# STOP THE SPLITTERS IN THE CIO

An Editorial

- See Page 3 -

Workers of the World, Unite!

# THE MILITANT

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# NO PLACE TO HIDE FROM THE A-BOMB Either World Socialism or Atomic Annihilation

Which World?



# Corporations Hurl Last-Minute Provocation at Steel Workers

arrogant steel barons.

As several thousand workers in the Pittsburgh area "beat the gun" on the deadline and there were mounting signs of intense resentment at the brazen and head of U. S. Steel, today flung another provocation at the union.

He restated the corporations' refusal to accept even the miserable recommendations for company - financed social insurance and pensions made by Truman's "fact-finding" board. He offered instead a proposal for an insurance-pension plan to cost the company "up to" the 10 cents per of internal discussions with party tour by the party branches all hour maximum fixed by the steel board - provided the workers agree to a wage deduction as their "contribution" to a fund.

### MURRAY FORCED

that he had already made every leaders projected for the fall and possible concession to avoid a winter months, which are designreal fight, had no alternative but ed to expand the propagandistic to denounce and reject this latest activity of the party and offer as the corporations' attempt, strengthen the ties of informaunder the guise of a pension concession, "to impose a wage cut the party branches and the naon their workers.'

He stated that if the companies fail to accept the principle of with the origins of the struggle non-contributory pensions, as re- between the Yugoslavs and the strike for its original demands"

wages, insurance and pensions.

But Murray's talk of "original" demands" is just rhetoric. He has thusiastic welcome for Stein's nounced.

SEPT. 28 - Two more days given away so much that the com- the first half of this year enremain before the third - and panies have maneuvered the union joyed the greatest profits in what Philip Murray has called into a position where, if a strike their history, are holding out for for the year covered by the curthe "final" - deadline for a gen- results, the workers wil be fight- more than their "principle" of rent negotiations and would agree eral steel strike. Whether or not ing not for the 10-cent "package," some 800,000 members of the which the companies have con-CIO United Steel Workers hit the ceded, but over whether the empicket lines this Saturday at 12:01 ployees will also have to cona. m. rests entirely with the tribute to enlarge the pension fund through a cut in their takehome pay.

Fairless's statement indicated that the corporations, which in April 30, 1951. . ."

contributory pensions. He demanded that any pension plan become effective only "when the pension crumbs they might represent labor agreement expires cn April 30, 1950" and "contingent upon the union's agreement to extend the existing labor contract for one year or until

## challenging attitude of the corporations, Benjamin F. Fairless, Morris Stein to Begin Tour On the "Stalin-Tito Conflict"

Morris Stein, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will begin a national tour Sat., Oct. 1, in New Haven. His tour will take him all the way to the

Pacific Coast and back, in a series members on the work and problems of the party, and public preparations to make a success addresses on "The Stalin - Tito of his meetings. The schedule of Conflict and the Crisis of World the tour is as follows:

Stein's tour is the first of a Murray, who truthfully pleaded series of national tours of SWP tion and communication between

tional center in New York. His public speeches will deal commended by Truman's board, Kremlin, based on material not by the time of the strike dead- yet printed in this country, and line, the union will be "free to on the perspectives which this conflict opens up for the revolutotalling 30 cents an hour for tionary' socialist opponents of Stalinism and imperialism.

Early reports show an en-

along the route and intensive

New Haven	Oct. 1
Boston	Oct. 2-3
Buffalo	Oct. 5-6
Pittsburgh	Oct. 8
Youngstown	Oct. 9-10
Akron	Oct. 11
Cleveland	Oct. 12-13
St. Louis	Oct. 14
Los Angeles	Oct. 15-19
San Francisco	Oct. 21-23
Seattle	Oct. 25-27
St. Paul-Minne	eapolis -
	Oct. 29-Nov. 1

Milwaukee Nov. 2 Nov. 3-5 Detroit-Flint Nov. 6-10 Toledo Nov. 11 Philadelphia Nov. 13

Additional dates to be an-

Murray's stiffening on this one point is due to the magnificent stand of the coal miners, led by John L. Lewis, in defense of their \$100-a-month pensions paid by the companies, including the steel owners of the "captive" mines who are now claiming that a

workers would not get a red cent

to forego any wage increases for

two years in return for whatever

Some kind of deal like this may

yet be hatched between the com-

panies and Murray, who would

be willing to settle on any terms

rather than lead a militant strug-

gle. But the one thing he dare

not yield - the one picayune

concession left him by the steel

board - is the principle of non-

contributory pensions, that is

pensions paid exclusively by the

ceive after next April 30.

SOME DEAL POSSIBLE

The action of the 480,000 miners in shutting down the coal industry - instituting what Lewis called the "No-Day Work Week" -- has imbued the steel workers with new determination to win at least some part of the security for illness and old age that the miners have won through their series of splendid and courageous strike actions.

is nothing less than "socialistic."

"fact-finding" board brought out of the UE." recommendations that so whittled down the union's original demands

Truman's announcement that "an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR" has shattered the illusion that the next war would spill its frightfulness everywhere in the world but the United States. No longer can the scoundrels and madmen who rule this country offer the lure that American imperialism, through its monopoly of the atomic bomb, can destroy the Soviet Union and conquer the world through a "quick, cheap war."

BY THE EDITORS

'secret" of the A-bomb makes one thing certain: If the and unmistakable leadership" in the atomic arms race. Brien Mcpower-drunk money-lords of America plunge this country into another war, the unimaginable ravages of atomic destruction will fall not only on the peoples of Russia and Europe, but on the teeming cities of America as well.

For the American people too, there will be NO PLACE TO HIDE and NO ULTIMATE VICTORY. The price of another imperialist war, in "victory" or defeat, can only be death for millions of Americans — death, perhaps, to American civilization itself.

Truman's momentous announcement of Sept. 23 has been ac companied by a massive propaganda campaign to "Be Calm." There is "no cause for alarm," we are assured over and over again from Washington. What do they mean by being "calm" in the face of the new frightful prospect that American imperialism, through its "cold war" and arrogant blackmail use of its A-bomb monopoly, has presented to America itself?

Truman and Acheson mean that the American people are to sit back in blind complacency and timid compliance while the Wall Street-Washington arsonists set the fuse First Target — Labor's Rights for a world-wide explosion. They mean that the American people shall make no move to intervene against their insane plot.

Truman's announcement heralds not a greater hope for peace but an intensification of the atomic arms race; greater and greater America and Western Europe; an all-out witch-hunt against free speech and free thought; repression of organized labor. These are the realities being hatched under cover of the palaver about "inter-

national control of atomic energy through the UN. - David Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission,

### **UE STALINISTS PREPARE** TO EXPEL OPPOSITION

Even while they themselves are threatened with bureaucratic expulsion from the CIO, the Stalinist leaders of the CIO United Electrical Workers are preparing a ruthless

expulsion drive against their minority opponents of the Murray-Carey faction.

constitutional amendment was cal equipment industry. jammed through granting the Stalinist-dominated General Ex- disastrous consequences for the ecutive Board power to "assume

members only in their own local from a split. unions. The new amendment means that the international ofand expel any members it

What the amendment aims at was made clear by a subsequent statement submitted by the board Civil Rights Fight to the convention and adopted. This statement assails the Murray-Carey opposition in most Central YMCA honoring the legviolent terms and calls on "the membership" to "drive the group of distinguished Chicatraitors out of their locals and goans, headed by Prof. Anton J. the union.'

drive the Stalinists plan to uncritical claims that they are | ment will be taken into the Feddefending minority rights and eral District Court at Washingunion democracy in the CIO. ton, D. C. early in October. They themselves are setting an when it moves to expel the Stalsimilar pension for steel workers

ULTIMATUMS

Positive evidence that the Stalinists are committed splitting the CIO was the UE convention's adoption of a series of ultimatums on the CIO convention. This declaration concluded: "In the event the [UE] executive board does not receive there assurances Ito comply with the ultimatums from the presi-There is the possibility of some dent of the CIO, this convention further last - minute desperate authorizes the board to withhold government intervention. Tru- per capita tax to the CIO for man has been able to stall a steel such time as it deems necessary strike since July 15 and his for the protection of the interests

Withholding of the per capita tax to the CIO would give Mur- Park. that there was hardly a scrap ray a constitutional pretext for declaring the Stalinist-dominated

UE outside the CIO and recognizing the reactionary minority fac-As one of the final actions of tion, which represents a third the UE convention, held in Cleve- of the UE membership, as the land between Sept. 19 and 23, a official CIO union in the electri-

Such a split would have

UE workers. It would mean civil original jurisdiction" over any war between unionists within member the board accuses of each plant, between different 'raiding or secessionist" activi- plants of the same firm and beween the various companies. This supersedes the previous Only the employers would stand constitutional provision that per- to gain by the division and strife mits charges and trials against that would undoubtedly ensue

# means that the international of-ficers can reach into local unions Kutcher to Speak accuses of "raiding and secession-ist" activities.

less veteran James Kutcher, a Carlson, former President of the The bureaucratic expulsion | American Association for the Advancement of Science, announced leash in UE belies their hypo- that Kutcher's fight for reinstate-

Kutcher's appeal is being example for the Murray machine prepared by the Chicago attorney, M. J. Myer, known for inists at the coming-CIO con- his work in the successful Chicago Tenants Federation antirent increase fight and in the Hickman case. The American Civil Liberties Union will file a companion brief as "friend of the court" in Kutcher's behalf. Kutcher arrived in Chicago Saturday from Los Angeles on the first stop in a speaking tour of the principal cities in the Middle West. He will visit Milwaukee for a meeting there Sun.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS

Oct. 2.

Last Sunday morning the legless veteran started his activities in Chicago by addressing the nembers of UAW International Harvester Local 6 at Melrose

Kutcher will be the featured (Continued on page 2)

says that the Soviet Union's possession of the atom bomb means The fact that the United States no longer controls the that now, more than ever, this country must "establish unquestioned Mahon, chairman of the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, asserts, "We will still rely upon an overwhelmingly larger stockpile of our own as the principal warning to aggressors." And the yellow oress, with Hearst in the lead, takes up the cry "Four for One!" our U. S. atom bombs for every one produced in Russia.

The warmongering press and congressmen chortle in glee that now there will be no "bickering" about arms appropriations, no cuts in the proposed program for arming foreign capitalist reactionaries. The "calm" clamor that 'Russia has the bomb!" will now be raised to shove through ever more immense subsidies for the military machine.

Already the congressional witch-hunters are yelping for a 'tightening of internal security" - which can only mean still more hysterical spy-scares, repressive legislation, "loyalty" purges. The Big Brass in the Pentagon — thirsting for dictatorial power — are moving to tighten their grip on every sphere of American life.

And what a timely pretext Truman's "calm" announcement offers for further blows against organized labor. How quickly the Big Business press has picked up the cue. "To what degree can the development in Russia be expected to bring about a mood in industrial relations that will assure continuance of the peak functioning stockpiling of instruments of mass slaughter; total militarization of our industrial machine?" asks Arthur Krock, N. Y. Times columnist. "Has not the baleful potential of great strikes been made even clearer?" His colleague, business commentator C. F. Hughes, opines: "Public opinion is not likely to condone industrial bickering in the face of this new threat."

> Thus Washington plans to use the Russian atom bomb in order to blast the rights, liberties and standard of living of the American working class.

> There are those who try to suck consolation from the fact that the Kremlin possesses the atom bomb. The Stalinists, echoing Vishinsky in the UN, raise the will-o'-the-wisp of "disarmament" and "outlawing of atomic weapons." They are spreading the gospel that now that Stalin has the bomb, American imperialism "won't dare" to start a war. Muddle-headed pacifists are saying that the technology of war has reached such a potential of horror that "reason must at last prevail." One and all — Stalinists, pacifists and imperialists alike - din in our ears: "The United Nations is our one and only hope." If that den of imperialists and political gangsters is our "only hope," then humanity is lost.

### The "Hope" Truman Offers

For what is this "hope" that Truman and Acheson have cooked up for us? They have declared they are going to press uncompromisingly for the Baruch plan of "international control of atomic energy" - that is, for the brazen proposal that the United States keep its stockpile of atom-bombs while an "international commission" of the U. S. controlled United Nations takes over ownership of all atomic energy plants and raw materials sources and "supervises" atomic energy production - particularly in the USSR. If the Soviet Union refuses to be "supervised" by UN agents of American imperialism, this will be trumpeted as "proof" that the Kremlin has "aggressive designs" and that nothing remains but to prepare the atomic holoeaust with good conscience.

We do not say that the rulers of America "want" war. Their alk that they are not "surprised" by the Kremlin's speedy development of the atom-bomb is an attempt to put a bold face on their own nightmarish fears. They realize fully that an atomic war will not, leave this country unscathed, that it will bring such devastation and exact such a fearsome cost that it may drag the American econmy down to irremediable ruin.

BUT THAT PROSPECT, IN THE END, WILL NOT STOP THEM. For the American capitalist system cannot survive WITH-OUT WAR. It is tottering on the brink of crisis and chaos, with the dead-weight of a bankrupt world capitalism on its shoulders. And in the ears of the American plutocracy sounds the ominous rumblings of mass uprisings and rebellions everywhere - in the reception dinner tonight at the colonies, in the European countries, in the mines and factories here at home. It is this prospect of internal decay and crisis, with its inevitable accompaniment of mass revolt, that the American capitalists fear above all else. To stave off that fate, they will not hesitate to choose even the awesome risk of atomic war.

The existence of atomic weapons is not the cause of war. The atomic bomb is but the most fiendish part of the preparations for a war whose basic cause lies in the hopeless contradictions of outmoded, crisis-ridden world capitalism. Any pact that may be signed for "international control" or to "outlaw" the bomb is just a scrap of paper. The job is not to "outlaw the bomb" - but to OUTLAW CAPITALISM.

### The Choice Before Us

This system of the exploitation of the many for the profits of the few strangles human progress. Its utter bankruptcy is proved by the very fact that it has taken the greatest means for the material uplift of human society - the utilization of atomic energy and converted it exclusively into an instrument of mass suicide and murder.

Control of this new titanic force for good or evil is indeed the crucial question for all humanity. But it is not a question of whether this force is to be controlled through the imperialist-dominated United Nations. It is whether the international working class can wrest control of atomic energy away from the monopolists and

Humankind is faced with a choice of life or death. Only world socialism - the international planned and cooperative economy of the free and equal - can snatch the atom bomb from the hands of the imperialist warmakers and destroyers. Truman's announcement of the atomic explosion in the USSR is an alarm signal for the workers of America and the world — EITHER INTERNATIONAL. SOCIALISM OR ATOMIC ANNIHILATION.

# Curran Runs Rough-shod Over NMU Democracy

By R. Bell

National Maritime Union convention was adjourned vesterday after 12 days in which the faction led by President Joseph Curran sought to overthrow the basic democratic principles upon which the union was established.

Under cover of an unrestrained red-baiting hysteria the Curran group proceeded link by link, to forge a bureaucratic noose to strangle the democratic rights of the membership. The main links in the chain were borrowed from the armory of reaction: "Loyalty" oath, witch-hunt, gag rule and measures were introduced and

jammed through the convention. Before the convention concluded its sessions it became clear that the Curran gang aimed to stifle the voice of every critic, silence every dissenter and expel every opponent. After declaring war on all opposition the Curranites propose to make it an offense, punishable by expulsion, for any member to distribute "unofficial" literature or leaflets, "subversive" newspapers or circulars, petitions or pamphlets, or to collect funds for any purpose without approval of the Currancontrolled National Council.

"PORK CHOP" ISSUES

All actions of the convention must be submitted to referendum vote of the membership for ratification. The bureaucrats are deathly afraid of a discussion by the ranks in which the opposition is free to present their point of view. The men aboard ship had looked forward to the convention as a forum in which their grievances would be aired, action taken to solve their problems and a program elaborated to meet their needs.

Hundreds of resolutions had been adopted by ship's crews dealing with "pork chop" questions. These resolutions were pigeon-holed by the machine-controlled convention committees. An attempt to establish a Contract Committee was side-tracked by the Curran faction.

Instead of dealing with the problems of the men aboard the ships, the Curran machine converted the convention into a sounding board for the reactionary foreign policy of the American State Department and an instrument for depriving the membership of their democratic rights under cover of an "anticommunist" hysteria.

With all convention committees in the hands of the Curran machine, only those proposals to reach the floor Reader Questions which fitted the needs of the Our Treatment of 

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Zone.

NEW YORK, Sept. 27—The CIO man Curran ruled out of order example, had some 75 delegates amendments or proposals from representing approximately 3,000 the floor. Many delegates awoke members. This is contrasted with to what was happening only dur- the Port of New York which had vention. They had been led to 5,000 members on the beach. believe that the "pork chop"

> manist" issue was settled. ADJOURNMENT MANEUVERS But the Curran machine had other plans. With only one committee left to report and with "new business" next on the agenda, a Curranite made a motion to adjourn the convention. There was a roar of protest from the delegates and the motion was voted down by a majority of 100. Delegates clamored for the floor under "new business" to submit the proposals of their

After several had spoken, another motion to adjourn was made with Curran putting on the pressure from the platform for its adoption. Again the motion was voted down with the delegates setting up a chant: "We want pork chops, we want pork

bureaucrats were concerned with. They had gotten what they wanted when the convention placed in their hands the repressive weapons to weed out all "troublemakers" who fought for better conditions aboard ship. Having accomplished THEIR purpose, the Curranites were determined to close the convention before the delegates fully realized they had been taken for a ride.

For the third time within a brief period a motion to adjourn was recognized by Curran. This ime the hand-picked "masterat-arms" counted 286 in favor to in the history of the labor move-283 opposed and the convention was hurriedly adjourned with the

that the convention did not promost conservative sections of the will be placed in jeopardy.

Spellman Issue

guilty I don't doubt.)

Recently when our press caustic-

ally criticized Cardinal Spellman

for having his fingers in the

Basically as Marxists we're

tendency for the bourgeoisie to

monopolize all the wealth. Now,

according to our recent publica-

tion, we would single out one

segment of this class to scorn

and insist that' by curbing this

segment from robbing the other

segments of the owning class,

the problems of the proletariat

are alleviated. And I would like

to add and emphasize that

Catholics are ever so fanatical

ED. NOTE - The very first of

democratic rights established in

the progressive struggle of early

capitalism against feudalism was

the separation of church and

embodied in the Bill of Rights.

No section of the population

nas more at stake in the preserva-

tion of this principle than the

working class. And no institution

is striving more vigorously, cun-

ningly and effectively to destroy

this principle in America than

The Catholic hierarchy has

launched a powerful drive to

secure public funds for the

and to gain control over the

public school systems. Cardinal

Spellman's attack on the Barden

bill for federal aid to public

wide section of the capitalist population:

expression of this drive.

financing of parochial schools Church in Italy

Editor:

education is but the most open an indication of conditions in

Leading capitalist circles and the reactions of some of the

suppression of the workers and freedom from police rule, etc.,

colonial peoples and the preserva- on the model of the American

tion of the capitalist system. | Constitution. They did nothing

The Catholic hierarchy with its but put power in the hands of

authoritarian influence over mil- the most brutal and most ob-

lions in this country is regarded scurantist elements the world has

the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

A Reader Cincinnati, Ohio

so our efforts are ill spent.

bureaucrats. As permanent chair- | union. The Lakes and Rivers, for ing the closing hours of the con- 14 delegates representing over

Approximately half the memissues from the ships would be bership of the NMU sail out of forthcoming after the "com- the Port of New York where the opposition is concentrated. It was the northern ports that led the fight on the yellow-dog "anti-communist" amendments last spring which resulted in a stalemate when the referendum was disqualifed because of irregularities in the voting.

The gag rules pushed through the convention are intended to prevent a repetition of the effective mobilization of rank and file opinion against this latest attempt to set up a reactionary dictatorship in the union.

THE INDEPENDENTS

However, the Independent Cauus, which took form at the convention and led the opposition to the Curran machine, has anthe fight to the membership. While directing their main blows at the Curran machine, the inseamen were the last thing the dependents dissociated themselves from the discredited Stalinist group which was shoved to the side lines.

In launching the struggle against the Curran machine, the Independent Caucus traces the fight against machine control from the very beginning of the union through the smashing of the corrupt Communist Party machine after the last convention. The Stalinists, on the other hand, fight for a return to their type of leadership which they contend was the "most demoeratic, progressive and militant,"

the ranks who must ratify all the major lessons of the conventrial committee. decisions of the convention, Op- tion. The failure of the Inde-

**WORKERS FORUM** 

especially potent force for split-

public treasury, I wondered if hierarchy extend is indicated by into the pitch dark of the 16th

this was good strategy. (He's the growth and activities of the century and to push Italy and the

taught of the two classes and the spearhead of the red-baiting Miracles announced every day of

CIO. The Sept. 20 Newark

wing candidates" for UE con-

where the priests publicly in-

structed the workers how to vote.

at the honest religious sentiment

of Catholic workers. Many Cath-

olic workers are already aware

of the anti-labor role of the

class struggle will eventually

convince most of them, we are

sure, that their best interests lie

The following parts of a letter

from my brother in Italy offer

that unhappy country today and

in the struggle for socialism.

The Power of the

all free thought.

ing censorship and repression of alone and supreme.

of two Orange Catholic Churches," and tied to them.

How far the influence and aims see what the Roman Church is

Association of Catholic Trade rest of the world in a sort of

Unionists, which has become a religious crusade against Russia:

attack on union militancy and the week, everyday processions,

how a local of the CIO United pockets selling miraculous water,

Electrical Workers in Orange, dirt, rosaries, etc. It would be

Marxists have the greatest Communists and Socialists the

checked.

obligation to expose the sinister world over. The pulpit and con-

hierarchy and experience in the but they persecute them in a

of the ultra-reactionary Catholic doing to sink Italy once again

Goodrich Strike in 6th Week



Pickets on duty at the plant gate of B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, where the CIO United Rubber Workers is on strike. Seven plants with more than 20,000 workers are involved in this fight for wage raises and a company-financed pension plan.

## the Curran machine, has announced its determination to carry CONSERVATIVES WIN RULE **OVER CIO RUBBER UNION**

TORONTO, Sept. 24 — The CIO United Rubber Workers convention wound up its sessions here today with the conservative faction sweeping all International offices as

well as the General Executive Board. Whereas a year ago at ing the union constitution which the Omaha convention, Buck- calls for the local President to master won by only two votes preside at all local union meetand lost the majority of the Ex- ings. ecutive Board to his opposition, MAIN FACTION ISSUE this year he was re-elected by a majority of approximately 140 votes and has firm control of the whole International machinery.

The defeat of the progressive Bass-Lloyd forces can be directly attributed to a bad mistake committed by them in the course of These conflicting aims cannot the faction struggle. This was chairman ignoring demands for be reconciled. Any attempt to do the suspension of Buckmaster so can only play into the hands from office by the majority of The fight will now be taken to of the Curranites. This is one of the Executive Board sitting as a

The suspension and trial arose position spokesmen pointed out pendent Caucus to sharply dis- out of the so-called "Pottstown sociate itself from the Stalinists affair" where Buckmaster called vide a true representation of the created considerable confusion a special meeting of the Firemembership. The hard core of and strengthened the Curran ma- stone local and attempted to act debate it was clear that the the Curran machine was based on chine. Unless this separation is as chairman of the meeting, redelegates from the Lakes, Rivers clearly established; the decisive sulting in a fracas and some and Southern ports. These are the struggle to win the membership violence. The Board's removal of Buckmaster hinged on his violat-

olic Church,

The removal of Buckmaster became the main issue around which the faction struggle revolved for all the months preceding the convention. It obscured the more important programmatic differences at issue between the two factions and forced the Bass - Lloyd group to fight on weakest ground.

Buckmaster's appeal from the Executive Board decision occupied a whole day's debate at the convention. Each side marshalled its strongest speakers and best arguments. At the conclusion of the Seattle; Textile Workers in majority of the delegates felt that an injustice had been committed, that even if Buckmaster went an inch beyond his constitu- 1616 in Los Angeles. tional prerogatives, his suspension from office was unjustified and factionally motivated.

gates supported their respective factions on this issue on the basis ting the workers along religious been ruling Italy and Spain in master's victory by swinging over lines, stirring up the witch-hunt partnership with the landlords to his support. After Buckmaster C. R. Hedlund, retired Omaha their own oppressors. against "communists" and foster- and banks. But now she is ruling re-election was a foregone con-"You should be here now to

LITTLE ALTERATION

The Board's action in suspending Buckmaster from office thus proved to be an irreparable error. But more is involved in the defeat of the Bass-Lloyd faction. Their inability to win over democracy, particularly in the priests turned into regular poli- any sizable group of workers tical prators. Meanwhile millions in the course of the months-long Evening News gloatingly reports and millions of lire flow into their faction fight undoubtedly reflects the apathy and confusion in the union's ranks. The fact is that N. J., voted to back "three right- scandalous in America - it's the reams of propaganda issued perfectly legal in Italy. And Wall to the membership by the Bassvention delegates after "an anti- Street likes it because it serves Lloyd forces calling for all sorts Red plea Sunday from the pulpits their aims - keeps Italy down of militant policies did little to alter basic lines of division as revealed at the 1948 Omaha convention.

The Buckmaster victory does not mean the end of the opposition. The opposition can and is intervention and penetration of fession booth have been turned the Catholic hierarchy into the into political instruments for determined to maintain itself and political, educational, cultural and propaganda, mixing the sacred continue the fight for progressive years. labor institutions of this country. with the profane. Across the con- unionism. Unquestionably, many We naturally direct our attack fession booth they know (especi- of the opportunist elements in the at the reactionary political ac- ally in small towns) who is not progressive caucus will drift away state. This was the first principle tivity of the hierarchy and not with them and they are regularly or go over to Buckmaster now that the latter is in the saddle.

But the Bass-Lloyd group will tongues or burn them alive as still remain a formidable force cess of internal disintegration be sponsored by the CRDC. that took place in the Thomasthem. The police come second to hands of Reuther in 1947.

### Kutcher to Speak In Chicago on **Civil Rights Fight**

(Continued from page 1) speaker at a public meeting under the auspices of the Chicago Kutcher Civil Rights Committee Fri., Oct., 7, 8 P. M. at the Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams

Other speakers at this meeting include Professor Malcolm P. Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School, representing American Civil Liberties Union; Sidney Lens, director of AFL United Service Employees 329; George Novack, nasecretary of the Kutcher Rights Committee; and representatives of the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council and the American Veteran Commit-

Kutcher is also scheduled to alk to the Chicago City Club at its opening fall luncheon Mon., Oct. 3 and to student meetings at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College.

In a statement issued to the public today, the Chicago committee called upon "every supporter of democracy and fair lay to join our efforts to win ustice for this victimized vet-

### KCRC Reports Aid From Union Bodies NEW YORK, Sept. 26 - The

Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reported it has received expressions of support or financial assistance for its work from the following organizations in recent AFL unions: Joint Board of

of the Department Store Employees in San Francisco; Bricklayers and Masons in Toledo.

CIO United Auto Workers: Locals 289 and 625 in Cleveland; Local 697 in Detroit; Local 813 in Philadelphia.

Other CIO unions: IUMSWA Local 9 in San Pedro; IUMSWA Local 419 in Peru, Ill.; United Railroad Workers Local 1373 Local 589, and Northwest Lumber Inspectors Local 20877, both in Cleveland; UE Local 777 in Cleveland.

A denation was also received from Workmen's Circle Branch

### C. R. Hedlund by America's rulers as an ever known — the Roman Cathproximately 40 middle-of-theTo Skoglund Fight MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 24 -

won vindication on his appeal his railroad engineer who has just A new era is opening in East- Stalinists. returned from a three-months ern Asia - an era which bodes tour of Europe, addressed a little good for the imperialists such a regime and the mass of Civil Rights Defense Committee meeting of over 50 persons here of "Titoist" tendencies inside the being flouted more and more tonight, on behalf of his long- Chinese Communist Party. time friend and associate, Carl Skoglund. The CRDC is actively defending Skoglund in his fight against deportation to Sweden. Mr. Hedlund told his audience

that European workers to whom he had talked were astonished at the extent of the "persecution of government's move

against Skoglund is part of the general drive against civil liberties and the rights of militant trade unionists," the speaker declared, and urged all-out support for Carl Skoglund, former Minneapolis Teamsters union official. Hedlund has been active in Minnesota railroad unions for 40 Miles B. Dunne, chairman of

the Minnesota section of the CRDC, presided at the meeting. He reported that Skoglund, who has recently won an Immigration Department decision for a re- The Militant but had not yet behearing in his case, will speak at a public meeting Sat., Oct. 8, at they did up to the 18th century and will not suffer the same pro- 10 South 4th St., Minneapolis, to Tonight's gathering held at the

home of C. K. Johnson, secretary olics must loathe, any reference Addes-Leonard group of the CIO of the state CRDC, raised over required is secretly furnished by auto union after its defeat at the \$85 for the Skoglund Defense

# CHINA-A SETBACK FOR IMPERIALISM

Chiang Kai-shek's representatives in the United Nations General Assembly are making a bid for support from the capitalist world. His friends in the American Congress

are trying to extort additional 5hundreds of millions of dollars ward march of China remains for the corrupt dictator. Chiang the party of the Chinese Stalhimself, trying to show that he inists who work hand in glove s a ally worthy of imperialist with the Kremlin. Mao Tse-tung aid, has made a number of trips and his clique fear the masses to build up an anti-communist and the proletarian revolution. bloc of Asiatic states.

Chiang's regime is an accomplished fact. There seems little doubt the Chinese capitalists. that Mao Tse-tung's armies can take Canton in the near future, and it is conceded now that even plane, with the masses delibera-Formosa cannot be defended for long. In fact the Chinese Stalinists would already have con-

All this represents a tremendous setback for world imperialism, which has lost its main foothold and sphere of influence in see. There have been no real continental Eastern Asia. Chiang's revolts in key Chinese cities such trip to the Philippines brought as Shanghai, Hankow or Canton. nothing but courteous phrases and polite smiles. The capitalists tang despots, the workers are don't invest money in hopelessly bankrupt firms.

That was why the Truman administration resisted including any mandatory provision for funds to Chiang Kai-shek in the Military Aid Program. Instead of pouring additional money into his pocket, Washington is concentrating on the transformation Workers in Boston; Local 1100 of Japan into an anti-communist bulwark and offensive base for

But Japan is hardly an ideal barrier against the general movement of the Asiatic peoples. Despite General MacArthur's reactionary decrees and strikebreaking intervention, the Jap-If the imperialists consider Japan in Pitcairn, Pa.; Ship Scalers to be an anti-communist fortress, they surely cannot help feeling that it is a fortress full of thing new, resembling neither the dangerous dynamite.

Thus the situation in Japan does not and cannot make good for Eastern Europe. the loss of China by the imperialists. For the advance of the perialists in Indo-China, where rebellious masses to drive out former Kuomintang generals who

despite their hopes for the spread the people, whose interests are The chief obstacle to the for- avoidable.

They seek to establish "a new But all this effort is in vain capitalism," that is, they have because the breakdown of pledged in advance collaboration between the Stalinist machine and This policy has restricted the

struggle in China to the military tely shoved aside. Repressive measures have been fiercely applied whenever mass initiative is guered all of the country if it evinced. When the Stalinist wasn't one of the biggest in the armies take over, the workers world, with enormous distances are not permitted to take over and communication problems to plants or shops, or form committees of their own. Some who did have been shot. It is hardly surprising therefore that the workers as a whole just wait and Glad to get rid of the Kuominbeginning to view with suspicion

> masters. Even in the countryside, the measures of agrarian reform are far from complete and numerous big landowners, anxious to play along with the Stalinists, are allowed to keep their property. Seeds of disillusion are thus being sown among the Chinese peasants.

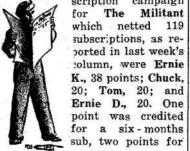
the policy of their new Stalinist

Meanwhile the Stalinists have finished their own preparations for taking over completely the reins in the country. It has been officially announced that the Provisional Government at Peiping (called the "Chinese Consultative Council") has prepared anese proletariat is high-spirited a new political facade with an and combative, and the labor move "All-China People's Congress" ment is a genuinely strong force. and a "Central People's Government Council." According to the Chinese Stalinists, this new government of China will be someconstitution of the USSR nor the "new people's democracies" of

This regime, the Stalinists promise, will be based on a network Stalinist armies in the south of of committees and will constitute China has greatly increased the a "democratic dictatorship of the difficulties of the French im- people." But the committees will not be democratically elected the restoration of their puppet councils of workers, poor peasants Bao Dai has not improved things and soldiers; they will be bodies at all, and of the Dutch imperial- handpicked from the top, "repreists in Indonesia, where the ef- senting" both workers and capifect of the imperialist debacle talists, rich landowners as well in China is to encourage the as poor peasants, Red soldiers and

> A head-on collision between openly, is in the long run un-

### THE MILITANT ARMY



sub, two points for less than two hours." one year.

for obtaining subs, but very few Militant." actually were doing it." However,

The Detroit comrades mention theaters showing the film Lost send up hundreds of that par-Boundaries. Recently, four comrades sold 20 copies of The analytical article about the steel Struggle for Negro Equality in an out-coming crowd of about Art Pre's and the round-up article 60 people. Youngstown's subscription cam-

paign appears to be doing well. Last week M. Jones sent in another 10 subs.

Sales of The Militant are on the increase in New York, ac- good," cording to Literature Agent Harry Gold. At four election for the city with 70 sold at one put out The Militant.

Howard Mason, Literature | meeting. "Our experience so far, foreign - born people for their Agent for Detroit, writes that particularly on the East Side, political ideas" in the United the top sub-getters in the sub- demonstrates that greater organscription campaign ization and push will increase the for The Militant sale of Militants."

Literature Agent Bert Deck, subscriptions, as re- reporting for Los Angeles, ported in last week's writes that sales are holding up column, were Ernie well there. "Vivian, for instance, K., 38 points; Chuck, on her regular sales day last 20; Tom, 20; and week sold 32 Militants. She con-Ernie D., 20. One ducted quick sales at various point was credited factory gates and on a busy for a six-months street corner. Actual selling time: Literature Agent Winnie of St.

Comrade Mason reports that Paul thinks the Sept. 12 issue of the subgetters met with the best The Militant was a "very good response among friends and one. The story on the second shopmates who were familiar with Robeson - Peekskill assault was worth a year's subscription price! come regular readers. At first Nowhere in the capitalist press the campaign went slowly. It could you find a report like that. was felt that "many comrades And this is the best reason in the were talking about the need world for the publication of The Grace Carlson, Organizer of the

after a few pace - setters began Minneapolis branch of the Socialbringing the subs in, the cam- ist Workers Party, mentions in a paign developed momentum and letter that she is sending extra everyone "began showing a real copies of the Sept. 19 issue of The Militant to a friend in Duluth who knows many steelworkers in that sales continue to be easy at that area. "I wish that we could ticular issue with the excellent 'fact-finding' board's proposal by on the 'Mohawk Valley Formula' by Bert Cochran."

P. H. of Worcester, Mass., likewise commends the Sept. 19 issue, saying that the subscribers he talked with thought it "extra

Paul S. of California enclosed a \$1 contribution when he sent rallies for the Trotskyist mayor- in a notice of change of address. alty candidates, 132 Militants Thanks a lot, Paul; contributions were sold. Harlem took top honors like that are really needed to help

Saturday, Oct. 8, 1949 -- 8 P. M. 10 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, MINNEAPOLIS

Hear a man who has spent 38 years in the American labor movement discuss the attempt to deport him.

## CARL SKOGLUND SPEAKS.

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A GOOD CAUSE — a fight for justice

### press are giving encouragement | "The American ruling class, and support to this campaign, we were given to understand dur-This is an expression of the grow- ing the war, was going to help ing political alliance between us install a real democratic gov-American imperialism and the ernment for Italy - with free Vatican on a world scale for the schools, freedom of conscience,

### Reader, New York City

Last week's item on the fate of Tan Malakka quoted a comment from News from Indonesia, a weekly bulletin published in New York which we erroneously described as being issued by Indonesia's Information Office. This bulletin is actually the publication of the Dutch government's Information Officer for In-

"I suppose you heard that the

"They cannot pluck out their

modern way. They point them

out as individuals the real Cath-

them and it is under their con-

trol. This is the kind of air Italy

is breathing today - the air of

Correction

a modern sacred inquisition."

Pope excommunicated both the

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copies): Sc each in U.S., 44 Signed articles by contribu tors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies These are expressed in it

Bundle Orders (5 or me

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Monday, October 3, 1949



"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

-Leon Trotsky, "Third International After Lenin."



LENIN

### Stop the Splitters in the CIO!

ists have turned the CIO into a battlefield of the "cold war" between American imperialism and the Kremlin. The conflict of these two bureaucratic cliques, one serving the U.S. State Department. and the other Stalin's foreign office, has brought the CIO to the verge of split.

Philip Murray, who commands the top apparatus of the CIO, has long since made it plain that he intends to expel the minority of Stalinists from the CIO national board at the forthcoming CIO convention in Cleveland. The Stalinists are meeting this threat with preparations for withdrawal of unions under their control from the CIO.

The danger of split has been implicit in Murray's policies ever since he broke off his honeymoon with the Stalinists in conformity with Washington's post-war rupture with Moscow. Through a series of bureaucratic moves against the autonomy and democratic rights of local' and state CIO bodies and affiliated international unions, the Murray machine is seeking to make it impossible for anyone to live in the CIO who does not conform in thought, word and deed to "CIO national policy" as dictated by Murray in line with the directives of the Truman administration and the State Depart-

The Stalinists are proceeding in their own bureaucratic and adventuristic fashion to give Murray "legal" and "constitutional" pretexts for his long-planned expulsions. They are making no serious fight to remain in the CIO. On the contrary, it is clear they have already determined to set up their own union sideshow affiliated with the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Murray machine and the Stalin- from which the CIO disaffiliated this year.

At the recent United Electrical Workers convention, the Stalinists shoved through a resolution serving a series of ultimatums on Murray. The resolution concludes by threatening to withhold the UE per capita payments to the national CIO. This can only be construed as a calculated provocation with the aim of hastening the split.

This same UE convention further compromised the fight for autonomy and union democracy in the CIO with a declaration to "drive out" of the UE the minority opposition to the Stalinist leadership, in precisely the same manner that Murray threatens to deal with those who oppose him. The UE leaders put over a constitutional amendment giving them the power to try and expel any UE member - the same kind of bureaucratic violation of local autonomy as Murray ex-

But the fact remains that the bureaucratic expulsion of the Stalinists will only strengthen the anti-democratic trend in the CIO, weaken the CIO numerically and divert its resources and energies away from struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers into jurisdictional raids and warfare.

The Murray machine could prevent the split, if it wants. It commands the majority. It has the responsibility of leadership. All it needs to do is to recognize minority rights and withdraw its expulsion threats. That would cut the ground from under any move by the Stalinists to split. The CIO membership should intervene to demand an end to the irresponsible, divisive policies of both bureaucratic factions.

# Peekskill and the Negroes

By J. Meyer

Peekskill and its consequences lluminate the past and throw ong shadows into the future of national politics. As a symbol Peekskill is of enormous signi-

The most important feature, around which everything else revolves, is that Peekskill showed how close to the surface is the counter-revolution in the United States. The fascistic elements. showed themselves as plain as daylight - veterans and hoodlums bent on violence and aided and protected in action by the police. This outburst can be traced two basic causes:

First there is the continuous incitement in propaganda and practice by the Truman adninistration and all the support ers of official society. Secondly there is the deeper cause sense of hopelessness and exasperation among the masses at the blackness of the social future, and the need for expressing this by personal intervention. Articles the N. Y. Post describe the miserable economic conditions of Peekskill today.

All this conforms to the classic pattern of fascism. Its specific form in Germany was hostility to the government and the Jews In the United States it shows itself as hostility to the Communists and Negroes, though the Jews were not by any means omitted from the list of enemies

ANTI-NEGRO VICIOUSNESS

The special viciousness of the outbreak was due to the fact that Robeson was a Negro, a distinguished, in fact, a world-famous Negro. In the attack upon him was concentrated the hatred and bitterness of the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie and the hoodums against the national and international preoccupation with the righting of Negro' wrongs. This is the counter-revolution. Peekskill is not an isolated case. In Greenwich Village white hoodlums have again begun beating up Negroes. In places like Pittsburgh and Chicago, in areas in Long Island, the tension in Negro-white areas has again grown

l offensive on a national scale. The elections of 1948 showed the power of the labor movement as a national force. Such an outburst as Peekskill could have been met by a labor counteroffensive which would have driven back the thugs and intimidated the middle-class elements who encouraged them. Equally important, it would have thrown confusion into the ranks of that combination of the police and the bourgeois state (in this case Governor Dewey) which has always formed the barrier behind which the fascist forces have gathered strength. A powerful counter - offensive would have knitted together labor, liberals and a mass Negro movement.

### REACTION OF NEGROES

The desire was not lacking. Many New York liberals recognized the threat. But, as is typical of them, they wasted their energies denouncing what they call the "treachery" of the police and the "unaccountable" delays and maneuvers of Dewey. It is no use to waste energy on these. That is their nature. Labor and the Negroes can win many of them, but never by listening to them. The masses have to ACT. Only then do liberals stop chattering and follow the lead.

Far more significant for na- who interviewed Robeson, says: ional politics is the reaction of Negroes. THEY wanted action. The Negro people are torn beween admiration for the defiant munism that Robeson and his actions of Robeson which came supporters were the victims and tion: What are our leaders to a climax in Peekskill, and distrust of his politics.

months has been a most illuminat- cipal offenders." Rowe as an ing spectacle, On the one hand it eye-witness emphasizes the same denounces Robeson's pro-Russian views; on the other with thinlydisguised exultation it chronicles and comments upon his every move, his every word.

The Pittsburgh Courier of Sept. 17 is a dramatic illustration. On fascists from which the Negroes Page 1 is a banner headline introducing a special interview the present stage could be the with Robeson, questions and prelude detailed answers. On Page 11 is action. an article headed "Robeson, the Martyr." On the editorial page is Graves' comment that it was a bitter attack on Robeson by more difficult for him to get to Geo. Schuyler, urging that Robe- Robeson than it was to get to Yet the forces of fascism, son join the Communist Party so Senators, and even Presidents. though they have unmistakably as to be a full-fledged CP Presi- "The interview, when finally announced themselves, are for dential candidate in 1952. On granted, was monitored by the the time being embryonic, they Page 18 Billy Rowe describes the inner circle of party dialecare in no position to lead any Peekskill events as an eye-ticians. . ." Graves is torn be- man or Robeson."

"No Welfare - No Work"



Like 480,000 miners in 20 states, Zo Mitchell, Liberato Barnabel and Joe Zampini relax at home in Morgan, Pa., during UMW strike. Nation-wide shutdown was caused by refusal of southern operators to continue payments to union welfare fund.

vitness, with Robeson naturally tween his admiration for Robeolding the center of the stage. The most significant statements in this concentration upon Robeson are the following. Len Graves,

competent observers who are in and bloodshed and that the New The Negro press in recent York State cops were the prin-

> indignant Negro people and the country as a whole that combination of cops, hoodlums and have long suffered and which at to nation-wide mass

the attacks of the cops upon

the people.

equally significant is But

son and the grip that the Communist Party has upon him. The mass response is not quite the

In a number of Negro papers . . it has been established by Neil Scott describes the result of a survey of more than 200 no way sympathetic with Com- persons in Harlem. The persons interviewed all asked this quesnot the instigators of the terror doing? Where is Walter White? What about Roy Wilkins, Channing Tobias, Lester Granger, Adam Powell, William Dawson, Philip Randolph? They condemned these. They want an all-out fight "staging gigantic Thus there is posed before the protest meetings against discrimination like the Peekskill meeting; endangering life, limb, security, citizenship, income . . to fight" American race pre-

> Scott knows what this signifies. This kind of business he says, will lead to "riot and revolution, and the overthrow of the existing government, local as well as national. It is sad that the times God into the police. But to do have come to such a state, but this requires repudiation of leadthe Negroes want their problem ers who are tied, one lot to the solved, and they don't care telephone-wires of the Kremlin, whether [it is] solved by Tru- and the other to the wires of

There is no question that Scott expresses the general temper of the Negroes with great accuracy, the more so because he' is obviously afraid of it. Here are forces as symbolical of the revolution as the Peekskill police and noodlums are symbolical of the counter-revolution.

But the Negro mass militancy is corralled by the Negro leaders. They content themselves with protests and with being 'shocked" and "astonished" at the behavior of the police and of Governor Dewey, just like the liberals. Above all they do not want to get mixed up with Robeson and his "communism."

### LABOR'S DUTY The leadership of organized

abor did nothing and nobody expected them to do anything. But the lesson here is for the labor movement as a whole. As so often happens, an experience of great mportance for the whole country has been made in illuminating form by the Negro people; just as the catastrophic defeat suffered by the Negroes in Congress on the civil rights fight is now being experienced by the labor movement in the fight against Taft-Hartley. If Robeson's politics are slavishly tied to Russia and create hostility, suspicion and apathy among those who would otherwise follow what they think he represents, the politics of the labor leaders and the Negro leaders is no less tied to Truman and American imperialism. Between them both, they paralyzed the tremendous forces which could have taught the fascists at Peekskill and their friends, elsewhere a lesson that would have gone 'round the globe.

Far greater outbursts then Peekskill are on the horizon. They begin always with attacks against 'Reds,' Negroes, Jews, etc. Their real aim is always the labor movement. It is certain that labor and the Negroes, dragging behind them the chattering intellectuals, can sweep these people off the face of the country wherever and whenever they appear, and thus put the fear of

### Tito's Mill and Stalin's Machinery

Marxist, anti-Soviet Union, anti-socialist sulting from the announcement, made the that he has received the approval of President Truman for the purchase of material to build a steel plant while the ban on exports to the real people's democracies goes on." This statement in the Sept. 25 Worker echoes the allegations about the reactionary character of the Tito regime that have been made over and over again by the Stalinist press in all parts of the world.

But on Sept. 22 the U.S. Department of Commerce announced that it had approved the immediate export of \$500,000 worth of oil field machinery to the Soviet Union. The sale of such machinery to the Soviet Union has been banned by the Truman administration for the last year and a half. It was also reported that Moscow had immediately dispatched to these shores large shipments of manganese and chrome ores, whose sale had been suspended in retaliation for Washington's ban on "war-potential" machinery.

It remains to be seen whether this new step by Washington represents an easing of the cold war in trade, as some quarters are speculating, or whether it is designed as some kind of bait in connection with Washington's plans to take

"It is because Tito Yugoslavia is anti- the offensive in the atom bomb race renext day, of the Soviet Union's possession of atomic energy secrets.

> In any case it knocks into a cocked hat the above-quoted Stalinist charge against the Tito government — unless the Worker editors are prepared to say that the Stalin regime too is "anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet Union, anti-socialist" merely because Truman gave it permission to buy industrial equipment from this country.

> Naturally this won't halt the Stalinist vilification campaign to portray Tito as an agent of imperialism, which has been an abysmal failure to date, despite the Hungary frame-up-confession trial. For if there is one thing that infuriates the Kremlin more than anything else in its conflict with the Yugoslavs, it is its inability to convince the masses of Eastern Europe that Tito is an imperialist tool simply because he defies the GPU and refuses to turn Yugoslavia over to it.

> The Tito regime's main strength today is its independence of both Moscow and Washington. It can survive their pressure and thus encourage millions of workers throughout the world to resist their domination only if it seeks and receives the aid of the international labor move-

### ito Links Budapest and Moscow Trials | World War II). This step was | If the rule of the GPU is counter- | theory and practice that logically | propaganda in the world will not

By George Breitman

the Tito regime feels compelled to denounce and expose more and more of the Stalinist policies and practices which it used to defend or kept silent about, even after the expulsion of the Yugoslays from the Cominform last year. The latest example is the attack on the Moscow Trials made by Moshe Piyade in the Sept. 22 Borba, paper of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

Answering the frameup charges against the Tito regime presented at the Hungary trial of Laszlo Rajk and seven other Stalinist puppet-confessors, Piyade "said t was reminiscent of the Mosow purge trials of 1936, whose producers, with their experience, could have had a hand in the He said that the Moscow trials had not prevented the Soviet Government from signing a pact with Hitlerite Germany and signing. But in M. Piyade's view, the seriousness of the problem s that 'now such trials have become export articles because the State Prosecutor became Foreign Minister [Andrei Y. Vishinsky] and this type trial was transferred to the international arena.'" (N. Y. Times, Sept. 23.)

We do not have the full text printed in the American press great Russian chauvinism, which does not say everything that is does not hesitate to use any to be said on the Moscow Trials signalled the extermination by Stalin of the whole Bolshevik Old Guard. It could be interpreted | DON'T EXPLAIN WHY to mean that the Moscow frame-

a green light for launching democracy in the Soviet Union?

Piyade's remarks about the Moscow Trials, there was nothing hesitant or open to misinterpretation in his blasts at the Hungary counter-revolutionary consetrial, which he called "a penetration into Europe of the dark ism in one country" and other methods of the Soviet intelligence service. . . "The trial," he continued, re-

veals the complete and ruthless degradation of some Communist Parties - in the Soviet Union and in the other people's democracies. It reveals the full dependence of production of the Budapest trial.' all Communist Parties on the rides over them and dictates their political lines.

". . . It means the transformadrinking Hitler's health at the tion of states whose leaders have handed over their countries to the disposal of the 'leading power' [Russian Stalinism] into vassal satellite countries that no person who was at that time longer have any internal or foreign policy of their own and the transformation of the party leadership in these countries into common police headquarters.

the leader of the world."

The Yugoslav leaders no longer want to conceal the degeneration than the extension of such frame- that exposing it is in their own borders of the USSR. And it | tively they are obliged to explain

What, for example, was the relationship between the degenera-

Beigrade and Moscow grows trial was virtually completed). being counter - revolutionary and trying to dissociate himself from Despite this, it represents an | oppressive in the Soviet Union? | Stalin's crimes without simultanement of the Soviet Union?

> The Yugoslav leaders canno answer these questions correctly until they understand and reject the reactionary implications and quences of the theory of "social-Stalinist revisions of Marxism And until they do understand this and act accordingly, their blows at Stalinism are deprived of full force and their efforts to win the support of revolutionary workers in other countries can have only partial success at best. For these workers cannot be ef-Soviet intelligence service, which fectively mobilized to fight against the theories and methods of Stalinism by a leadership which shares them.

> > TITO'S CONTRADICTION

Last week, before Piyade's article was released, I wrote that Tito was silent on the Moscow Trials because to speak up he would have to admit that he previously had condoned and defended them, and he would have to condemn his own Stalinist past, repudiate the reactionary methods he learned from the Kremlin and make a fundamental re-evaluation of Stalinism.

Piyade's article proved that my statement had oversimplified the problem by underestimating the speed with which Tito is being compelled to dissociate himself from the crimes of Stalinism, especially as they relate to the Yugoslav struggle, and by telescoping the consequences in

> **New York** Public Meeting

The Tito-Stalin Conflict

Hear the Trotskyist analysis Speaker: GEORGE CLARKE

Editor, Fourth International 8:00 PM ADELPHI HALL

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apparently taken hesitantly and revolutionary and oppressive in follow the widening rift. As the help him much if he becomes a The ideological rift between apparently taken nesitantly and revolutionary and oppressive in the discountries and oppressive in the standard of the standard o

method.

NEW CENTRIST TENDENCY two basic factors:

Europe, while the most "leftist" movement for world socialism,

control," even if still trying to other sharp blow at Stalinism If Stalinism prevents the socialist ously or immediately bringing base itself on Stalinist theories and additional material for the development of other countries, into question his continued ad- and methods, is not the same how can it be anything but an herence to Stalinist theory and thing as Stalinism at all, if only because it is necessarily much In the long run, however, he more responsive to mass pressure. and his regime will be forced to Titoism is not the same thing grapple with the contradiction of today it was a year ago, and its clinging to fundamental Stalinist further evolution will depend on heories while rejecting their the pressure not only of imperialeffects, or to be overcome by it. ism and Stalinism but also of the revolutionary masses.

This pressure and the dynamics The Tito regime's need for of the struggle are transforming nass support is compelling it to Titoism, despite the original inrapidly shift away from its own tentions of the Yugoslav leaddeological foundations. Super- ers, into a new centrist tendency ficial commentators attribute this in the working class movement change solely to the fact that standing between Stalinism and "leftist" propaganda is most ef- Trotskyism. This important devfective against the Kremlin, Such clopment is analyzed at some an explanation does not explain length in the statement of the very much and it ignores at least Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, printed in 1. Tito's definitive break with the October issue of Fourth Inand movement away from Stal- ternational. Every Militant reader inism has not led him into the should study this document careimperialist camp, at least not fully to learn what the Yugoslav et. That is what makes his struggle against the Kremlin propaganda effective (popular) means and why support of that with the masses of Eastern struggle will strengthen the

Visit your local headquarters of the

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International formally declares that none of those condemned at ization affiliated to the Fourth at the procedure of these trials its break with the Cominform.

tary Koci Dodji.

pest frameup trial:

on orders from the Kremlin.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES STATEMENT

CONDEMNING FRAME-UP TRIAL IN HUNGARY

The Secretariat of the Fourth trial, as is being recognized by

PARIS, Sept. 24 - The In- International. Alongside of Stal- (which lead to confessions of ternational Secretariat. of the inists of long standing, those imaginary and absolutely im-Fourth International today re- prosecuted at the Budapest trial probable and fantastic crimes), leased through Pierre Frank the included ex-officers and police of can no longer have any doubt than flatly asserts, that they following statement on the Buda- ficials of the Horthy regime and that they are pure fabrications were criminal frameups which of the great Russian nation as professional GPU provocateurs. staged for political ends. The A new counter - revolutionary The indictment, the trial tech- Moscow Trials were used by the crime has just been perpetrated nique, the "confessions" of the Kremlin bureaucracy to eliminate accused who vie with one an- all potential revolutionary op-Several defendants at the other in self-accusations of crimes position inside the Russian Bol-Budapest trial, accused of being consisting of alleged intentions shevik Party and to prepare the the international working class of Stalinism, and in fact realize "Trotsky ists in the service of and directives which are never assassination of Leon Trotsky. espionage agencies of imperial- actually carried out or even un- Similarly, the Budapest trial and ups and purges outside the interests. But to expose it effecism," have been condemned to dertaken - all these are remin- those which will be staged in the death. A few months earlier, on iscent of the Moscow Trials which other capitals of Eastern Europe omits a good deal of proof about WHY it degenerated. the same monstrous charge, a were used by Stalin to ex- are designed to intensify the the frameup character of the "trial" in Tirana resulted in the terminate the Old Guard of the struggle against Yugoslavia and Moscow Trials which Tito is unexecution of several leaders of Bolshevik Party and the Com- to smash all possible opposition doubtedly aware of. the Communist Party of Albania, munist International. These trials in the Communist Parties of among them its wartime secre- were directed by the same people these countries to the Kremlin's hinted at marks a long step for which left the Soviet Union who are staging the Budapest policy of plunder and oppression. the leaders of the Yugoslav CP.

WHAT IT DIDN'T SAY

by a long shot. It hints, rather ups were of less importance to

This opposition has received the first time they have ever industrially backward country? the leaders of the Yugoslav CP. powerful reinforcement from the referred in a critical fashion to What is the connection between World public opinion, however courageous struggle of the Com-Budapest belonged to an organ- shocked it may be once again munist Party of Yugoslavia since Hitler Pact, which gave the Nazis inist destruction of workers'

education of the working class on the reactionary role of the obstacle to the socialist develop-Kremlin bureaucracy.

However inadequate were

"The degeneration of the Bolshevik Party can no longer be concealed. The Budapest trial is the fruit of this degeneration, of Piyade's article, but what was the fruit of the superstate, the methods to satisfy it's penetrations into the lives of the European peoples and the imposition

tion of the Soviet Union and the Nevertheless, even what is only defeat of the world revolution the Yugoslav leaders, for this is isolated as a workers state in an



population - 819,450 - is nonwhite. These people are the most oppressed, work at the hardest and lowest-paying jobs, pay high rents for the worst housing in ghetto slums. And this is not

> Right here in New York, we face constant terror and sudden leath - not from hooded lynch nobs, if you please, but from the blue-suited men with badges.

Police brutality has so increased in the past year that a Brooklyn NAACP attorney recently said, "A Negro's life is becoming worthless in Brook-

It is no accident that the cops' night sticks swing more often against innocent Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It is part of the national assault on civil rights. At the same time we see the flowering of the "loyalty purge," the use of "subversive lists," the enactment of the Feinberg Law in our own state. These and a host of other reactionary measures are all designed to keep the working class docile in preparation for another war. Negroes and other minorities are always front-line casualties when the civil rights of any section of the population are threatened. Nor does it make any difference to the minorities whether it's a Republican or a Democratic administration that is elected.

Mayor O'Dwyer's political boss, President Truman, could not have been elected last November without proclaiming the civil rights program which won him the Negro and labor vote. But he has proved that his program was only campaign lies. We have waited almost a year for the passage of civil rights legislation, and now the Negro-hating Senator Eastland of Mississippi is

appointed chairman of the Senate sub-committee which handles civil rights bills! Truman and all the Democratic Party leaders, not just the "Dixiecrats," are responsible for this vicious

VOLUME XIII

Republican Governor Dewey got in his 20 licks against civil rights at Peekskill. His state troopers and the Republican-controlled Westchester County cops made possible - and even joined - the fascist attack on the Robeson concert. Dewey pre-judged the case, found the victims guilty, and now he orders a Grand Jury inquiry to whitewash the fascist hoodlums.

The one advantage of the Eastland appointment and Dewey's friendship for the Peekskill mob is that both help destroy illusions about the two major capitalist parties. The record is clear. The Republicans and Democrats cannot be relied on for one minute in the fight for equality and

But what about Marcantonio and the ALP? This is really a third capitalist party - miniature edition. As a matter of fact the ALP supported the Republican mayoralty candidate in 1941 and the Democratic mayoralty candidate O'Dwyer in 1945. Today it still supports members of the Democratic and Republican machines.

Marcantonio makes demagogic speeches about civil rights and the mistreatment of the Puerto Ricans in his own district. But during his three years of collaboration with O'Dwyer, he shared in the mayor's criminal conduct toward the minorities. To vote for him is only to give indirect help to the Republicans and Democrats

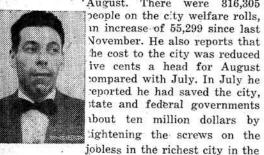
The workers and minority peoples must break from this three-ring circus of capitalist politics if we are to make a stand for civil rights in this election. Capitalist rule means Jim Crow and police terror, war and depression. A workers' administration in City Hall - with full representation for all minorities - would make a fundamental change.

## Richest City's Jobless

By Harold Robbins

SWP Candidate for President of Borough of Manhattan

Unemployment is reported on the rise for the ninth successive month by New York City Welfare Commissioner Hilliard in his report for August. There were 316,305



richest country in the world.

Under the LaGuardia and O'Dwyer administrations the head of the Welfare Department had what a N. Y. Times reporter characterized as "one of the meanest" jobs in the nation, and Mr. Hilliard has surpassed his predecessors in viciousness. The capitalist politicians, the capitalist liberals, the heads of the trade unions, the Social Democrats and the respectable church leaders are all lending their approval by supporting the capitalist parties that brought this scavenger Hilliard to New York to squeeze the unfortunates on the relief rolls worse than ever before. The American Labor Party and its Stalinist masters, although they now criticize Hilliard and O'-Dwyer, are responsible too because they helped put them in power.

While the politicians cry that taxes have to be kept down, it is done at the expense of the living standards of the unfortunate people on home relief. Compare their miserable dole with the

magnificent dole given to the capitalist class. The banking and mortgage interests rake in the profits from farm and housing mortgages while the government guarantees their profits on this type of investment. In addition the government floats all its loans through banks and Wall Street brokerage houses which get a lucrative rakeoff. There is no thought of saving money by nationalizing the banks and limiting

The steel and metal industries get theirs directly and indirectly through government war and munitions contracts. Even the strikebreaking corporations were paid profits from the federal treasury above losses incurred while they engaged in union-busting lockouts and strikes for two years after the end of the war. The striking workers were denied unemployment compensa-

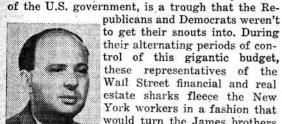
To cap it off, the capitalist class all over the world has been on an American government dole costing billions to the workers, while the unemployed continue to be chiselled and starved.

Workers ask us what we would do for the unemployed if we held state power. We believe in production for use and not for profit. We would utilize to the full the productive capacities of the workingmen and women of America to build new homes and provide related services such as day nurseries, playgrounds, schools, etc. We would provide adequate pensions for the aged, and make industry pay full wages to the unemployed. Technical improvements that increase the productive output of labor should result in a progressively shorter workday and expanded social services. That is the socialist approach to the problem of unemployment.

# A Huge Budget--For Whom?

By Harry Ring SWP Candidate for Controller

The New York City budget of one and threequarter billion dollars, second in size only to that



their alternating periods of control of this gigantic budget, these representatives of the Wall Street financial and real estate sharks fleece the New York workers in a fashion that would turn the James brothers ver in their graves. Consider a few essential facts.

Where does the money come from? How is it spent? Two things are revealed in the answer. First, that for ever-dwindling services, the poor pay a constantly increasing share of the taxes. Second, that an incredible portion of their tax dollars is siphoned into the pockets of the Wall Street parasites who, at the same time, contribute ever less to the city's

Most cities depend almost exclusively on real estate taxes for their revenue. New York, despite its gigantic real estate holdings, is a startling departure from this common practice, with the situation getting worse every year. In 1945 such taxes amounted to 68% of the city's income. By 1949 that unduly low portion had been whittled down to a neat 56%.

Compare this landlords' paradise with an average city just across the river. In Newark, N. J. — which has been rocked by real estate scandals, including such proven charges as the city buying property that it already owned real estate taxes are the sole source of revenue, excepting marriage and dog licenses. Despite their domination of City Hall the real estate sharks in that city pay a tax rate of almost 7% as compared to New York's unbelievable statu-

NEW YORK PUBLIC MEETING

tory limit of 2%, and even that not fully levied. Although it is the world's business and financial capital, New York derives a paltry 60 million dollars in taxes from this rich source as compared to a staggering 130 millions taken from the workers by a sales tax on the necessities of

The city administration stands equally indicted by its method of expenditure of this vast aided tremendously in building budget. Again a few facts. Nineteen percent of the national party of labor. the budget is devoted to the operation of an outrageously inadequate public school system, notorious for its dirty, overcrowded, Civil War buildings, and a pitifully undermanned and under- their own ends: the Dubinsky paid teaching staff. At the same time an almost | Social Democrats serving the inidentical amount is expended for "debt service." Two hundred and twenty two million dollars is paid off annually to a gang of Wall Street loan sharks as "interest" on loans that they keep happily making to the city at the drop of a hat. A greater amount is paid to these pirates each year than the combined sum doled out for hospitals, health services, sanitation, parks and housing subsidies!

These political swindlers in City Hall are doing an admirable job for their Wall Street pals. They operate on a single principle - make the workers pay through the nose and give them nothing while letting the financial barons escape with

token payments and a lion's share of the spoils. This situation can be remedied only by driving them out of City Hall and establishing a labor administration in their place. Only such an administration will shift the tax burden from the workers to the monopolists. It will repeal the sales tax, restore the five cent fare, and through a stiff taxation of business, financial and real estate operations, finance a program to provide less, the ALP echoes and magni-New York's workers with the homes, schools, nurseries and parks that they need and have

## Government in Washington. 10. For a Socialist Society of Peace, Progress and Prosperity!

abor Political Action

Drive the Wall Street politicians and grafters out of City Hall.

SWP ELECTION PLATFORM

Abolish all city and state laws and edicts limiting the right to strike.

Repeal the Wadlin-Connelly Bill. Against the strikebreaking policies of

Stop the witch-hunt in the schools. Repeal the Feinberg Law. Lift the ban

For unemployment insurance at union wages for the full duration of un-

2. United Action to Defend Civil Liberties and Labor's Rights!

For a 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay.

For job equality. Pass a city FEPC law with teeth in it.

more than 600,000 slum homes in New York City.

estate trusts, banks and insurance companies.

Build a United, Independent Labor Party!

For the organization of the unemployed by the trade unions.

End police brutality against Negro and Puerto Rican minorities.

End segregation. No tax-exemption for Jim Crow Stuyvesant Town.

Build a million new homes to meet the city's housing needs, and replace

Take rent control out of the hands of the pro-landlord bureaucrats and

put it into the hands of voluntary committees of the tenants, AFL and

Shift the city tax burden from the small home-owners to the big real

Declare a moratorium on interest payments to the Wall Street bankers

For a municipal health plan administered by the workers, financed by a

For a labor administration in New York City and a Workers and Farmers

8. Build More Schools, Free Hospitals, Nurseries, Playgrounds, Beach-

For a Low-Rent City Housing and Public Works Program!

Full Equality for Negroes and All National Minorities!

Give the unemployed jobs building homes at union wages.

Tax the Rich, Not the Poor! Repeal the Sales Tax!

Expand the Transport System! Restore the 5c Fare!

es and Recreation Centers for Workers' Families.

1. Smash Wall Street's Drive toward World War III!

No "loyalty oaths" for municipal employees.

For Full Employment and Job Security!

employment. No delays, no waiting periods.

the O'Dwyer administration.

on The Nation.

CIO organizations.

who hold the subway bonds.

tax on stock and bond transactions.

tonio against William O'Dwyer pose: to use the ALP for the the voters for their support on sure games of the Stalinists, as the ground that it is a party dictated by the international devoted to independent labor politics. But the truth is that the candidates, following the same tions. The 1949 ticket of the policy that crippled it at birth 13 years ago.

With the mass support of the trade unionists, the Negroes, the Puerto Rican and Jewish and other oppressed peoples, the ALP ballot - three Republicans in had every opportunity to emerge as the major political force in this city and state. It could have

But two opportunistic gangs of trade union bureaucrats took fully repudiates the ALP in his hold of the ALP to shape it for campaign for U. S. Senator. terests of American imperialism, in an article by Max Gordon, Sept. and the Stalinists subservient to 23. It would be inaccurate to

the will of Kremlin despots. say," this Stalinist hack begins party, these contenders cynically played upon the hopes and illuwere virulent foes of a genuine Labor Party, and determined to keeping the liberal, the protransform the ALP into a vote- gressive-minded, unionists, Necatching machine for the Democratic and Republican Parties.

They ripped the ALP apart, force appeal to them by adopting The Dubinsky crew broke away a liberal-sounding program of to form the Liberal Party. The Hillman forces split away from the Stalinists over the Wallace candidacy last year. The great trade union base was pulled which made Lehman the main away - the Garment Workers, target against Dulles," the ALP the NMU, the Transport Workers Union. Now empty and life- minor target. fies the noise of Stalinism.

The ruinous policy of collaboration and deals with capitalist deceive the workers. In the name cialist Worker ticket.

The American Labor Party, parties continues, but now the of the ALP Executive Commitwhich is running Vito Marcan- maneuvers have only one pur- tee, he shouted: "A pattern of broken pledges THE REAL ISSUES and Newbold Morris, appeals to propaganda purposes and pres- and betrayal of the people's in-

diplomacy of Moscow. Let no one be deceived by the ALP still supports capitalist few "independent" ALP nomina- Republican parties in active party is loaded with capitalist free-riders, whose party affiliations are Republican and Democratic, but whose names appear also on the ALP line of the New York City: five more in Monroe and Rochester Counties: 14 Democrats in Utica and Oneida Counties. The ALP also gives tacit support to a Democrat, ex-Governor Lehman, who scorn-

The Daily Worker lays down the law for support of Lehman, Jockeying for control of the cautiously, "that Dulles and Lehman are exactly the same. Dulles is an out-and-out reacsions of the workers. Both gangs tionary. . ." Agreed. "Lehman, on the other hand, has the job of groes, etc., tied to the bipartisan policy. He, therefore, must per-

> domestic reform. And since "It would cost the ALP many votes from liberals does not make Lehman even a

When Marcantonio blasts the making a demagogic speech to tion in City Hall, vote the So-

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1949

Vote Socialist Workers

Ticket in N.Y. Election!

terests reaches from Washington to Albany to City Hall. This nattern bears the joint trade mark of the Democratic and partnership as twin instruments of Big Business in the drive

toward fascism and war." But even then, the real line was laid down for the cynical hacks who know the price of votes. Marcantonio went on to explain that the ALP would support "candidates for all political offices who, regardless of political affiliations can be relied upon on the basis of their overall records, to meet the needs of 8,000,000 New Yorkers."

On the basis of this handy formula, he supports the very candidates of this "twin instrument of Big Business," gives them an honored place on the ALP ticket, labels them as "friends" of the working class.

The 1949 election campaign proves again that the ALP is not

this election, as in the past, ad- lican Newbold Morris. vocates the formation of a genuine independent Labor Party FRONT DOOR AND BACK that will unite the workers and interests of all.

of the city, and if you want to fascism and war, with deepcapitalist parties, he is only establish a workers' administra-

# **Bartell Urges Working Class** Administration in City Hall

By Michael Bartell SWP Candidate for Mayor of New York

When William O'Dwyer was elected mayor of New York City, he said: "I will be mayor of ALL the people." Four years of strikebreaking, boosting transit fares and



MICHAEL BARTELL SWP Candidate for Mayor

hiking sales taxes have proven lions out of public funds every to the hilt that the only "people" | year. The Negro and Puerto Rican O'Dwyer has faithfully defended people are Jim Crowed in housare the bankers, speculators, ing, jobs and education. Overrent-gougers and Park Avenue crowded, rat-infested, firetrap parasites.

Party do not claim to represent woefully inadequate. all the people - those who do After 13 years of "leadership" are demagogues and liars. We by the Marcantonios, Davises speak FOR the workers, and Dubinskys, Currans and Quills, exploit them; FOR the Negro presents in this election. Curran, and Puerto Rican people, and Quill and Potofsky, together with rent-sharks; FOR the rights of onto the rump of the Republican students and teachers, and elephant. The Stalinist wing, AGAINST the witch-hunters who through the ghost of the ALP, on them.

The issue of issues in this election is who shall run the government - a small clique of bankers and big employers, or millions of workers?

of Wall Street's world empire; is nothing wrong with our city financial, political and cultural that a workers' administration nerve center of America. That is could not set straight. why the battle for political power in our city assumes a national and clean out City Hall. It would even international importance.

can be understood only against the mass organizations of labor the background of the world and minority peoples. It would crisis of a dying social order, use its power to protect strikers After 17 years of Roosevelt's against strikebreakers and defend "New Deal" and Truman's "Fair Deal," the specter of depression and mass unemployment haunts the land. Over five million have been thrown out into the streets: tion a high crime and severely five million others are working punish those who violate it. It part time. Half a million are jobless in New York City alone.

For the financial plutocracy, the only way to save their crisis- labor, teachers, students and riddled system is dictatorship at | parents. home and conquest abroad. Consume "surplus" commodities in the fires of atomic warfare; conquer the entire world for systematic exploitation by Big Business. Such is the real program labor party. It has no real of the monopolists who rule in trade union base, its program is Washington, the state capitals of its powers, authority and inpro-capitalist, its officials are and city halls. That is the REAL mere tools of the Stalinist party. election platform of both Demo-The Socialist Workers Party in crat William O'Dwyer and Repub-

oppressed minority peoples in keeping this city in its grip? who would resent a campaign around a militant program in the After all, ours is the city of the and for the organization of the most advanced workers in Amer-If you want such a party, if ica, with a history of militant pendent party on the march toyou want such a program, if you strike struggles and great mass want an end to Wall Street's rule movements against hunger, rcoted traditions of radicalism.

Thirteen years ago, the New York workers entered the road of independent political action through formation of the American Labor Party. Inherent in this movement was the entirely realizable aim of installing workers' administration in City Hall. The days of the capitalist politicians appeared numbered. Yet they survived.

WHY? Before every election they donned overalls, proclaimed "friendship" for labor to disguise

lies would have availed little, had they not received invaluable aid of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic traitors who led the ALP. The workers had walked out of the capitalist parties through the front door. The ALP leaders led them back through the back door. First, they gave us LaGuardia and then O'Dwyer. After 13 years of ALP "victories." the strikebreaking, Negro-hating, fascist-minded police remains intact. The arch-reactionary Catholic hierarchy hand-

their anti-labor aims. They pro-

"fair deals." But their fakery and

mised "new deals," "no deals."

NUMBER 40

picks college presidents, bans liberal publications and books from city schools, breaks strikes and conspires to take over the labor movement through the priest - controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Workers bear an ever higher proportion of the tax burden, while bankers grab hundreds of milslums remain. Our schools are We of the Socialist Workers dilapidated and social services

AGAINST the employers who look at the shambles that "labor" AGAINST the uniformed thugs the AFL fakers, are backing who club and murder them; FOR Taramany. The Dubinsky crew the tenants, and AGAINST the has hooked its "Liberal Party" backs for Mayor - Marcantonio czar of East Harlem, and a growing list of Republicans for other offices. All of them support Tammany's banker - politi-

cian Lehman for U. S. Senate. The Socialist Workers Party alone raises the banner of independent labor political action New York City is the capital in this campaign. We say there

Its very first act would be to replace the entire police force The real issues in this election with workers' patrols drawn from all workers' meetings and national minorities against fascist hoodlums. It would pass a law making discrimination or segregawould dismiss the reactionary Board of Education, replacing it with elected representatives of

> A workers administration would launch a vast building program to wipe out the slums, build homes, hospitals, schools, nurseries and playgrounds - at the expense of the billionaires. Above all, it would use the full force fluence to mobilize the masses to install a Workers and Farmers Government in this country.

A vote for Socialist Workers Party candidates in this election is a blow struck against the How has Wall Street succeeded capitalist system with its witchhunts, unemployment and wars; working masses into their indeward a new Socialist society of peace and plenty.

### Vote Row F

Socialist Worker Candidates

Michael Bartell For Mayor Harry Ring For Controller Gladys Barker For Pres. City Council Harold Robbins

For Pres. Boro of Manhattan

**HEAR: JAMES P. CANNON** National Secretary Socialist Workers Party

MICHAEL BARTELL · Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor

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