in front of the picnic grounds' entrance, where a stone roadblock was put up so cars could neither get in or out. Then veterans' officials announced their demonstration was finished and should disband, thus "clearing" themselves of responsibility for the violence that followed immediately after this signal was given.

### CLUBS, ROCKS, FISTS

Fourteen automobiles were overturned and wrecked, although some still had occupants. Men were rushed and assaulted with clubs, rocks and fists. Women were manhandled and molested. The mobsters shouted the vilest anti-Negro and anti-Semitic threats and insults.

Several fiery crosses were set up. The concert stage was wrecked, a bonfire was started with chairs and sheets of music. The violence raged for almost three hours. Over a dozen people were taken to the hospital, including two vigilantes mistakenly knifed and clubbed in the dark by members of their own gang.

Outside, a woman caught in the traffic jam asked a cop why he wasn't doing something, and he answered: "We're letting the vets take care of it."

### STATE POLICE

State police did not arrive until two hours after their help was summoned by telephone. Not a single person was arrested or even taken into custody for questioning. First Sgt. Alvin Joinson of Troop K of the State Police defended their tardiness by saying: "There was no need to be there in advance. We don't play into the hands of the Commies. We went in there when we found that a crime had been committed."

The next day Assistant District Attorney Frederick E. Weeks Jr. said there was nothing he could do because no one had been arrested and there was no one for him to question. He evidently did not intend to question County Clerk Robert A. Field, who led the parade, or Assistant District Attorney Leonard Rubinfeld, another initiator of the parade.

# Rubber Workers Take Lead In CIO Wage Fight

### Boomerangs



## Los Angeles VFW Post Defends Legless Vet

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 28 — A strong resolution of support for James Kutcher in his fight for reinstatement to his job with the Newark Veterans Administration was passed last Wednesday night by Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 1556, which then sent a wire to the national convention of that organization, then in session in Miami, urging their endorsement of the Kutcher case.

The resolution was also introduced at the meeting of the Los Angeles County Council of the VFW Friday night, where Kutcher was invited to speak to the body which represents 153 posts. After Kutcher left, a motion was passed to table the matter. But the fight precipitated by this attempt to duck the issue resulted in a decision to reconsider the matter, probably at the next meeting.

Meanwhile individual delegates came out to speak with the legless veteran. One said that if the council failed to assist a veteran, regardless of his political views, who had been shot up in the war and then deprived of his job and civil rights, he, for one, was going to resign as delegate from the council.

In addition to speaking at the two VFW bodies this week,

Kutcher also addressed the meeting of the AFL Conference of Studio Union Painters Tuesday night, and received a warm reception. A resolution of support for his case is being referred to their next meeting.

### UNION SUPPORT

The Southern California Kutcher Civil Rights Committee received additional moral and financial support this week from two union bodies and an individual who sent a \$5 check with the blank from the back of one of the folders on the case.

The new union support came from the Los Angeles Dress Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which sent a letter and a check for \$15.

A contribution for \$25 also arrived in the mail from the Long Beach Ford UAW local at which Kutcher had spoken a few weeks ago.

Kutcher also attended the Aug. 19 meeting of the United Defense Committee defending the 24 victims of the Los Angeles County "loyalty" oath, whose case will be heard in the U. S. Supreme Court in October. Kutcher spoke there, expressing

his support for them in their struggle against the Los Angeles County version of the federal witch-hunt of which he is a victim. The 24 former county employees were fired for refusing to sign a county "loyalty" oath comparable to the national "loyalty" oath.

### CRC STILL SILENT

No reply has been received from the Los Angeles Civil Rights Congress to which Kutcher addressed a request for support on Aug. 12.

## Arrogance of Corporations May Force Wave of Strikes

A mighty strike wave may shortly be set in motion by the arrogant refusal of the giant corporations, enjoying the greatest profits in their history, to make even the smallest concessions to the wage and pension demands of the unions.

Some 17,500 CIO rubber workers in the Goodrich plants have already taken up the challenge. They were forced to strike when Goodrich, in a manner typical of all the monopoly corporations, not only contemptuously brushed aside the union's demands but in turn demanded that the union give up vital gains it had won in 15 years of struggle.

Rather than accept a return to subservience and degraded conditions, the Goodrich workers, backed by their international union, made the only choice possible — they determined to fight it out on the picket lines.

### SAME CHOICE FOR OTHERS

This is the same choice which the corporations are forcing upon the workers in steel, auto, coal and other major industries. The "fourth round" wage and pension campaign launched last spring by the CIO has long since bogged down in fruitless negotiations with the corporations. Truman's fact-finding procedure in steel has merely given the steel barons a platform from which to hurl the most brazen challenges and provocations at the steel workers.

The bold action by the Goodrich workers is shifting the attention of the U. S. Steel, Ford and other workers away from the blind alley of statistical debates. The workers' eyes are now turning toward the picket lines where they have made their significant gains in the past.

Reports from Youngstown and other steel centers show an upsurge in fighting spirit among the steel workers. They have begun to make serious preparations for strike when the Sept. 14 deadline rolls around. They have little

### Why They Withdrew Mediation Offer

Truman's "fact-finding" board in the steel wage controversy, desperately seeking a way to ward off a strike, offered to mediate between the CIO Steelworkers and the steel industry owners.

The board withdrew its offer when the corporation spokesmen agreed — on condition that mediation be undertaken with each of 30 companies separately. If the 3-man board devoted an average of just two weeks to a company, the negotiations could be strung out for more than a year.

expectations either that Truman's "fact-finding" board will make satisfactory and just recommendations or that the corporations will accept any recommendations that do not conform to the terms laid down in advance by the steel monopolists.

The Ford negotiations remain deadlocked, with the old contract being renewed on a day-to-day basis pending the outcome in steel by Sept. 14. The independent United Mine Workers last week broke off negotiations until Sept. 15 and the prospect looms for a shut-down of the coal mines if the steel workers go out.

The signs point to a momentous labor struggle in the offing, barring capitulatory settlements by Philip Murray and Walter Reuther. The imminence of this struggle imperatively demands a unified, coordinated strategy of action by the CIO in order to bring the full combined might of its affiliates to bear on the overlords of industry.

## Picket Lines Shut Down Seven Goodrich Plants

AKRON, Aug. 27 — The first major nation-wide strike for a fourth round of wage increases, \$100 a month pensions and company-financed welfare provisions, shut down the B. F. Goodrich Company's seven plants in Akron, Los Angeles, Tuscaloosa, Ala., Miami, Okla., Clarksville, Tenn., Ocala, Fla., and Cadillac, Mich., at 12:01 this morning.

The seven locals of the CIO United Rubber Workers had negotiated in Dayton, Ohio, on a corporation-wide basis for several weeks. The Goodrich Company, controlled by J. P. Morgan Company, refused to offer a single penny in wage increases or pensions. In fact, the company flatly told the negotiators of the URWA Policy Committee, headed by Local 5 President George R. Bass, that they would agree to nothing that would increase cost of production.

### COMPANY'S ATTITUDE

The negotiators had not been able to get an agreement on basic provisions of a company-wide contract; the old contract expired on midnight of the 26th. The company had proposed to eliminate a whole series of contract provisions and to throw the union back to pre-contract days, when the company could fire at will.

The strike was authorized by a nation-wide strike vote which carried by a 15 to 1 majority.

H. R. Lloyd, President of the URWA, stated that the international union was supporting the strike with everything at its command.

At the stroke of midnight, squads of pickets manned all the gates of the Akron Goodrich

plants; not a single worker passed the picket line, except by explicit agreement of the union to prevent explosions and other damage.

This morning all office workers were kept out by pickets. Hospital attendants were given passes to look after workers who

had been injured at work prior to the strike in industrial accidents, and were scheduled for treatment at the company hospital.

A large strike kitchen was set up, and chili and coffee served to pickets, who have been signed

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## "Get a Pass!" Pickets Tell Boss

AKRON, Aug. 27 — When John Collyer, president of the B. F. Goodrich Company and member of the Board of Directors of the J. P. Morgan Company, boldly walked up to the picket line of United Rubber Workers Local 5 this morning, he was greeted as follows by picket captain Kenny Oldham:

"Where the hell do you think you're going?"

"I'm John Collyer, president of the company," the big boss replied.

"Do you have a pass from the union?" the picket captain asked.

Collyer hesitated for a moment, blushed deeply and answered that he did not have a pass.

"You'll have to go up to Local 5 hall and get a pass from the officers," the picket captain said.

Collyer humbly turned his back on the picket line, stepped into his Cadillac sedan and rode a couple of blocks up to the union hall. He got out and stood around the union entrance for a few moments, obviously embarrassed. Approaching one of the boys hanging around the door, he asked, "Say, you know me, I'm John Collyer, president of the company — how about going upstairs, seeing Sid Lowe [secretary of Local 5] and getting me a pass to get into my office?"

The worker thought it over, then climbed the stairs and relayed the message. The officers had a quick consultation, and told the worker, "Go downstairs and tell Collyer he'll have to come up here to get a pass."

Collyer hesitated again, said, "Oh, I don't want to go up there," but finally screwed up his courage, quietly entered the inner sanctum of the striking union, asked for a pass, was finally given one, and after polite thanks took what dignity he had left, descended the stairs, entered his Cadillac and left, leaving the boys around the hall smiling at his come-down.

"We gave him a pass," one worker said, "so he could sit in his office and count his losses."

## Stalin Pushes Terror Drive on Tito

By George Clarke

Stalin's war of nerves against Yugoslavia mounts to new frenzy with each passing day. The Russian press, written in the hoodlum language of the gutter, is full of vituperation, lies and threats. But Stalin is not confining himself to words. The air is thick with rumors of concentrations of Soviet troops and tank divisions at the Yugoslav border. The Cominform staged a specially arranged conference in Sofia where the big brass of the satellite nations were demonstratively conspicuous. A Russian warship provocatively steamed up the Danube, through Yugoslav territory.

The entire situation is reminiscent of merciless nerve-war pressure directed by Hitler against the small nations of Europe, including Yugoslavia, at the outset of World War II. In his gangster methods and big-bull attitude to Yugoslavia, the dictator in the Kremlin follows almost to the detail the methods of the Fuehrer in Berlin. There

is this difference only: Hitler spoke in the name of the "Third Reich" while Stalin covers his brutalities with the cloak of "socialism," and "the struggle against imperialism." But the result — the subjection and plundering of small nations — is the same.

### DEADLY CONTRAST

Despite the Marshall Plan economic blockade of Eastern Europe, despite the military encirclement of the North Atlantic Pact, Stalin and his cohorts have never lost an opportunity to proclaim that "capitalism and socialism can live peacefully side by side," that all differences can be settled amicably over the bargaining table.

But against Yugoslavia, which could not possibly harbor warlike intentions against the USSR, which is insisting only on its rights as an independent nation, Stalin hurls all the thunderbolts of his military and economic might. He will brook no compromise, no agreement that does not include the head of Tito and

his collaborators and the complete subjugation of the Yugoslav people by the Russian GPU.

Compromise, collaboration and treacherous deals with the imperialist rulers — from Hitler to Wall Street — but terror, purges and mass murder against its opponents on the left, against opposition in the workers' movement and resistance by small nations: that is the real image of Stalinism as revealed once more in the Yugoslav crisis.

But the persistent accusations by the Kremlin that Tito has "deserted to the camp of imperialism" — completely unfounded and completely slanderous judging from the "evidence" cited in the Stalinist press — have a meaning and purpose of their own. Stalin cannot permit the peoples of Eastern Europe, whose grievances against the Kremlin are the same as those of the Yugoslav people, to know the truth: that he is determined to liquidate the Tito regime because of its courageous struggle for political and economic equality

in its relations with the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe.

### MAKING SLANDER REAL

And Stalin cannot rely on slander alone. There are too many "Tito-ites" in Eastern Europe, too much sympathy for the Yugoslav struggle for the stigma of "imperialist agent" to stick. His military and economic threats and pressure are designed to make the slander a reality, to drive the Tito regime into a corner where, facing starvation and military threats or actual aggression, it will find no other choice than to seek support in the camp of imperialism. This indeed is the only alternative for Tito unless he appeals for aid to the revolutionary and socialist workers of all countries.

Stalin may yet succeed in confirming his slander against Yugoslavia. But if he does, the responsibility for the establishment of a new military base of imperialism in the Balkans will rest on him and him alone.

# Two Ways Out of Britain's "Dollar Crisis" Stalin's Bloody Record Of National Oppression

By Paul G. Stevens

Next week's Washington conference on the "dollar crisis" has been preceded by a violent press campaign here against British "socialism." Particularly vicious was the series carried in the Scripps-Howard papers by their Senior Editor E. T. Leech, entitled "Utopia on the Rocks — British Socialism in Action." But there have been editorials and feature stories along the same line in most other newspapers, virtually demanding the curtailment of social security provisions and an end to all "experiments in socialization" as the price of any further financial aid to England.

This press campaign was met with such a storm of anger across the Atlantic that President Truman himself found it necessary to call Wall Street's press agents to order. At the American Legion convention in Philadelphia he made a formal declaration that "the democratic nations are not proposing to interfere with one another's internal policies."

**PART OF WORLD CRISIS**

Neither the howling of the reactionary capitalists nor the chief executive's attempt at moderation are without their function in this whole critical situation. For Britain's "dollar crisis" is really a crisis not only for British capitalism but part and parcel of the agony seizing the whole capitalist system. It is the direct result of the passing of the "sellers' market" that followed the shortages caused by the war.

On the one hand, the dilapidated British economy, a legacy of long years of capitalist exploitation and war that wasted the wealth and resources of the country, cannot possibly hope to compete under these circumstances with the streamlined American productive apparatus, which doubled its capacity in the past ten years. Not even the painful efforts of the Labor Government to raise production 50% over 1939 by driving the workers with the stick of austerity and the carrot of nationalization and social security measures, has been able to solve their dilemma.

For in order to buy food and other materials in the granaries of the dollar countries in the Western Hemisphere, the British rulers must, earn the hard currency to pay for these imports precisely in those countries. But it is there that the "recession" has been most marked, and consequently the market for British goods most greatly reduced. That has been the immediate cause of England's "dollar crisis."

On the other hand, American capitalism, with its own markets shrunk, sees in the British crisis a first-rate occasion to expand the tentacles of its world domination. They want to break down the series of exclusive trade agreements by means of which Great Britain has artificially maintained a measure of its old share in world economy, known as the "Sterling Bloc" that includes the nations associated with her in the so-called Commonwealth, Australia, India, etc. They want to force through a devaluation of the pound sterling by means of which to penetrate further into British holdings as well as to obtain much more cheaply vital raw materials such as rubber, uranium, etc.

Naturally this would mean that

Britain in the future would have to sell much more cheaply and buy at a much dearer rate. This in turn means that Britain would have to "tighten her belt" even further and make drastic cuts in the cost of production. Consequently the American capitalists add to the above program a demand that the Labor Government slash the expense entailed by social services and shut down "unprofitable" plants in the nationalized industries as well as in the private sector.

These last demands are not entirely unrelated to Wall Street's fears of social agitation here at home. American unions are making their main demands at present for pensions. The demand for a government health plan is growing in urgency. In the meantime unemployment is steadily mounting. Under these circumstances, for all of their austerity, the British insurance program, health plan and "full employment" are bound to serve as a contagious example — particularly because they exist within a major English-speaking country. For nothing can possibly be as austere as the lot of the unemployed in the wealthiest country in the world.

The Wall Street magnates want, by all means, to show that these social schemes do not work, that there is no security except in their concept of "dog-eat-dog" free enterprise, that there must always be an industrial reserve army of the unemployed. For what they have in mind is their need to cut the cost of production here at home and to prevent the workers from going forward to independent political action of their own.

**STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS**

These economic and social aims of American capitalism in the British "dollar crisis," which gave rise to the howling press campaign against "socialism," are, however, complicated by the strategic requirements of U. S. imperialism in its cold war against the Kremlin, and for the long range aim of again opening up the USSR and Eastern Europe to capitalist exploitation.

Wall Street wants Britain debilitated as a commercial rival, but it also needs her as a stable partner in the cold war. That accounts for Truman's rebuke to the press and his appeal for moderation and consideration in the handling of the Labor Government and its spokesmen at the Washington conference.

Even Mr. Leech, in his provocative series, has had to report that the overwhelming majority of the British population is enthusiastically in favor of such

social legislation as the health plan, and that not even Winston Churchill's Tories will pledge themselves to repeal it. The same Scripps-Howard editor, and all his other colleagues writing for the American press from London, also do not hide the fact that the British Labor Government, for all of the "socialism" the newspapermen rave about, has been very kind to the capitalists whose plants have been nationalized. The former owners, they report, have been provided with government bonds, in the amount of their dispossessed properties, that pay them a neat 3% per annum, and are not doing too badly at all.

### THEY NEED ATTLEE

Clearly if the American bankers are to put through their program for Britain with any measure of success, they must rely, not on the blustering Mr. Churchill and his Tories, but on the more modest Mr. Attlee and his Labor Party. Charles Lucey, who writes from Washington for the same papers that carried the Leech series, reports "the view of US officials seems to be that if any Government could survive such a program, it would be the Labor Government. Their reasoning is that although the workers might never take such a program from the Conservatives, they might be won over to it by Labor Party leaders."

The Labor leaders, Attlee, Bevin, Cripps & Co., are up against the gun. Their "socialism," they themselves avow, is a compound of 20% socialization and 80% "free enterprise" — just a more balanced capitalist economy — which in their opinion alone can "save Britain." To this end they have sought to gain the cooperation of the British working class by their social security program. They have promised "socialism by degrees" to the workers, that is, to the degree that they can make Britain's capitalist economy work.

In reality they have shown themselves to be more considerate of the capitalists whom they are supposed to combat, than loyal to the workers who raised them to power. For the former, they have had rich compensation and greater profits than ever, in spite of a heavy tax program; for the latter, mainly austerity and more austerity. But even so it is no longer possible for them to carry out their program.

They must either accept the Wall Street ultimatum, no matter how modified to make it palatable, and get the dollars with which to save the present British capitalist structure for the time being, or else they must break with their entire past and take the road to



Hamish McKay proudly holds his membership card in Local 738, AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters, after learning that the U. S. Immigration Service has brought deportation proceedings against him in Portland, Ore., after more than 20 years in this country.

anti-capitalist struggle. It is highly unlikely that these tame leopards can change their spots. Their whole record indicates a readiness to capitulate to capitalism.

But Attlee and Co. were brought to power by the masses of British workers in 1945, not to save capitalism but to put an end to it. The workers have been very patient with their leadership, and have given it the benefits of doubt and plenty of time to make good. There have been no widespread strikes in post-war Britain and the workers have patiently taken the lion's share of austerity on the promise of relief with the success of their leaders "export drive." British exports have risen 150% above 1938.

Now they are told that they must pull in their belts still tighter. For the first time serious rumblings are beginning to be heard in the unions. The powerful National Railwaymen's Union has announced its intention to call a general strike for a raise in wages. The workers feel that they have had enough of austerity, that it is time for the burden to be shifted to the capitalists where it belongs. They aspire to nationalized industries run by representatives of their own and for their own benefit. They will not take Wall Street's program lying down.

The workers' aspirations have also begun to find organized expression inside the Labor Party, controlled at present by Attlee & Co. At the last national conference of the party a few months ago, a meeting attended by nearly 100 Labor M.P.'s and local leaders launched a "Socialist Fellowship" to fight for an anti-capitalist program to be carried through by the Labor Government. Although the bureaucracy was able to maintain artificial unanimity at the Labor Party Conference itself, the launching of the Socialist Fellowship marked a new departure for the left wing within that party.

Its program is enunciated by a new paper called the Socialist Outlook, which is gaining considerable popularity in labor ranks. As against the capitalist program to curtail social services, the Socialist Outlook program proposes a wholesale attack on all of the capitalist institutions. The capitalist press says that the billion and a half dollars poured into Britain under the Marshall Plan equals the amount spent on the health plan, or nearly the same amount as is spent on food subsidies, etc. The Socialist Outlook points out that Britain spends two billion dollars annually to pay off her national debt to domestic and foreign capitalists, that it spends nearly three billion dollars a year on its military budget.

The answer of the left wing in the Labor Party to the British crisis therefore is: Suspend all payments on the national debt; reduce the whole program of military expenditures and initiate a policy of peace, ending all secret diplomacy, nationalizing all war industries under the control of the workers who have no interest in war. It calls for the suspension of payment of compensation to the ex-owners of the nationalized industries; for an extension of nationalization to promote planning for the workers, and not for profit.

The Socialist Outlook program calls for an end to all business secrecy, with committees of workers in every business establishment examining the books of the companies to show where the wealth of the country is distributed and to expose the pillage of the capitalists. It calls for foreign trade organized in the hands of the state with the aim of producing for the use of the people of the world. It proposes that the Labor Government work for a Socialist United States of Europe and Russia.

In other words it proposes to defy Wall Street and to reject its cold war, in favor of a Socialist Europe bent on cooperation with the people in all the colonies, for whom it demands complete and unconditional freedom. To America it concludes proudly: "A Socialist Europe would inspire the American workers to end their own imperialism."

### To Be Deported

By William F. Ward

Moscow's frenzied campaign against Yugoslavia is nothing new in the history of the Stalinist regime. Such brutal behavior by the world's second largest power toward a small country reproduces the despotism of the Kremlin autocrats over the other nationalities composing the Soviet Union. It is a typical outgrowth of the Great Russian nationalism which has animated the Stalinist bureaucracy from its birth.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky were enabled to win power and hold it by their genuinely socialist policy toward the nationalities oppressed by Czarism and imperialism. They upheld the right of Finland and Poland to secede from Russian control; surrendered privileges in China and Persia; formed a free federation of the diverse Soviet peoples and gave them the widest possible autonomy; sought to establish fraternal friendship with neighboring lands.

### LENIN'S ATTITUDE

Lenin's rupture of personal relations with Stalin was precipitated by the latter's gross violation of the rights and feelings of the Georgians, his own people, which brought Stalin into sharp conflict with the Georgian Bolsheviks. This was especially unforgivable since Stalin was then Commissar of Nationalities. In a note dictated on Dec. 30, 1922, Lenin said: "It is necessary to hold Stalin and Dzerzhinsky [his assistant] responsible for all this out-and-out Great Russian nationalistic campaign" against Georgia. However, illness removed Lenin from action before he could open battle against Stalin on this issue.

After Lenin's death the Soviet Bolsheviki principles of internationalism adopted an increasingly narrow nationalist outlook. Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country" was completely nationalist in spirit. Under his rule the Great Russian chauvinism against which Lenin protested became more and more unbridled. The centralized police administration of the Kremlin collided ever more violently with the needs and rights of the other nationalities.

### MURDEROUS MEANS

Their concealed conflict was exposed in the terrible blood purges of 1936-38 when the Presidents and executive staffs of most of the Federated Republics of the USSR were either executed or jailed by Stalin. Among these alleged "enemies of the people" and "fascist mad-dogs" were the Communist leaders of White Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenistan, the Kirghiz Republic, Karelia, Transcaucasia and Armenia. The Old Bolshevik President and dozens of People's Commissars in Stalin's birthplace, Georgia, were also put to death.

By such murderous means the Kremlin enforced its domination over the subordinate nationalities in the USSR who were not permitted the least freedom of action. As Trotsky remarked, all that the Kremlin autocrats left to the other nationalities was "the sole indubitable cultural right of celebrating the arbiter [Stalin] in their own language."

In 1939 Stalin partitioned Poland in agreement with Hitler. Over the past decade Stalin has uprooted and deported more people than any one else in history. At the time of the Finnish war large numbers of Karelians living near the Finnish-Soviet border were deported to slave labor

camp in Siberia. The same fate was later inflicted on scores of thousands of settlers of German origin who had migrated generations ago to the Volga agrarian regions.

The Kremlin reaped a reward for its oppressive national policies during the war when several Soviet nationalities went over to the Nazi side. Among them were the Tartars of the Crimea and the Kalmycks, Chechens, Ingushes, Kabards and Balkars who inhabited the regions between the Caucasus and the Kalmyck steppes. They were barbarously punished. The Republics and autonomous territories of these peoples were wiped off the map and all the residents deported to Siberia. Despite constant repressions, separatist movements in the Ukraine have taken a new lease on life in recent years in reaction against Moscow's dictatorship.

### IN EASTERN EUROPE

As the Russian armies rolled over Eastern Europe following Hitler's defeat, the Kremlin carried along its overbearing treatment of small nationalities.

In collusion with the Kremlin the Polish Stalinists expelled three and a half million Germans from their ancestral homes. Czechoslovakia expelled three million Germans from the Sudeten where they had lived for almost a thousand years. Then quarrels broke out between the Czechs and Poles over possession of Teschen and Olza and between the Czechs and Hungarians when the Czechs proposed to drive some 650,000 Hungarians from South Slovakia. Hungary itself proceeded to chase out part of 470,000 Germans who had been established for centuries within its borders.

What have been the results of these measures undertaken with the approval of the Kremlin? The revival of national antagonisms,

the uprooting and deportation of national minorities regardless of their class status and social origin, forced migrations of millions of wretched individuals, the inflammation of chauvinism.

Finally, according to recent reports, hundreds of thousands of farmers in the Baltic countries incorporated into the USSR are being deported to Siberia and their places taken by Russian and Asiatic settlers. In Latvia alone 50,000 families have been uprooted and deportations are continuing on a massive scale.

### A CONTINUATION

Thus we see that Stalin's moves against Yugoslavia — his attempts to strangle the country by economic, political and diplomatic blockade, to terrorize its people and incite assassination of its leaders — represent a continuation and culmination of his entire reactionary policies, especially on the national question. The Russian overlords do not have the slightest respect for the rights, feelings or interests of the satellite peoples. Whenever they encounter grumblers or resisters, their sole prescription is: "Off with their heads!"

Fortunately, the relations between the Kremlin and Yugoslavia are somewhat different than with the other nationalities. First, the Kremlin's efforts to crush Yugoslavia are taking place, not behind an iron curtain, but in full view of the whole world so that the workers can clearly see and judge the abominable conduct of the Kremlin.

Second, the Yugoslavs are in a far better position to fight Stalinism and its agents and thereby set an example of successful defiance which can inspire other peoples to throw off the yoke of the counter-revolutionary Moscow autocracy and remove the greatest obstacle in their march toward socialism.

## Purge in Indian Stalinist Party

"All is not well with the Communist Party of India," reports the July 17 Forum, the Indian weekly newsmagazine. "After purging out seven prominent members of the Party including the ex-General Secretary Puran Chandra Joshi four months ago, the Party has come out last week with another sensational purge!"

The Andhra Communist Party was expelled as a unit by the top CP bureaucrats for alleged "reformist tendencies." Also purged were two well-known leaders, Surendra Mohan Kumar Mangalam and Puchalappalli Sundarayya. Forum thinks the Andhra CP was kicked out because of too great enthusiasm for Mao Tse-tung.

The Andhra CP was one of the most important branches of the Indian Stalinist party. Numbering approximately 8,000 members, it has mass influence in the province and dominates the cultural field. The two expelled leaders were pioneer builders of the CP, enjoying a large popular following.

## Was Karl Marx Right?

One hundred years ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels declared that the fall of the capitalist class and the victory of the working class "are equally inevitable." This basic hypothesis of Marxism has been called into question repeatedly in the past century by "critics" of the founders of scientific socialism. Since the end of World War II a new contingent has announced the "collapse" of this prediction. Are they right?

The well-known American Marxist, Arne Swabeck, does not believe so. In the September issue of Fourth International, monthly theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, he subjects the latest contentions of the "critics" to pitiless analysis. Dynamics of Revolutionary Change, A Historical Vindication of Marxism, is a well-reasoned, illuminating, dialectical study of a century's political development of the working class. Here are some of the topics: "How Men Make History," "The Corruption of Social Democracy," "Stalinism and Bolshevism," "Role of American Imperialism," "Asia Enters World Struggle," "The Selection of Leadership," "The Method and Role of Marxism."

The September Fourth International presents in addition:

● **Whither Eastern Europe?**  
A comprehensive, authoritative analysis by Ernest German of the economic trends in Stalin's buffer zone. This article cuts through the lying, tendentious propaganda of both the Moscow bureaucracy and Western imperialism to consider the economic realities in the "no man's land" of the cold war. Indispensable for a rounded understanding of the current struggle between Stalin and Tito.

● **Crisis in the Marshall Plan**  
In one short year most ardent advocates of the highly-touted Marshall Plan have been forced to admit that it has entered a "critical phase." The capitalist spokesmen are astounded at the sudden crisis. What happened?  
M. Pablo probes into the basic causes of the upset. He shows how the Western European powers are being driven to the wall under the impact of America's imperialist aims and the developing economic crisis. The Marshall Plan, he predicts, is headed toward "inevitable collapse as an instru-

ment capable of reestablishing a European economy which develops harmoniously and progressively and independent of American credits."

● **Time Tables for World War III**  
Top circles of the capitalist class are now discussing a question of life and death interest to every family in America — the date for World War III. John Saunders reports the opinions of the "War-Now" crowd, the "economic containment" school and the Wallaceite "peaceful competition" group and why they have been unable to agree.

In Saunders' opinion, delay in reaching a decision has not helped American capitalism. "The lifeblood of capitalism is oozing out fast and time is its deadly foe." Now some of the leading capitalist spokesmen have sounded the alarm, declaring it is time to reach a decision and set the time table. But can they set the date? The very difficulties the capitalist war-mongers face in setting the M-Day of World War III give hope that revolutionary socialism can save mankind in time from another slaughter.

● **Ancestors of the Proletariat**  
The second installment of G. F. Eckstein's instructive essay on the capitalist revolution in England 300 years ago. More about the Levellers and the real role of such figures as Cromwell, Hobbes, Milton, Lilburne and Overton. Explains why the Stalinists today misrepresent the Puritan revolution and its outstanding heroes.

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## 7 GOODRICH RUBBER PLANTS SHUT TIGHT BY PICKET LINES

(Continued from Page 1)

up, and scheduled to man the gates 24 hours a day.

Ollie Laughlin, a pit worker and strike marshal, had folding chairs brought to all pickets, who lined the chairs up across the plant gates and comfortably sat as they blocked the entrances.

Farmers in the nearby area have already begun to volunteer donations of food; restaurants in the vicinity of the plant have volunteered to cook food and provide free waitress service for pickets.

Meanwhile, the other sections of the Big Four rubber unions had recessed their negotiations, pending the outcome of the Goodrich bargaining.

This is in fact the first authorized strike at the Goodrich plant here. There have been many walkouts, including a strike in 1943 against a War Labor Board decision; but this one is official, with backing by the international.

The union has set up an effective

organization for the strike, including welfare, publicity and picketing committees.

It is believed that the company's tough attitude stems partly from an attempt to avert the coming convention of the United Rubber Workers, to be held in Toronto Sept. 19.

### A SOLID FRONT

George R. Bass, who heads the Goodrich negotiating committee, is also the most prominent opponent of L. S. Buckmaster as a widely supported contender for the presidency of the union.

But the rubber workers, who have a militant tradition, are not likely to allow the Goodrich corporation to bring about a situation in which the Goodrich workers are starved on a long strike while the rest of the industry works. Pledges of solidarity have been made from other important locals, including those lined up against Bass in the union's internal fight. This assures the Goodrich workers of a solid front against the rubber barons.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

### Detroit SWP Orders 10,000 'Militants' In Loyalty Oath Fight

An order for 10,000 extra copies of the Labor Day edition of The Militant puts the Detroit branch

of the Socialist Workers Party in the Militant Army spotlight this week. The Detroit comrades, actively campaigning against a vicious proposed yellow-dog "loyalty" oath amendment to the city charter, felt that this issue of the paper with its emphasis on the struggle for civil liberties and other crucial issues facing the labor movement, should be brought to the attention of the maximum possible number of workers in this strategic labor area.

New York ordered 500 extra copies of this edition and San Francisco 50.

While slugging hard on the civil liberties front in Detroit, members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party there continued the local campaign for subscriptions to The Militant. Literature Agent Howard Mason last week sent in 25 more subs, bringing the total to 69 and "making our goal of 100 very realizable with two weeks of the campaign left."

Top sub-getters are Chuck with 11 points, Ernie K. with 10 "and a sudden spurt has brought Tom right up there with 9 points."

"Most of these subs," Howard explains, "came from men in the shops. The general reaction seems to be surprise at the ease with which they can be obtained. The major requirement seems to be to just ask the shopmate you feel would appreciate the paper, and the result as you can see is often a one-year sub and sometimes a combination. It seems to be the old fact that we've often stated but at times seem to lose confidence in, that is, that subscriptions can be obtained if the effort is put into it."

Besides these activities, the Detroit comrades have tried street sales. "One evening this week, three comrades distributed at the entrance to the theater where Lost Boundaries was playing. In less than an hour they had sold over \$3.50 worth of literature, mainly The Struggle for Negro Equality and A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow. The comrades found the line waiting to see the picture a long one and were able to speak to the people and sell them literature."

Los Angeles came through this week with an order to increase their bundle again by another 25 copies. "Elaine's fine organizational job on the Southside has made this increase possible," reports Literature Agent Bert Deck.

Street sales of The Militant continue to be encouraging in Los Angeles. "Marj sold her usual 15 at the CIO Council" despite the fact that the Stalinists were giving out their literature free. "One of the delegates who received his free copy of one of the other papers asked Marj if The Militant was free. Marj said that this paper is worth paying for. She must have convinced him, for he gave her \$1 for one Militant. The next night at the Carpenters Union one member gave Marj 50 cents and told her to hand out papers to the members for that amount."

"Vivianne has been devoting one day a week to selling The Militant. She sold 5 Monday at a rubber plant and 20 on a street corner. The Southside crew consists of Elaine, Babe, Lloyd and Selma. They have been selling 60 a week on street corners. Elaine expects to increase this week soon and this will undoubtedly increase our sales."

Comrade Deck calls special attention to the "fine work of the San Pedro branch. They sell regularly at meetings of the Longshore Union and Cannery Workers Union. Last week 16 Militants were sold to the longshoremen, which is about average. Sometimes sales go much higher. San Pedro's consistent work has built a tradition for The Militant among the longshoremen and here too we outsell the Stalinists."

Bert makes regular reports on literature sales, activities and plans which are sent to all the Los Angeles branches for discussion. In the latest report he calls attention to the favorable financial balance that expanded Militant sales have brought the Local's literature department. "All branches," he emphasizes, "should be considering street corner sales in their various neighborhoods." This can lead not only to the development of a self-sustaining literature department but to heightened political activity in branch work.

The encouraging beginning the Los Angeles comrades have made in street sales is a good demonstration, we think, of the possibilities that are open in this field to energetic comrades eager to build the circulation of The Militant and thereby speed the victory of socialism in America.

# THE MILITANT

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TROTSKY

"Reactionary epochs like ours not only disintegrate and weaken the working class and its vanguard but also lower the general ideological level of the movement and throw political thinking back to stages long since passed through. In these conditions the task of the vanguard is above all not to let itself be carried along by the backward flow; it must swim against the current. If an unfavorable relation of forces prevents it from holding the positions that it has won, it must at least retain its ideological positions, because in them is expressed the dearly paid experience of the past."

—Leon Trotsky, Stalinism and Bolshevism, 1937.



LENIN

## Travesty at Foley Square

The travesty of justice being staged by the government at the Foley Square trial of the Communist Party leaders has hit a new low. Judge Medina has ruled that theatrical producer Russell Janney, author of "The Miracle of the Bells," could continue to sit as a juror despite irrefutable evidence that Janney, less than a month before the trial began, told a public meeting in Macon, Ga., that "we're already fighting a war with Communism and it should be a fight to death."

In order to get on the jury, Janney had answered "no" when asked whether he had any "bias or prejudice... against any of the defendants or Communists in general or the Communist Party." He obviously had lied about his bias. On this ground alone, any impartial and fair-minded judge would have declared a mistrial, or at least ordered Janney removed and replaced by a substitute juror.

One piece of evidence introduced by the defense in support of its motion for a mistrial was the voluminous notes of Carol Nathanson, singer. These notes were said to be her record of discussions she had held with Janney while the trial was in progress. These notes were full of expressions of Janney's bias.

From Medina's whole conduct of the trial, it was no surprise that he ruled out a mistrial or the removal of Janney for a substitute juror. He did not take even

the elementary steps to investigate Janney thoroughly. But he did take steps to institute another investigation — against Carol Nathanson.

It is reported that shortly after Medina ordered Miss Nathanson's documents impounded, FBI agents visited her and others who might have evidence of Janney's bias in order to terrorize and intimidate them.

Medina has jailed three of the defendants for "contempt." He has dismissed almost every defense motion or objection out-of-hand. He has upheld the prosecution on almost every point of procedure. He has denied the defense the right to present its full political views in a political trial. He has joined in the cross-examination of defense witnesses. He even refused the offer of the defense to call Miss Nathanson to give proof of her statement.

This is not only a trial against free political advocacy. It is a trial with a rigged jury and a judge who is the juridical image of the one who said, "I'm all for giving the defendant a fair trial before we hang him."

Apart from the political witch-hunt nature of this prosecution, the conduct of the trial has rarely been equaled in this country for judicial bias and violations of the defendants' right to a fair trial by a jury of their peers.

## The Threat of Split in the CIO

The talk of "split" inside the CIO is becoming ominously loud with the approach of the national CIO convention in Cleveland starting October 31. Both the Murray machine and the Stalinists are trying to foist full responsibility for any eventual split on each other.

This threat of split does not flow from any concern, on the part either of the Murrayites or the Stalinists, over how best to protect the interests of the membership. It is a projection into the arena of the labor movement of the "cold war" between U. S. imperialism and the Kremlin.

A similar split has already occurred on a world-wide scale. The World Federation of Trade Unions, forged in the wartime heat of the Washington-Moscow alliance, has been cracked apart by the "cold war." The French and Italian confederations of labor, dominated by the Stalinists, have suffered splits.

The Murray machine has adopted the policies of the U. S. State Department as the "CIO national policy" to which every leader and affiliated union must adhere under threat of penalty, including expulsion. The sole criterion set for "loyal" membership in the CIO is active and unquestioning support of Washington's bipartisan foreign policy.

In the enforcement of this "CIO policy," Murray and his lieutenants, in ma-

majority control of the top leadership, are ruthlessly trampling on union democracy and autonomy in the CIO. They are attempting to silence or drive out those who voice a minority opinion. The defense of union democracy and autonomy against the Murrayite onslaught is imperative.

But the Stalinists' claims that they are seeking to defend union democracy and autonomy are hypocrisy. They have but one aim: to convert the unions into pliant instruments for the support of the Kremlin's policies and diplomatic maneuvers, just as the pro-imperialist union bureaucrats like Murray seek to shape the unions into tools of the U. S. State Department. In the CIO unions they control, the Stalinists rule with an iron fist. They deal with minority opposition in the French and Italian confederations of labor just the same way Murray proposes to deal with the Stalinist minority in the CIO.

But the fact remains that the Murray-Reuther forces bear the chief responsibility for the threatened split. They are the overwhelming majority. It is they who are preparing to expel the Stalinist minority. It is their policy of denying the right of a minority to advocate political views contrary to those dictated by the Murray machine that has driven the CIO to the verge of split.

## The Minimum Wage Fraud

The minimum wage bill recently adopted by the House and now in process of enactment by the Senate is one of the filthiest frauds Congress has ever attempted to put over on the American workers.

Represented as a bill to raise the legal minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour, the bill would actually remove more workers from the protection of the minimum wage law than would be benefited by the increase in the minimum standard.

The present 40-cent minimum wage law, enacted more than a decade ago, exempted millions of workers. Truman promised a new law which would extend coverage to these millions in the lowest wage categories.

But the bill the administration actually sponsored, according to the estimate of the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor, would benefit only 1,300,000 workers, more than half of whom now get more than 65 cents an hour but are below the 75-cent limit pro-

posed. Almost all the workers originally benefiting under the old minimum wage law now receive wage rates higher than 75 cents.

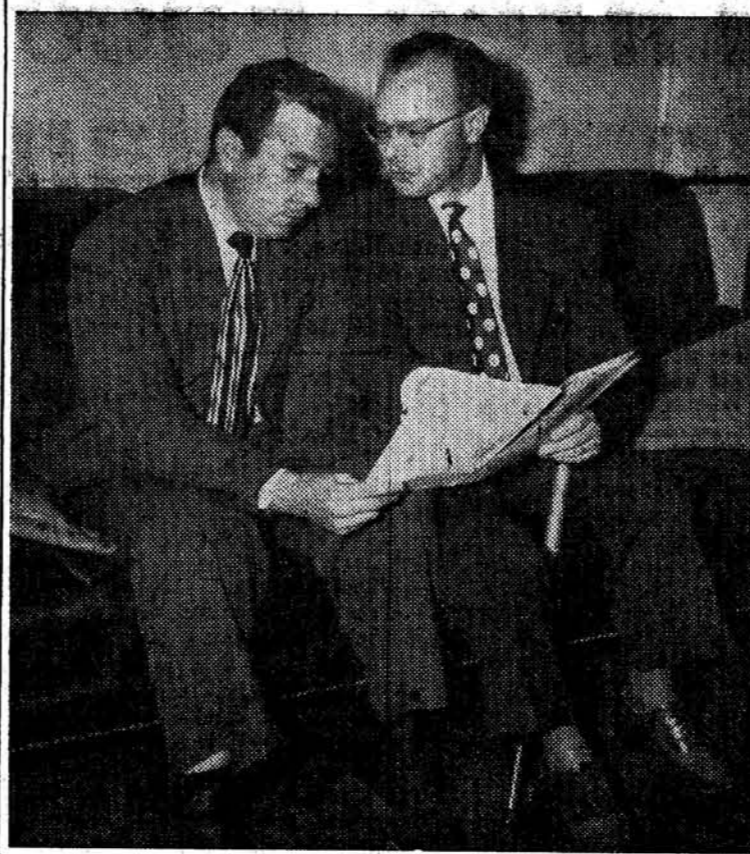
The House bill was amended to reduce the number of workers covered. According to the Wage and Hour Division, the amended bill took away coverage from 1,160,000 workers previously protected. This does not include an unestimated number of wage-earners engaged in home work.

Last week, the Senate took up the butcher's job begun by the House. Its first action was to adopt an amendment to strike 200,000 workers in just one category from minimum wage law protection.

The House vote on the fraudulent minimum wage bill was 361 to 85, with the Trumanite Democrats voting solidly in favor of it. Thus, the Trumanites can claim they are "fulfilling" their promise to raise the minimum wage level even if few will benefit and more will be deprived of the little protection they now have.

# Fight Purge in Cleveland PO

## Assail Arms Program



Rep. John Bell Williams (left) (D, Miss.) who lost an arm in the recent war, and Rep. Charles E. Potter (R, Mich.), who lost both legs in the war, hit the administration's military aid program as a step to a new war. Williams, opposing the bill in House debate, said: "I know we are going straight down the path to World War III."

CLEVELAND, August 24 — Nathaniel B. Bowen, 51, had worked nearly 28 years for the Cleveland Post Office and was nearing retirement when he was suddenly suspended without trial on "disloyalty" charges. "It struck like a cyclone, and I couldn't do anything about it, he says.

Mr. Bowen is a pillar in East Mt. Zion Methodist Church and a member of the American Legion, the National Alliance of Postal Workers and the AFL Postal Workers Union. He is a graduate of Morehouse College and has a law degree from Cleveland Law School. He is married and owns his own home where he lives with his married daughter.

Samuel L. Gordon, 44, had an unblemished record of 25 years employment at the Cleveland Post Office when he was notified of discharge for "disloyalty." He must support his wife, two children and mother, but was recently evicted from the house he rents.

"MY CHILDREN SUFFER" "You've got to live, you've got to keep working," Mr. Gordon says. "I do not feel disgraced, because I am innocent. It is my children who suffer."

Nathaniel Bowen and Samuel Gordon are two of the 30 Post Office workers here who have lost their jobs or suffered suspension in the sweeping "loyalty" purge. They are typical targets of the witch-hunt because one is a Negro and the other a Jew. Of the 80 victims, 24 are Negroes and 4 Jews. Obviously the "loyalty" purge not only deprives government employees of their rights and jobs, but is a vicious instrument of racial and religious discrimination.

All the ousted clerks are fighting their discharge. A suit on their behalf, challenging the constitutionality of Truman's "loyalty" order, is pending in Washington. The Federal Employees Defense Committee, headed by Bertram Washington, one of the suspended workers, has been organized to handle the defense. O. John Rogge, former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, took their plea for reinstatement into the Cleveland District Court where it has been denied. He is now preparing an appeal to the U. S. District Court.

PRESS COMMENT This wholesale purge of government workers has provoked great indignation here. The Scripps-Howard Cleveland Press recently published a series of

articles on the local loyalty cases and protested editorially against them. "The whole method [of the loyalty program] is a violation of the fundamental rights and freedoms which should be the privilege of all of us," the Press said on Aug. 17. "This paper believes in the rights and freedoms of all citizens. Under the present loyalty program, they aren't getting them."

The Press points out that all the usual safeguards of court procedure — the right to know who your accusers are, the right to call witnesses, the right to demand facts instead of hearsay — are denied. Actually the accused workers are trying to defend themselves against invisible people and invisible charges before Loyalty Boards empowered to make arbitrary decisions against them.

An "indignation" meeting against "this mass-murder of civil rights" was held here Aug. 10 at the St. James Methodist Church. Thirteen of the suspended clerks were introduced to the audience of 300 which demanded an investigation into the "stinking mess" of racial discrimina-

tion in the Cleveland Post Office. Speakers at the meeting included Judge Perry B. Jackson, Harry I. Barron, secretary of the Jewish Community Council, and Charles Loeb, news editor of the Cleveland Call & Post. A representative of Senator Taft said he had asked the Senator to probe the "loyalty" purges. Charles Lucas, secretary of the Cleveland NAACP, remarked that he hoped Taft would not approach the disloyalty discharges "as he did FEPC in Ohio, with his tongue in cheek."

The Cleveland CIO Council voted at its Aug. 10 meeting to support the victimized postal workers. The CIO resolution stated they had been suspended "without a hearing or adequate representation" and called upon President Truman and Postmaster Donaldson to give them "a fair hearing whereby they can face their accusers."

The Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party is likewise on record in favor of the suspended workers and has urged the widest possible support to their campaign for reinstatement.

## LITTLE EXPECTED FROM BELL MEDIATION MOVE

BUFFALO, Aug. 29 — The striking workers of Bell Aircraft began the twelfth week of their strike amidst the probable collapse of mediation efforts by the Rt. Rev. John P. Boland, state mediator sent in following Governor Dewey's order for the State Mediation Board to intervene. Lawrence Bell, the strikebreaking president of Bell Aircraft, had agreed last week to meet with Boland but "merely to explore the whole situation."

The conference was set for 2 P.M. today. But Bell let the cat out of the bag last Friday when company agents distributed a leaflet to the office employees and some of the scabs who have managed to cross the picket line.

"There have been certain newspaper articles in the past few days," the leaflet reads, "that might possibly create the impression in the minds of some of our employees that the company is weakening. Let me assure you such is not the case. We are fighting for a principle of Americanism and, as I have said before, I have no intention whatsoever of capitulating. . . . We will . . . see that our employees are free to work without fear of intimidation. . . . by a handful of Communists, Trotskyites and Terrorists within the leadership of the international [union] and Local 501."

HOSTILE PRESS And today the Evening News, in a column entitled Editor's Note, makes the discovery "that some strikers would like to return to work, but they say they fear the consequences to themselves or their families. . . ." Then the News suggests how to scab successfully: "If sufficient numbers collaborated, these threats [from the CIO] would vanish into thin air. . . ."

But even the virulent News has to somewhat straddle the fence on the strike and urges a settlement satisfactory to both sides. This is due to the News's fear of antagonizing the workers who constitute the bulk of its readers, and to the employers' fear that Bell's strikebreaking may result in a general battle between all labor and capital in this area.

In the meantime, militants throughout the Buffalo labor movement are throwing in all energy and time to help the Bell strikers win, and have systematically urged the CIO leadership to take mass action on a scale which will compel the company to shut its plant. The readiness of the rank and file for such action, it is believed in militant circles, was indicated when delegates to the Buffalo CIO Council voted to recommend a general walkout.

Wide sections of the labor

## Youngstown Steel Workers Tighten Ranks for Strike

By Ed Conti

YOUNGSTOWN, Aug. 28 — Up and down the Mahoning Valley the CIO steel workers are beginning to tighten up their ranks in preparation for a strike.

All the large basic steel union locals have initiated drives for 100% membership through dues inspection campaigns, checking all workers as they enter the plants and allowing only union members to enter. These drives have been enthusiastically supported. Hundreds of new members have been signed.

These dues inspections have been climaxed with a most impressive demonstration by Local 1330 at the Ohio Works, Carnegie-Illinois plant. The gates there were manned by full-fledged picket lines, that even the city police in various skirmishes were unable to break. This all-day dues inspection was a preview to the steel barons of the power of the union, and what to expect if a steel strike is forced by their arrogant attitude.

Within the plants, daily skirmishes with management are taking place. After the July 4 holiday shutdown, steel production was sharply cut to about 75% in the Valley. This apparently was not only due to a flooded steel market, but was a move to cause wide-spread unemployment, and try to take the heart out of any steel strike. It had this effect at first, but has started to backfire. The steel workers are rebounding with an awakening militancy.

This cut-back in production was used as a cover to begin the most concerted speedup ever attempted since the depression days in the early '30s. Ordinary grievance procedure was not able to dent this determined and provocative anti-union move. The workers began to realize that this was the beginning of an all-out fight, not only to gain concessions, but to maintain already-won working conditions.

A few department strikes were carried out. Management was told the men will not work under such speedup and there would be more stoppages until full crews were put back in force. This revived militant attitude forced the steel masters to yield, resulting in most cases in clear union victories.

The workers are able to take more direct action because the top union bureaucracy has momentarily loosened its brakes on any militant action against the corporations in order to put on further pressure in the present stage of the negotiations. This manifests itself in a new spirit of all-out defense of the union and working conditions.

Recently, steel production here has risen sharply to almost 95% of capacity. This is the result of attempted stock-piling in anticipation of a strike.

Most steel workers are beginning to feel that the union-busting speeches before the "fact-finding" board being headlined from Foley Square are an indication of the steel corporations' unbending and arrogant attitude. If this attitude does not change, the steel workers are determined to man the picket lines in the manner they displayed in 1946.

There is still the possibility that a deal may be cooked up be-

tween the corporations and Murray. Faced with the specter of hundreds of thousands of steel workers on the picket lines, the corporations may hesitate to reject the mere token concessions that the "fact-finding" board is likely to recommend. Murray, who sought government intervention in the first place, may grasp at any crumb offered.

But if the steel barons are determined to force the issue, in an attempt to break the back-bone of the union, they are due for a terrible surprise from the solid front of mass picket lines.

## Book Review

OUR NEW NATIONAL LABOR POLICY, by Fred A. Hartley, Jr., Funk and Wagnalls, N. Y. 1948, \$2.85.

This book, graced with a special introduction by Senator Robert A. Taft, is brazen in giving the show away on the background of the Taft-Hartley Law and how it was rammed through the Congress.

The book traces the various antecedents of the law beginning with the 21 anti-labor amendments to the Wagner Law proposed by Representative Howard Smith of Virginia in 1940 through the Smith-Connally anti-strike law of 1943 down to the Case Bill of 1945. Big Business, after recovering from the CIO shock in the thirties, was gradually perfecting its technique, lining up its Congressional henchmen, testing out and molding public opinion and finally at the propitious moment in 1947, it struck.

In the chapter, "The Men Behind the New Law," we get a frank picture of the plutocracy's timeservers in Congress, how carefully they were maneuvered into the key committee spots where they could help put the law across, and the utter contempt of these lackeys for the interests of the masses they pretend to represent. The mentality of Hartley and his confederates is that of an American fascist.

The purpose of the law, according to Hartley, was not to destroy the labor unions but "to promote the development of a good trade union movement in this country" and "to improve the lot of the good labor leader." What Hartley has in mind by "a good labor leader" you can imagine from his description of Van Bittner, a typical conservative Murray-type of union official. To Hartley, however, "Van Bittner typifies the bull-headed official running the American labor movement today. He shows by his words and attitude before the committee that he respected only force in his dealings with others. If I happened to be an employer faced with Bittner or others like him representing my workers, I would close my business."

Like so many others, Hartley

miscalculated the temper of the American people. He ends with the boast that "Before the 1948 elections are finished, the Taft-Hartley Act will be hailed as the greatest single contribution the Republican party has made to this nation." But Hartley is not content to simply rest on his laurels. Again and again he regretfully calls attention to the fact that a number of first class union-busting clauses were left out of the final Taft-Hartley draft, such as "a citizen's right to work," making the secondary boycott a criminal offense, outlawing industry-wide bargaining, an absolute ban on all forms of union security etc. Hartley assures us: "I don't think any of these provisions can be regarded as discarded for all time. . . . The principal question is not if they will be enacted, but when."

Hartley is not just talking through his hat. The forces he represents are busy right now trying to popularize some of these measures. In the current Senate Banking Committee hearing on "labor monopolies," George B. Christensen, a leading Chicago corporation lawyer has proposed to outlaw all forms of union shop, the extension of the Sherman anti-trust law to unions and breaking up of big unions into little ones. Another "anti-monopolist," Theodore R. Iserman, counsel for the Chrysler Corporation, came up with the formula to forbid industry-wide bargaining.

The blurb on the book's jacket states that Mr. Hartley speaks "with a frankness that is rare today in politics." That's the thing that makes this Pegler-product worth reading.

BARGAINING WITH ORGANIZED LABOR, by Richard C. Smyth and Matthew J. Murphy, Funk and Wagnalls, N. Y., 1948, \$3.75.

A manual written by two company personnel men on collective bargaining and the main subjects and types of clauses included in collective bargaining agreements. Its objective "is to present to the reader an integrated management philosophy of bargaining with organized labor on a business-like basis."

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BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., 6th St. S. E. meetings every Thurs. evening at 8. CHELSEA — 180 W. 23rd St., Phone AL 4-2458. Every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone Templebar 3-8183 or Templebar 3-8785, or write P. O. Box 4529, Oakland 7.

PHILADELPHIA — 1325-25 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl., Phone Stevenson 4-5529. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m.

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NEW HAVEN — For information write P. O. Box No. 1016.

NEWARK — 228 Springfield Ave., Phone Bigelow 3-2674. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

By Theodore Kovalesky

Sam sighed deeply into his beer. Knowing him for a philosopher who looks at life seeing sweetness and light without overlooking the wormwood and the gall, we gave our attention to him.

Jimmy grinned irreverently. "What's the matter, Sam? Tired of livin' and scared of dyin'? Or are you just tired of working?"

Sam snorted. "Who works?" "I admit you don't sweat like we do on the furnaces," Slim said, "but what do you do with that lathe over in the Wilson Machine Co. if you don't work?"

"That's a hobby. I don't work any more."

"But what —?" "I got a system. I got a system," Sam turned impatiently back to his beer. He was always figuring systems.

We waited for him to continue, but Sam merely heaved another deep sigh. I said, "Tell us, Sam."

"It's on a payday a couple of years ago. I'm thinking about life, and I ask myself, 'Sam, what do you get out of it?' Always work, I think, all ways bills to pay. Where's the enjoyment? I'm in a rut," Sam sighed again.

"If you found the answer to that one, I want to hear it," Jimmy said.

"So I try to figure out a system," Sam went on. "Other men get enjoyment out of life. Hunting, fishing, wine, women and song, stamp collecting, hobbies. . . Then I get the idea! I've got a system. I'll take up a hobby."

"So you bought a hunting lodge in Canada and a yacht in Florida," suggested Slim.

"Wise guy," said Sam. "I get it all figured out. I'll take up a hobby. What'll it be? For a hobby I take up running a lathe!"

"In the Wilson Machine Co.?" "In Wilson's. In Wilson's. Why do I do it?" "Because —" Slim began.

"Wise guy. I get it all figured out. I run the lathe for my hobby. I run it forty hours a week. No more work. All play. Why shouldn't a man run a lathe for a hobby? Now I don't have to work any more for a living. I get up every morning and indulge in my hobby. Then I come home and eat supper. Then I have the evening to myself."

"What more could a man ask from life?" I mused.

"See?" said Sam. "The answer to my gropings. And on top of it all, I get paid. It's not so much, and it doesn't pay the bills any better than before, but what can you expect for a hobby? If you get paid for having fun with a hobby, should you make a fortune on top of it?"

Jimmy was figuring it out. "All day every day, nothing but play, no work, and you get paid for it all the same. . ."

"That's right. That's right," Sam said.

"There's got to be a hitch to it," Jimmy said.

"No," Slim answered, "The man's just got a hobby like stamp-collecting or yachting or wine, women and song. . ."

Sam sighed again.

"But the man's unhappy," Jimmy said.

"But he's got everything to live for," said Slim, "like hunting, fishing, traveling. . ."

Sam sighed again.

"Where did the system break down, Sam?" I asked. "You're not tired of not working?"

"Not working is fine," Sam sighed. "But, boy oh boy, have I got a lousy hobby!"

Blueprint for War

By Joseph Keller

Regardless of diplomatic maneuvers, advances, retreats or temporary agreements in the "cold war," American imperialism is pursuing with single-minded purpose its vast preparations for atomic war, within the next few years, to destroy the Soviet Union. Military strategic and industrial mobilization plans are past the mere discussion stage. They are already blueprinted in essential details.

How and where the U. S. will attack the Soviet Union, the forces and weapons it will use, the military conduct of the war through all its stages are described by the Aug. 26 U. S. News and World Report. Piecing together information disclosed by the top military leaders in public statements and testimony before recent Congressional hearings, U. S. News presents the "U. S. war plan for fighting Russia" in a "three-phase campaign." The article points out that "no secret information is involved" but the plan is "unmistakably clear."

U. S. conduct of the next world war "is to start where the last one stopped, with an atom bomb attack on enemy cities." That is Phase I. U. S. News quotes Gen. Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Gen. Hoyt Vandenberg, Air Force Chief of Staff, to this effect.

The magazine provides a map showing where the initial air attacks by B-36 bombers will be launched from and where they will return. "From Okinawa to industrial area behind Ural. . . return to Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. . . From Fairbanks, Alaska to industrial area behind Ural. . . return to base in Italy. . . From Maine to Moscow. . . return to bases in Britain. . . From Maine to industrial South Russia. . . return to Tripoli. . ."

But this war won't be any "30-day blitz." Phase 2 will be needed to meet the expected tremendous counter-drive from the East across Western

Europe. General Bradley is quoted on the plan for this stage. French land forces are to be built up as the nucleus for "the preservation of a springboard for an eventual, climactic ground attack" that will lead into Phase 3. For the second phase, the French Army will be built up by the U. S. to forty divisions from the present strength of seven divisions.

Finally, Phase 3 will be a "combined attack" on the Russian forces and invasion of the Soviet Union "to be spearheaded by American troops, supported by U. S. and British fighter-bomber air teams, and supplied largely from U. S. . ."

Industrial mobilization plans, which envisage military control and discipline over the workers, parallel the military strategic preparations. Officials of the government's Munitions Board on Aug. 27 announced industrial mobilization preparations are "simply beyond comparison" with those before U. S. entry into World War II.

Details on the type and amount of military material to be produced within a specified time after the M-Day signal, have been provided to every major manufacturer. "Several hundred concerns with demonstrated war production ability" have been put on a "select list" to turn out "select items" in full production within three to six months after M-Day.

Military "specialist reserve units" are already "in training" in scores of industries. At the last count, the Army alone had nearly 10,000 such "specialists" organized in 1,263 industry-sponsored, and industry-army-trained "affiliated units." These will form the nucleus for the military direction of war production.

These publicly-described military strategic-industrial mobilization plans, already in operation, bespeak the real perspective and aims of U. S. imperialism more eloquently than all the flowery speeches of Washington statesmen and diplomats about their "endeavors for peace"

What Liberties?

By Art Preis

Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico visited Ohio last week to whomp it up for the Democratic Party in preparation for next year's elections. Never have the American people enjoyed such freedom as now under the Truman administration, he claimed.

"I want to ask you what liberties you have lost? . . . Do we not have the liberty of free speech, the right of peaceful assemblage, the right of religious freedom?" he asked. And he added for good measure that he is "convinced that we are on the threshold of even an expansion of the liberties we have thus far enjoyed."

Does Anderson think there is no loss of liberties when Truman, through his former Attorney General Tom Clark, issues a political blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations which are denied the right of a hearing and even a specification of charges?

Does he think freedom of speech remains as inviolable as ever when two million federal workers are subjected to a "loyalty" purge, secretly investigated by the FBI and faced with dismissal on anonymous charges without trial and even the right to confront their accusers?

What of the legless veteran James Kutcher, fired from his clerk's job with the Veterans Administration because he admitted holding socialist views and membership in the Socialist Workers Party?

What of the Minneapolis union leader Carl

Skoglund who is threatened with deportation because of his decades of loyal and militant defense of labor's interests and what of the thousands of other non-citizens who are being threatened with indefinite confinement at Ellis Island or deportation for no other reason than they are suspected of holding political views contrary to the administration's?

What "expansion" of liberties can we expect from the government's frameup prosecution of the Communist Party leaders under the infamous Smith Act which makes mere advocacy of "subversive" political ideas a felony?

Did the people who attended the scheduled concert of Paul Robeson in Peekskill, N. Y., "enjoy" the "freedom of assembly" they were accorded by the vigilante mob which attacked them while public officials and police stood by?

Do the Jehovah's Witnesses and other religious conscientious objectors "enjoy" the "freedom of religion" they are granted when they are thrown into federal prison for refusing army service which violates their Christian convictions?

It takes an idiot or a knave to find no loss of liberties in a flood of "loyalty oath" and anti-"subversion" laws; attempts at legal lynchings of Negroes in Trenton, N. J. and Groveland, Fla.; witch-hunts against teachers, professors and scientists. And Anderson's no idiot.

God help the American people if we have an expansion of these "liberties" we have "enjoyed" thus far under the Truman administration!

Notes from the News

THE "IMPARTIAL" LAW — The New York State Police refused to intervene in the fascist violence against the Robeson concert near Peekskill on Aug. 27 until after the hoodlums had achieved their aims. But the following day, the N. Y. Times reports, "When 350 persons met at the estate of Dr. Sam Rosen in Katonah. . . to form a Westchester Committee of Law and Order and to protest against alleged official failure to take steps that might have prevented Saturday's violence, thirty state troopers and fifteen deputy sheriffs patrolled the entrance to the Rosen estate, the troopers jolting down license numbers of cars that entered."

GRACE CARLSON'S PROPOSAL — All of the Twin Cities press prominently featured Grace Carlson's suggestion for labor action against the Peekskill outrage, made in a telegram by the Minnesota state organizer of the SWP to state AFL and CIO leaders. Recalling that Hitler

marched to power by such methods, she urged them to organize "a united labor conference immediately to deal with this sinister threat to freedom."

SHORTER WORK WEEK — On Sept. 1, a million railroad workers in the non-operating crafts went from a 48-hour week to a five-day 40-hour week, with about the same pay as before.

LAUDATORY COMMENT — The new Attorney General, J. Howard McGrath, "recently placed in the Congressional Record, with laudatory comment, a speech by Father Hunter Guthrie, the new president of Georgetown University, which sounded like a call for a state-established 'opinion-control bureau,'" the New Republic reports. It quoted Guthrie as saying that "the state's thinking in this matter [of opinion control] is much sounder than that of the resentful individual whose opinion is controlled."

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Three Face Legal Lynching In Groveland, Fla., Frameup

By Ruth Johnson

Three young men are in prison, facing the electric chair. One is dead, lynched by a sheriff's posse. An entire community huddles in fear of returning night riders, who three times swept in to burn and shoot up their homes.

This is Groveland, in Lake County, Florida, 1949. The outrage began—like Scottsboro and countless less-known cases—when a white woman claimed she was raped by four Negroes. Cops say two of the men confessed by nodding their heads. But all three insist they are innocent, and none has signed the statements demanded by the sheriff.

No medical testimony has even been produced to verify the woman's charge. (A few weeks ago in Illinois, a Negro was set free after 25 years in jail; an autopsy finally showed that the woman who accused him, died a virgin decades later.)

Did they confess? The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent investigators to Groveland. They saw Charles Greenlee, 16 years old, with his face and head scarred, one eye completely closed, his stomach, chest and back torn, his genitals bruised and bleeding from beatings.

They saw Sammy Shepherd and Walter Irwin, both 22 years old, with their wrists scarred by manacles; they had been hung from pipes by handcuffs. Their bodies still bore the marks of lashes. Shepherd had three broken teeth, perhaps a broken jaw.

None of them had been given medical care, or even a change of

clothes, in the week before the NAACP investigators arrived.

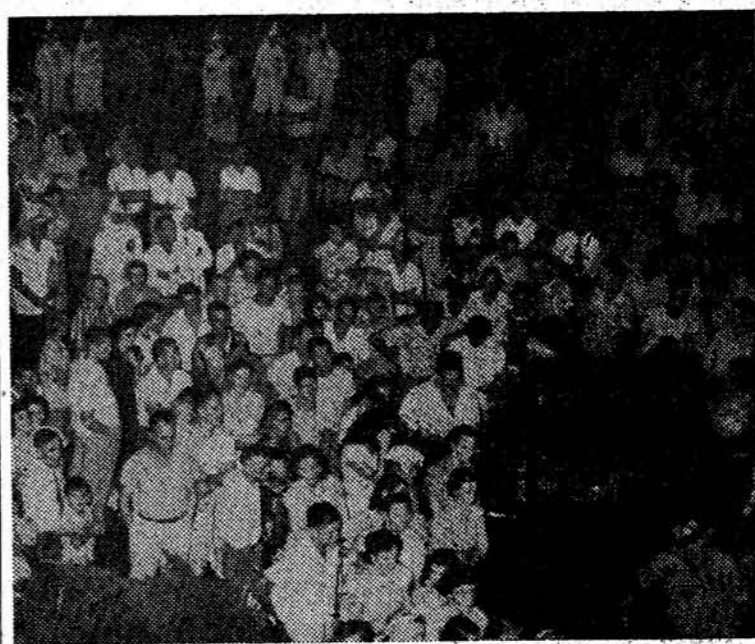
NAACP attorneys were threatened by the Orlando Sentinel, most influential paper in the area: "If smart lawyers or agents of different outside organizations seek to hamper justice through the employment of legal technicalities, they may bring suffering to innocent Negroes."

The Sentinel had tried, convicted and condemned the boys without the "technicality" of a trial. A screaming front-page arfoen headed "No Compromise!" called for the death penalty, spurring the Klan on in its raids against the Negro community.

Before the NAACP report, the capitalist press everywhere told a different story, commending the Florida whites for saving their Negro neighbors from the night riders. A special correspondent for the New Leader, Terence McCarthy, went to Groveland expecting to hail a reformation of southern justice.

"Friendly whites, newspapers North and South had reported, had evacuated Lake County Negroes to help them escape mob fury," he wrote. "I found instead, that the Negroes had fled their homes in terror."

The alleged rape was announced on July 16. "On each of the nights of July 16, 17, and 18,"



Robed but unmasked, members of the Ku Klux Klan in Pell City, Ala., listen to Lycurgus Spinks, one of the contenders for the leadership of the Klan held by the late Grand Dragon Samuel Green. A statute in Alabama forbids the wearing of masks and hoods, but it has not succeeded in putting the Klan out of business.

McCarthy says, most of the Negroes "left their homes before nightfall and hid out in the orange groves, swamps and deep woods. Each morning they returned. But not all. Some — among them the parents and relatives of the accused boys — made their way far out of town, permanently, their families broken, scattering because whites had told them that death awaited them at home although they were

accused of nothing."

McCarthy saw the Shepherd home: "Before us stood fourteen squat columns of cemented brick. A few days back they had supported a house. . . now there was only black ash."

"Across the way, deeper in this farmland recaptured from jungle swamp, George Valree had owned two houses. Both were burned to the ground. . . A colored restaurant was riddled with rifle bullets. In Bay Lake and Stuckney's Still, all the Negro residences had been shot up."

"Such were my firsthand observations of the manner in which Lake County whites had 'helped' the Negroes 'evacuate' their homes."

"The Klan had been thirsting for a bloodletting. Negroes live in virtual peonage in Lake County, forced to work under a law that makes 'idleness' a 'crime' — for colored people. A single day's

N.Y. TROTSKY MEMORIAL MEETING HEARS TALKS BY SWP CANDIDATES

By Sam Lawrence

NEW YORK, Aug. 25 — Socialist Workers Party candidates in the municipal election campaign spoke last night to a large and attentive audience gathered to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor and main speaker on the program, recalled the murder of Trotsky by Stalin's hired assassin in 1940. "Stalin hoped thereby to exterminate all opposition to his despotic regime," Bartell declared. "He failed in that objective, for the Fourth International has survived and grown stronger."

Today, Bartell pointed out, Stalinist parties throughout the world are torn by dissension. "The banner of revolt has been raised in Belgrade by Tito, a man who supported Stalin against Trotsky. . . Tito is no Trotskyist, but we are not neutral in this fight, for regardless of Tito's personal motives, the power behind his revolt springs from the desire of the Yugoslav masses for genuine socialist freedom."

But Titoism is not only a Yugoslav phenomenon, the speaker emphasized: "We see the disintegration of the Stalinist

movement developing even here in the United States. There, is more ferment in the ranks of the CP and its periphery than ever before. Scores of expelled dissident groups are operating and turning out bulletins exposing the betrayals and bureaucratism of the CP.

"The Stalinists are in conflict with all honest liberals in the civil rights movement. The crisis has penetrated into the Stalinist-dominated American Labor Party, ALP Councillman Eugene Connelly got his belly full of Stalinist dictation and unprincipled politics. He declared his independence and opened the fight for democracy inside the ALP. Here too the truth about the corruption and maneuvers of the Stalinist-Marcantonio machine has come out.

"If on the eve of the coming crisis that is destined to produce the greatest social upheavals, we see such fissures opening up in the Stalinist camp, then we can have the utmost confidence that the masses will find a new leadership for the approaching struggles. This was Trotsky's analysis. This was the basis of his unswerving faith in the victory of the Fourth International which he proclaimed from his deathbed."

Harold Robbins, SWP candidate for Manhattan Borough President, discussed the problems of the New York workers: miserable housing conditions, rising unemployment, poor transportation facilities, and "the conspiracy of the real estate interests to maintain segregation." He called for a socialist program to meet the needs of the masses.

The crisis in the ALP and the necessity of genuine independent political action by labor were stressed by Harry Ring, candidate for Controller. "The Stalinists and Social Democrats," he said, are "jointly, equally and criminally responsible for sabotaging the struggle for independent working class action."

Recounting O'Dwyer's part in whitewashing of police brutality against Negroes, Gladys Barker, candidate for President of City Council, went on to tell how gains could be won by mass action. She cited the Lenox-Fifth Avenue Tenants League, which by militant demonstrations forced the city to give up its plans for mass evictions of over 3,000 tenants.

New York City SWP Goes Over Top In Campaign for Election Petitions

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 — The Socialist Workers Party campaign for signatures to place its candidates on the ballot in the New York City elections has been successfully

concluded, two weeks before the deadline. Irving Beinin, the election campaign manager, announced today that well over 10,000 voters have signed nominating petitions for the SWP ticket, which includes Michael Bartell for Mayor; Gladys Barker for President of the City Council; Harry Ring for Controller; and Harold Robbins for Borough President of Manhattan.

The minimum number of signatures required by law is 7,500 for city-wide office, and 5,000 for borough office. Thus, with more than 33% over the minimum obtained, a place for the SWP on the ballot in November appears certain if the capitalist politicians comply with the law.

"The speed with which this pe-

tion campaign was brought to a close demonstrates that the capitalist witch-hunts and 'subversive' lists, far from terrifying workers, have provoked a strong desire to fight back in defense of civil liberties," Beinin observed. "That was the response we met in all the working class districts where we went."

The high spot of the campaign, which began Aug. 6 and continued through the hottest days of the summer, was a Saturday night mobilization which netted 3,200 signatures. Two recruits who joined the party a month ago after having attended SWP classes and forums brought in the greatest number of signatures during the three-week period.

3 Main Tendencies in NMU Convention

By R. Bell

The three main conflicting tendencies in the labor movement will confront each other at the CIO National Maritime Union convention which opens in New York City on September 12.

1. The tendency represented by President Joseph Curran who, since his break with the Stalinists, has emerged as a full fledged "labor statesman." This tendency stands for all-out support to the reactionary foreign policy of the American State Department to which are subordinated the real needs and interests of the American workers.

2. The Stalinist tendency, generally recognized as an agency of the Soviet Foreign Office, whose feverish zig-zags are tailored to meet the needs of the Kremlin.

3. The independents, who stand for the formation of a genuine left wing based on a policy of independent working class action on the economic and political field.

While it has become a matter of common knowledge that the "line" of the Communist Party changes in accordance with the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin, it is not so well understood in the case of the "labor statesmen."

For example, after the termi-

nation of the war in the fall of 1945, Curran visited Moscow as part of a National CIO delegation sent to establish the basis for the organization of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The NMU Pilot of Oct. 19, 1945 published excerpts from Curran's speech to a gathering in Moscow's Hall of Columns. "I am told to assure you," Curran proclaimed, "that the CIO will always work hand in hand with the Soviet trade unions," and added: "We heartily hail the heroic Red Army, the Soviet trade unions, the entire Soviet nation for all they've achieved under the great and wise leadership of Comrade Stalin."

This event occurred, of course, during the period of American-Soviet collaboration. The Stalinists at that time were shaking hands with J. P. Morgan, whooping it up for the permanent non-strike pledge, national unity and labor-management cooperation. But the honeymoon was short-lived and soon gave way to the "cold war."

The mounting tension between Washington and Moscow was soon reflected by open conflict in the CIO between the Stalinists, who supported the Kremlin, and the native "labor statesmen," who lined up with the State Department.

This conflict erupted into open warfare at the Portland convention of the CIO last year when the Stalinists were given the ultimatum: Conform to CIO policy or get out! "Conform to CIO policy" meant support the "cold war" against the Soviet Union. The Stalinists elected to fight.

The capitalist press greeted the AFL and CIO conventions last year as a triumph of labor statesmanship. The foremost Republican newspaper, the N. Y. Herald Tribune, hailed the "labor statesmen" in an editorial (Nov. 26, 1948) because: "The resolutions adopted by the American Federation of Labor meeting at Cincinnati and by the Congress of Industrial Organizations at Portland, show full support of the bi-partisan foreign policy."

The editorial then went on to add: "In the modern state foreign and domestic policy are inextricably bound together." This is another way of stating the truth, long ago established by Marxism, that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy.

But domestic policy in the year 1948 was characterized by the Taft-Hartley Act, "loyalty" oaths, witch-hunts, assaults on civil liberties and rampant reaction which sought to establish a

military and totalitarian regime over the American people.

An extension of this policy to foreign soil meant bolstering the tottering dictatorships abroad, financing reactionary groups and cliques engaged in counter-revolutionary schemes to undermine and destroy the mass workers movements which arose after the "liberation." It meant the export of Taft-Hartleyism along with American dollars. The "labor statesmen" swarmed over Europe playing their role of agents of the State Department, splitting the trade union movement and sowing demoralization in the workers' ranks.

Symptomatically, Curran initiated the referendum to launch a "loyalty" oath purge and witch-hunt in the NMU at the very moment he took sail for Israel as part of a CIO delegation to persuade the Israeli union leaders to withdraw from the WFTU.

It is only against this background that the conflict between the conflicting tendencies in the labor movement can be understood. The Stalinists and the "labor statesmen" confront the workers with the alternative: Either Washington or Moscow, either the Kremlin or Wall Street, you must choose between the two. This "either — or" choice

between two reactionary gangs is completely false and can only lead to disaster. Neither gang represents the interests of the working class. Both are reactionary to the core and are concerned solely with using the labor movement as pawns in their game of power politics.

There is, in reality, only ONE choice for the worker: Independent working class action on both the economic and political field. The workers are instinctively groping their way toward that road. The fight against the yellow-dog amendment in the NMU was led by an independent group against both the Curran group and the Stalinists. The struggle in the convention against the "anti-communist" amendment proposed by Curran is a continuation of that fight.

A substantial number of the delegates at the convention have gone through the experience of the fight against the Stalinist dictatorship when they controlled the union and they actively participated in the struggle to defeat Curran's yellow-dog amendments. They want no part of either. If this group succeeds in organizing at the convention it will mark an important advance in the building of a militant and democratic union.