# 81st Congress Breaks Every 1948 Promise

By Farrell Dobbs

On the eve of the 1948 elections I predicted over the radio that no matter whether Truman or Dewey was elected President, Big Business would be the winner and the American working people the

will continue to rise unless a new who are running the whole show.

Toward the working people on

fury, I emphasized, and the Congressional witch-hunters will conwhile millions are unemployed rights banquet given in his honor democratic rights of all the Amer- part-time jobs.

gress have given lavish aid to the employed. bankers and industrial barons in their preparations for a war of sian and Indo-Chinese peoples.

totalitarian Salazar regime in Portugal. Congressmen are busy whitewashing the fascist beast, placed at the mercy of the rent Franco, as a "lovely character" sharks through the "local option" who should be a member. Another rent decontrol law with its "fair candidate for the Atlantic mili- net operating income" gimmick tary conspiracy is the capitalist enacted by the 81st Congress. government carved out of West-

Over \$20 billion have been apican military machine, the foreign ability and in their old age. Nor arms program and the Marshall

Plan - all part of the prepara-Labor, Liberals The country will remain in the tions for war. Fat profits have

depression substitutes unemploy-ment for the high cost of living. Toward the working people, on the other hand, the Fair Deal Con-The offensive against the labor gress has pursued a nickel-nursmovement will grow in scope and ing, belly-robbing policy. Price- activity in the auto center was tinue their assault on the precious and additional millions have only by the Detroit Kutcher Commit-

Yet Congress did nothing more Charch last Saturday night. Over A year has passed since I made than amend the minimum wage these predictions; the Democratic- law to provide increases of a big plants and progressive orcontrolled 81st Congress has just nickel to a dime an hour covering, concluded its 290-day first ses- like Volstead's formula, "one-half sion, after filling the record with of one percentum by volume" of 15,000 pages of oratory; and Big the workers. At the same time Business has been the winner and over a million workers formerly the working people the losers on covered by the law were cut off by the amendments. Nothing Truman and his Fair-Deal Con- whatever was done for the un-

The housing bill passed by Congress provides for only a million marked, "must be voluntary, not world conquest. An unprecedent- housing units when even the most coercive; it must be deserved and ed military alliance has been conservative housing engineers earned, not commanded and exforged through the Atlantic Pact say that at least ten million new with the Dutch and French.im- units are needed. These million perialist butchers of the Indone- units are to be built at a snail's pace over a 7-year period, dur-Included in this holy alliance ing which time more than a milagainst the human race is the lion marginal dwellings will de-Prof. Orville Linck of Wayne teriorate into slums.

Millions of tenants have been

Despite the many campaign ern Germany and well-staffed by promises of the Fair Dealers they did absolutely nothing to provide economic security for the workpropriated in 1949 for the Amer- ing people during periods of dis-

(Continued on page 2)

# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 44

tee at the Central Methodist

300 Detroiters from most of the

ganizations in the community

came to demonstrate their soli-

darity with the legless veteran's

The noted liberal minister

Henry Hitt Crane welcomed the

guests and repeated his sermon

of a previous Sunday on "Loyalty

By Mandate." "Loyalty," he re-

Speaking as a member of the

Detroit AFL Federation of Teach-

ers and the American Associa-

tion of University Professors,

University stated, "We have al-

ready lost the first line of de-

fense in the battle for civil rights

in our country. Our job now is

to win back what we have lost

The case of this legless veteran

is preeminently one around which

He observed that the Veterans

of Foreign Wars had recently

pressured the Detroit Common

Council into taking a loyalty

pledge of its own manufacture.

"There was no legal basis for

this. How far will this loyalty

business go? Will the American

Legion, the Rotary Club and

Chamber of Commerce now com-

pete with one another to see

which can get the Council to take

In a rousing talk Michigan CIO

President August Scholle remind-

people became revolutionary in

Kutcher belongs does not take

all of us can rally."

the toughest oath?"

campaign for justice.

torted."

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

# The country will remain in the grip of the monopoly corporations, I said. A tiny handful of industrial overlords and brass hats will hold the power of decision on war and peace. Prices will continue to rise unless a new will continue to rise unless a new who are running the whole show. Labor, Liberals Labor, Liberals Labor, Liberals STILLES Report By Congress of Labor DETROIT, Oct. 24 - James Kutcher's two weeks of intense

Who Will Be Next?





are the first victims of the Smith Act, trol law. the 18 Trotskyists convicted in Minnea-

the Communist Party. They cheered the the rights of all workers and comes to conviction of the Trotskyists and sabo- the defense of all the witch-hunt victims, taged their defense. Now they too are in regardless of their political views.

Shown at the top on their way to prison prison, victims of the same thought-con-

Who will be next? The whole labor movement faces similar repressions un-The bottom picture shows 11 leaders of less it realizes that the Smith Act menaces

## Capitalist Politicians Cook Up Squeeze-Play in Steel, Coal

OCT. 27 — All signs indicate that the capitalist politicians are cooking up a squeeze play to force the striking miners and steel workers back to work on corporation

terms. The White House has made it clear that Truman will inter- seek to weaken the labor movevene in the strikes within the ment and starve the workers back week if there is no settlement. Irving S. Olds, chairman of U. S. Steel, has demanded that Murray "get off his high horse" and said he "will have no objections" if Truman gets an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction against the strikers.

Corporation agents and smallfry capitalist politicians all over the country are screaming about a coal famine and threats are being made to lay off hundreds of thousands of industrial workers. Confronted with this situation, it is more urgent than ever that the unions close ranks and government ownership, the plants face the capitalists and their political agents with a firm united front based on a correct program.

THE LEWIS PROPOSAL

John L. Lewis' proposal for mutual aid and combined struggle against the steel and coal trusts was pointed in the right direction. But after it was rebuffed by William Green and approved by Philip Murray, neither Lewis nor Murray has made any further move toward joint action.

The best way to concretize the Lewis proposal, and advance beyond it, would be for Lewis movement. and Murray to take the initiative in summoning a national Conin summoning a national Congress of Labor, composed of all Bell Strike Ends, sections of the union movement. to meet in Washington and work out a program of action to bring Main Issues Sent

oal workers. This United Congress of Labor would be a dramatic demonstration of solidarity, serving notice on the monopolists that the unions are fully prepared to fight them to the finish, and making it clear to the government that any strikebreaking moves would meet the united resistance of the whole

REVIVE FOURTH-ROUND

Such a conference should make declaration of independence from Taft-Hartleyism and rebel against compulsory arbitration called "fact-finding" boards. It wage demands of the workers in and binding decision. addition to a decent pension and welfare program. This would not work with the exception of a only strengthen the morale of the "small group" whose "employstrikers with new incentives bu' ability" is to be decided by the round wage drive and enlist the be about 22, includes some of the

torial: "We do not know that the delegates to a Congress of Labor men and others. would be confronted with the need to work out a program to demands had been the discharge The Madison Capital Times meet the ever-recurring problem of these active unionists. Pracspoke more clearly on Oct. 17: of lengthy strikes forced on the scally all of them had participated workers by the corporations long sieges through which they

NEW YORK - A mass meeting to celebrate the 32nd anniversary of the Russian Revolution and wind up the mayoralty their agreement was obtained campaign of the Socialist Work- later. ers Party in New York will be the occasion for a major address ables" is divided into three by James P. Cannon, the party's groups: 1. The so-called "subnational secretary. The meeting, versive" elements; 2. A group which will take place at the Cornish Arms Hotel Friday night, 3. A group charged with "vio-Nov. 4, will also hear Michael lence" arising out of the mass The real need, emphasized by Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor. demonstrations. Bert Cochran, chairman of the the labor and liberal movements SWP Trade Union Committee, fate of these militants into the

to the plants on the corporations' terms. The way to meet this problem

is by fighting for the nationalization of the industries whose profiteering masters hold such monstrons power over the economic well-heing of the workers. Not fake government "seizures" of industry where the capitalists continue to receive the profits and where they are handed back the plants after the strikes are ended. But genuine taking over of the industries by the government, genuine and permanent to be operated not by the profiteers or their representatives in the government, but by the unions themselves under the control and supervision of the workers on the

With such joint action of all labor, the present deadlock can be broken. The government can be prevented from forcing the workers back on the job without a fair settlement of their just demands. The steel and coal workers can win a victory that will set a worthy fourth-round pattern for the rest of the labor

# victory to the embattled steel and To "Foot Findore"

BUFFALO, Oct. 24 - The magnificent struggle of the Bell Aircraft workers ended last Wednesday with a heavy blow delivered to the strikers by the top union leadership headed by Edward Gray, UAW Sub-regional Director in charge of the strike. The blow was struck suddenly and took the strikers by surprise. A radio announcement Monday afternoon reported the company and the union had agreed to the terms recommended by a "factfinding" board under which all imposed under the guise of so- issues between the union and the company would be submitted to should put forward the original arbitration to the board for final

All strikers were to return to Bell union as well as officers of More than that, however, the the local, bargaining committee-One of the company's principal

> in the mass demonstrations which were responsible for turning the tide in favor of the strikers and arousing the support of the organized labor movement. The agreement reached beand top union officials from the international. The local's topbargaining committee did not participate in the negotiations but

The "small group of unemploysuspected of being "subversive";

The agreement to submit the hands of a corporation - minded "1950 — Midway Point of the "fact-finding" board set up under

(Continued on page 2)

**OPENS FOR "MILITANT"** On Nov. 1 the Socialist Workers Party will open a national subscription campaign for The Militant. To facilitate ed the audience that "as the

NATIONAL SUB CAMPAIGN

bringing America's leading socialist weekly to new readers, Boston Tea Party showed, many The Militant is offering a special? three - months introductory sub- you obtain will go to the SWP order to establish democracy in scription at 50c.

month, closing Nov. 30. Its main likewise be counted. objective is to give a good sendoff to the fall and winter work of nounced by the various branches ment but is an American revolubuilding the circulation of the Protskyist press.

The total goal decided upon by the various branches is 1.350 points. A credit of one point is given for each three-months sub, two points for each six-months sub, and four points for each onevear sub.

A number of branches have already begun preparatory work such as distribution of sample copies. This will be followed by Red Sunday mobilizations of friends of The Militant to visit prospective subscribers.

Judging from the experience of the Detroit and Seattle branches, which recently conducted energetic local subscription campaigns, the November national campaign should prove a real success. Seattle took a goal of 30 subs and got 36; Detroit tried for 100 and chalked up 119.

All readers of The Militant are urged to join in the campaign. Show your friends and shop mates a copy of the paper. Ask them to subscribe. Credit for subscriptions TOTAL

branch in your area. A renewal this country." He said that the The campaign will be for one of your own subscription will Socialist Workers Party to which

iounicea by the	
re as follows:	
Branch	1
New York	
Los Angeles	
Buffalo	
Minneapolis	
Philadelphia	
Chicago	1.3
Detroit	
Flint	
Newark .	
St. Paul	9
San Francisco	
Oakland	
Akron	
Milwaukee	
Pittsburgh	
Toledo	17
Worcester	
Youngstown	
Boston '	
Cleveland	12
New Haven	
Seattle	
Allentown	
Morgantown	
New Britain	

re as follows:	
Branch	14
New York	
Los Angeles	
Buffalo	
Minneapolis	
Philadelphia	
Chicago	
Detroit	
Flint	
Newark .	
St. Paul	55
San Francisco	
Oakland	
Akron	
Milwaukee	
Pittsburgh	
Toledo	13
Worcester	
Youngstown	
Boston '	3.5
Cleveland	12
New Haven	
Seattle	
Allentown	
Morgantown	
New Britain	
St. Louis	

The subscription goals an orders from any foreign govern-

tionary party, with every right to advocate its own ideas. "Reactionaries are introducing the thought-control practices of Hitler and Mussolini," Scholle 100 declared. "Organized capital has complete control of propaganda and the press; in Michigan, for example, every big newspaper is 50 owned by Republican supporters of Big Business." He concluded 50 by pledging that, although the 35 CIO does not agree with Kutcher's views, "we'll fight to the last ditch until his cause is won." 25 25 25 25 (Continued on page 3) 20 20 15

### Next Week: THE CIO

CONVENTION The first dispatches by Art Preis, our special correspondent at the Cleveland. CIO convention, will appear in the next issue of The Militant.

Attorney General J. Howard | These assurances are part of | whose constitutionality is open McGrath declared in a speech on the Truman administration's at- to question. Oct. 20 that the conviction of the tempts to allay apprehensions 11 Stalinist leaders in New York about the threat to democratic whole hailed the convictions, but does not mean that the Com- rights involved in the CP trial at the same time a number of

## Rabbi Joshua Sperka of Congregation B'pai David reproved FEARS GROW THAT FOLEY SQUARE CONVICTIONS ARE THREAT TO ALL

has no plans for similar prosecutions "at the present time."

munist Party has been outlawed. and the application of the Smith editors voiced a certain uneasiness would revive the whole fourth board. This "small group," said to He also said that the government Gag Act. Fears of this kind have about the implications of this

But the worthlessness of Mc-Grath's "liberal" assurances was Square when his subordinate, of legislation." U. S. Attorney McGohey, demanded that Judge Medina impose the maximum sentence of the Smith

In addition, Medina denied the

The capitalist press on the been expressed in many con- thought - control trial. The day enthusiastic backing of the work- most outstanding militants in the servative as well as liberal papers. after the verdict, the N. Y. Times ers in other industries. cautiously observed in an edibared two days later at Foley Smith Act . . . is an ideal piece

"A lot of Americans will be dis-Act's original penal clause — ten turbed by the import of this years in prison and \$10,000 fine case. . . [In this case America] or each of the 11 CP defendants is imposing new and perhaps and that bail be denied to very drastic restrictions on the Cannon To Speak for each of the 11 CP defendants is imposing new and perhaps free political choice of the in-

papers have no proposal other than - wait until the Supreme The chairman, who was scrupu- three years for the eleventh, and refused to hear the appeal of the \$10,000 fine for each. He ex- 18 Trotskyists convicted under for support of the 18 Trotskyist set longer prison terms but for went to jail. There is no more was in the Minneapolis case.

## **CP Torpedoes Ohio Rights Parley** CLEVELAND, Oct. 16 - A | About 200 delegates attended eral resolution protesting the the resolution on defense of the

15

15

15

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two-day Ohio Conference on the this Ohio conference, chiefly from "loyalty" purge, Harry Braver- 11 was placed before the body Bill of Rights, assembled to or- Stalinist - dominated unions, fra- man, Youngstown SWP organizer, as the final and high point of the ganize a broad united front to ternal organizations and cultural took the floor and told the facts two-day conference. Arnold Johnfight the witch-hunt, was tor- groups, with a small number of in the James Kutcher case. pedoed by the Communist Party liberal teachers, ministers and defend the convicted CP leaders chairman. was introduced, the Stalinists launched a one-hour factional barrage and shouted down an amendment by Ted Selander, O. John Rogge, received the Ohio secretary of the Socialist greatest attention and response unconditional pardon and restora- stunned by the Foley Square tion of civil rights for the 18 verdict, Rogge said that "the tims of the Smith Gag Act.

Square and the CP's desperate not sufficient to arouse them." need to organize a broad move- He repeated over and over again tion that any civil rights move, our civil liberties." CP's own neck.

ROGGE'S SPEECH

The most prominent speaker, Despite the verdict at Foley down and that words alone were

ment which defends the liberties The conference set up an Ohio separate resolutions for each case of Trotskyists will receive only Bill of Rights organization and and therefore they had decided sabotage and disruptive opposi- elected its officers and executive to handle it with a general resolution from them even though such committee. Finally, the Resolution. Braverman accepted that. action soaps the rope for the tions Committee reported out its Then after a one paragraph the precedent for Foley Square. which generally allow bail for and the restoration of civil rights the century and analyze the social falo labor movement as one of the last three resolutions. On a gen-resolution against the Smith Act,

"Kutcher," he pointed out, "is

his own case but of all the 11. victims of the thought-control purge - the 11 CP leaders, Harry Bridges, all victims regardless of political belief or affiliation." Workers Party, to support the from the conference. Obviously Braverman added that Kutcher urged all delegates present to Trotskyist leaders, the first vic- American people were taking this help him speak before their orthought-control witch-hunt lying ganizations and assist this the 18 were convicted under the courageous fighter for civil liberties in every way they could.

The chairman of the Resolument of defense, the Stalinists that what is needed is a "united tions Committee replied that they have again demonstrated in ac- front to fight this attack upon had so many "loyalty" cases that it would be impractical to write

CP and now national legislative in the closing hours of its sessions church groups. Russell N. Chase, touring the country right now, chairman, tried to arouse the today. When the resolution to Cleveland lawyer, served as speaking to hundreds of organ-delegates to the central task of izations not only in defense of this conference, the defense of the SELANDER'S AMENDMENT lously fair during this debate, then recognized Ted Selander pressed regret for the change in the Smith Act in Minneapolis, would be in Ohio soon and he who made an amendment calling the law, saying he would have that it turned its back while they

son, former chairman of the Ohio

leaders. Selander pointed out that that. Smith Act for advocating the

teachings of Marxism.

"The Communist Manifesto and the Marxist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were the evidence the government used The CP applauded the prosecution and hailed the conviction of the 18 although these acts set (Continued on page 4)

In a display of judicial vindictiveness, Medina handed down he maximum sentence set by the Smith Act's revised clause of August, 1948 - five years in prison for ten of the defendants, the fact that the Supreme Court

defendants' plea to be released on bail pending their appeal to higher courts. In this way the government achieves the jailing of the departure from the traditional

Court gets the case. This ignores reason to rely for justice on the Supreme Court today than there

the CP trial, is united action by defendants without having to to strike at the source of the wait for a Supreme Court decision witch-hunt, to force the revocaagainst our party," he declared. on the constitutionality of the tion of the "subversive" lists, to 20th Century" will be the theme the direction of Governor Dewey Smith Act. This is a distinct win the repeal of the Smith Act, of Cannon's speech, which will who openly showed his bias practices of the American courts, the release of its latest victims developments of the first half of by all progressives in the Bufdefendants convicted under a law for the Minneapolis 18.

# ividual." But even the most liberal At Nov. 4 Meeting hind closed doors was negotiated solcly between the management

will preside.

review the major international against the strikers, is regarded trends of the atomic era ahead.

World Events

Times Correspondent struggles that have forced un-

Shuns Truth on

undoubtedly looks as dark as

never before from the roosts in

There is, to be sure, a grain

of consolation for them in Ceylon.

In contrast with the debris of

their hopes in China, the un-

certainty in the newly inde-

endent India and the irrepressible

civil wars in Indo-China, In-

donesia and Burma, Ceylon does

ndeed present a somewhat more

stable picture. The national bour-

geoisie there was able, against

the protest of the masses, to put

over a back-door deal giving the

British vital military bases in

dependence." With this guar-

antee, the General Tire & Rubber

rolled steel and ceramics. But,

prices are high. He reveals that

workers have a maximum 8-hour

workday with time-and-a-half for

overtime and double-time for

employer must produce proof of

dereliction, for which he can be

sued if it is incorrect. But he

He also makes a big point of

Sama Samaja and the Bolshevik

Soviet." This whole account is

Wall Street.

# Flint Sets Fine Example Harlem Tenant Fight Evictions In Party Building Fund

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager The \$12,000 Party Building Fund campaign of the Socialist Workers Party is now in its fourth week with two months to go. Members and friends of the party have collected \$2,068 so far - 17% of the total pledged.

Top honors this week go to the Flint Branch. We know that times have been unusually tough for the comrades in Flint. Although they accepted their \$200 quota with some misgivings, let's take a look at what this doughty group of comrades has accomplished.

On Sept. 16 Comrade Genora wrote that the branch has accepted its quota: "Hope we can make it! We've only a handful of comrades who are able to contribute. We'll have to get help from our sympathizers." On Sept. 17 the branch sent in its initial payment of \$10; Oct. 1, a payment of \$45; Oct. 1, another payment of \$11: Oct. 11, \$5; Oct. 14, \$11; Oct. 24, \$10 - a total of \$90 which is 45% of Flint's quota. Persistence and a determination to complete their quota on time and in full!

Likewise, Worcester Branch. These comrades accepted a \$40 quota, high for this plucky branch. They admitted, "It will take some doing!" But we let the record speak for the efforts these comrades have made. They have already completed 38% of their

The going is rough for many of the branches, but their determination is without parallel.

Carl Minor, chairman of the Party Building Fund campaign in Pittsburgh, writes: "With the strikes on around here, it may slow us up, but we will keep plugging away." To help complete their quota, the Pittsburgh comrades have already had one social and are planning another in November.

Grace Carlson, Organizer speaks for the St. Paul-Minneapolis comrades: "While the \$900 quota will be something of a strain, we believe we can make it. . . Both the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches have taken pledges from the comrades and our general feeling is that our people are willing to make : sacrifice to carry this campaign through to a successful conclusion. . . I should tell you that \$F came from Martin Soderberg, our 82-year old Trotskyist, who made this payment from his

# YOU NEED 'the Militant'

America's leading socialist weekly gives you:

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- Uncompromising exposes of the profiteers and their political hatchet-men in high of-
- The inside story of many of the major happenings in the labor movement that make

The Militant presents the revolutionary socialist answer to the advancing depression and mass unemployment, persecution of racial and political minorities, the menace of fascism, and the threat of another world war.

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THE MILITANT 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

I want to subscribe to The Militant. Enclosed is ☐ 50c for three months; ☐ \$1.00 for six months; 32.00 for one year.

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ammuniumminmumminus

## SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Qu	iota Pa	id Percent
Flint	\$ 2	00 \$ 90	45
New Britain	1.	30 12	40
St. Paul-Minneapolis	- '9	00 335	39
Worcester		40 15	38
St. Louis		75 27	36
Buffalo	5	00 155	31
Cleveland	2	50 67	27
Boston	2	00 - 52	26
Pittsburgh	- 1	50 39	26
New York	3,0	00 735	25
Philadelphia	6	00 115	19
Detroit	1,1	00 198	18
Newark		50 56	16
San Francisco-Oakland	8	00 107	13
Toledo		75 8	11
Chicago	4	00 - 30	8
Youngstown	4	00 20	5
Akron	1	00 _ (	0
Allentown		50	0
Los Angeles	1,5	000	0
Lynn		75	0
Milwaukee -	2	50	0
Morgantown	4	25	0
New Haven		25	0
Seattle	1	00	0 °
General		305	7 0
TOTAL	12,0	2,06	8 17

about sacrifices!"

Anne Chester of San Francisco informs us: "The pledges made quota to \$1,100. We are convinced: by the members of the Bay Area that we will not only raise this Local are quite satisfactory. We sum but unless we fall victims feel confident that we will fulfil to some unexpected catastrophe, our quota on time."

Comrade Max of Philadelphia says, "From the pledges made so lor two, it looks like you can count on Philly making its quota."

\$100 duota and added: "We will end!" in all likelihood up this quota to \$150 or \$175."

we no longer need or are entitled ficance."

meager old-age pension. Talk to. As a demonstration of our intent to assume more fully our obligations, please revise our we shall go over the top."

"Barring any unforeseen circumstances," Boston Branch hopes far plus the proceeds of a social "to go over the top" with their quota. Comrade Dennis adds: 'May there be no goose-eggs on Seattle Branch accepted their the scoreboard at the drive's

We'd like to end this column with a thought expressed by the A letter from Ernie Kennedy Los Angeles Local in a letter to speaks for the Detroit Branch: all its members: "The entire fall 'After careful consideration of campaign of the party nationally the quotas proposed for the we must remember, is based various branches in the Party around this Party Building Fund Building Fund campaign and our campaign. The whole propaganda ability to pay, the Detroit mem- campaign, the national tours, bership and Executive Board have maximum hitting power for the rejected the assignment of \$800. party press, and a widening in-We are convinced that the quota fluence of the party is based on suggested represents discrimina- the collection of this fund. The tion in favor of the Detroit fund is not just money - it is Branch - discrimination which money raised to political signi-

## of the \$100 that we are sending in on our Party Building pledge 81st CONGRESS BREAKS ALL 1948 'FAIR DEAL' PROMISES

(Continued from page 1) was a single effective step taken statute books, and at the very to provide national health protectime when almost a million coal to start a revolution against

solently and arrogantly denounced ion-busting offensive of the monthe Barden bill for aid to educa- opoly corporations. tion, the capitalist politicians backed away from it like curs from a porcupine.

STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS

all proved to be so much hot air. home. Nothing whatever has been done to safeguard the Negro people sist of slick alibis for the broken from lynch murder, or to abolish old promises and new promises Jim Crow discrimination, or to to do something for the good and guarantee to them their right to welfare of the working people in

by Truman and Congress to whip next, and the next. . . up hysteria and add new victims

Congress has gone home with their own hands.

this slave labor law still on the

On the day Congress adjourned. and Senate hailing the results of the 290-day session as "well and denouncing Soviet troop worthwhile," and wishing his Fair movements and other warlike prove disastrous. The Fair Deal ballyhoo about Deal colleagues success in their action to protect civil rights for political fence-mending back

Their fence-mending will con-1950. The same routine will be Plenty has been done, however, repeated again next year, and the

It will be repeated year after in the thought-control witch-hunt year after year, until the worknow being waged against the ing people break with all the capidemocratic rights of the American talist politicians, form their own independent mass political party, After promising to repeal the based on a socialist program, and laft-Hartley Act, the Fair-Deal take the reins of government into

### BELL STRIKE ENDED IN BUFFALO (Continued from Page 1) bership meeting, 373 voted with

worst deeds ever committed by the opposition. the labor bureaucracy in the hisforward to the Bell settlement mass actions. as an example to the whole labor movement.

It was a foregone conclusion. owever, that the strikers, who for 19 weeks held out in spite of unprecedented terror, wholesale mass arrests, imprisonment without bail, not to speak of the hysterical campaign conducted by the radio, the press and the church hierarchy, would neces-savily swallow the bitter pill and vote in favor of acceptance.

ONE-THIRD OPPOSED

left to gather their forces, or- the greatest haste to secure conganized a drive to override that victions, the court even resorted imperialist pact." portion of the agreement which to night sessions.

The opposition vote constituted tory of the Niagara frontier. Its by far the very bulk of all those very announcement shocked thou- who had really participated in sands of workers who had looked the strike, daily picketing and

The agreement by no means ends the company's efforts to tionary Workers Party); Bolivian break the back of the union. Hanging over the heads of many of the militants and local leaders trayal of the proletarian cause" are a multitude of criminal prosecutions including assault, rioting, conspiracy, disorderly con- posed a united front to the MNR duct as well as criminal and civil and the PIR (Party of the Revocontempt of court arising out of lutionary Left), a Stalinistthe company's effort to enforce dominated organization. a sweeping injunction to limit picketing. Right now the Niagars from attacking Stalinism and County Supreme Court is trying Nevertheless, the progressives 23 of the defendants on the in the union, with Barely 24 hours contempt charge. Apparently ir

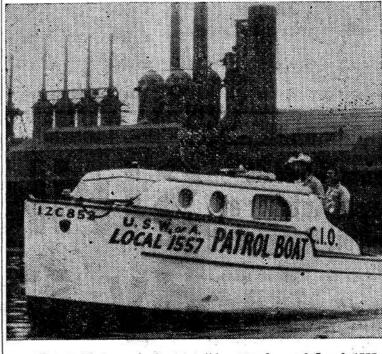
called for submitting the cases | As yet, the union has not set | manifesto "reveals the complicity of the 22 unionists to arbitration. up machinery to involve the mass of some leaders of the POR Joining in the struggle of the labor movement to defend the (Lora) in the Nazi-military plot." opposition were some of the civil rights of the defendants. Let us first dispose of Rey's staunchest supporters of the Only the greatest amount of mass crude attempt to defame Guil-Reuther group, including a num- pressure from the whole labor lermo Lora, an elected member of Gray's closest collaborators movement can free the militant ber of the Chamber of Deputies, does not alter the fact that it is tion is such that it acquires imin the local. Out of the 1,000 who victims of Wall Street's union- was exiled from Bolivia by the a bourgeois nationalistic force in portance in this hour of trium-

# **Harlem Tenants**

Several hundred Harlem tenants of the Stephen Foster site area demonstrated on Oct. 19 before the local office of the New York City Housing Authority, 113th St. and Fifth Ave.

The demonstration was called by the Lenox-Fifth Ave. Tenants League when it was learned that the Housing Authority is seeking a court order depriving the tenants of the customary 30-day waiting interval and empowering the Authority to evict on 24 hours notice tenants who refuse to accept substitute lodgings it

These have been refused by many tenants because they are "not fit for a dog to live in," as one tenant put it. The demonstrators carried placards demanding decent homes and expressing their determination to stand united behind the Tenants League. They passed a resolution condemning the "brutal and vicious plans of the Authority" and chose a delegation to meet with Mr. Lapidus, director of the Housing office at the Foster site. Steel Workers Navy



In a picket parole boat, striking members of Local 1557, United Steelworkers, make sure that nothing gets into the Carnegie-Illinois plant at Clairton, Pa. Boat is equipped with public address system which can be seen at top of cabin.

# Yugoslavs Try to Parry War Moves by Kremlin

By John G. Wright

Stalin's pressure against Yugoslavia keeps mounting as his warlike moves multiply. Soviet troops continue to maneuver demonstratively along Yugoslav frontiers. War hysteria against the Tito regime is being whipped up to new heights in the Balkans. The Yugoslav envoy is expelled

Prague reports that Czech and Slovak veterans who had fought with the Yugoslav partisans during the war have taken a pledge "to fight, if called upon, against

BORDER RAIDS?

Rumors have been rife, especially after the public suspension by the Stalinists of guerrilla warfare in Greece, that these armed forces, along with other guerrilla troops would start to raid Yugoslav borders.

Columnist Drew Pearson reported on Oct. 23 that the "chief reason why all American ambassadors from the Iron Curtain countries have been summoned to meet in London" is that the U. S. government has informathat the Kremlin "plans to infiltrate Bulgarian, Hungarian and in- the picket lines resisting the un- this to the world as a revolution Her fate will be ultimately settled selves. march across the border."

measures of the Kremlin and its satellites.

Daily Worker featured a dispatch also been the keynote of the from Sofia to the effect that speeches of Kardelj and other Yugoslav workers have allegedly Yugoslav emissaries at the recent been engaging in strikes and a sessions of the UN. 'mass' boycott" as part of a rising tide of "popular resistance"

reports in the next period. The exact timing and manner forcibly overthrow the dissident Yugoslav regime cannot be foretold by anyone. But there can be no question that this is Stalin's aim. Tito and his colleagues have obviously little doubts on this score as their entire recent course on the diplomatic arena, especially in the UN, clearly shows.

No Marxist would deny the Yugoslavs the right to maneuver between the imperialists, on the one side, and the Kremlin, on the other. This is dictated by the position in which Yugoslavia finds herself today and the existing relationship of forces. Tito and his friends would be foolish if they failed to utilize in their struggle every public forum available, up to and including the United Nations and fighting, as tion from the Balkans indicating they did, for a place on the Security Council.

Rumanian troops into Yugoslavia MANEUVERS NOT ENOUGH by Yugoslav patriots and would neither on the diplomatic nor

The danger of such a position is illustrated by such actions as against the Tito regime. We may the one taken by Salko Feyitch, member of the Yugoslav Foreign expect a barrage of similar Ministry. During the debates of the UN Trusteeship Committee, in which Stalin will attempt to Feyitch took the floor in order settled. to praise the "contributions" of Britain, France and other colonial enslavers to the "progress of the colonies" under their administration. This plays into the hands wage) is 60 cents a day and that of the imperialists and emboldens them to press for further and bigger "acknowledgments."

This also plays into the hands of the Kremlin and its campaign Sunday work, and that before an to depict the Yugoslavs as "im- employee can be discharged the perialist agents."

REINFORCES ILLUSIONS

Worst of all, this tends to rein- fails to mention that these condiforce still another illusion — that tions were obtained by a trade of a lasting collaboration and union movement which has led peaceful coexistence of Yugo- several general strikes since the slavia with the imperialist world. end of the war.

The imperialists would not hesitate for a moment to leave the weakness of the Communist Yugoslavia at the mercy of (Stalinist) Party, which is true, Stalin, provided he met their and dismisses as negligible the price, say, elsewhere in Eastern influence of the "divided" Lanka Europe, or in the Far East. They But no maneuvers, no matter await only a favorable oppor- Sama Samaja Parties, which he Washington. miners and steel workers are on Tito. Moscow would then trumpet how skillful, can save Yugoslavia. tunity to rape Yugoslavia them- says "are Trotskyist and anti-

Unfortunately, the absolute con- summed up by a military arenas but on the field fidence the Yugoslavs mistakenly Times gives to one of his gress, was summed up in a Belgrade has officially denied of the international class strug- place in the UN and their illusion articles: "Well-fed Ceylon Shuns dispatch by Louis Stark to the Truman sent letters to the House any violations of its borders by gle. Failure to clearly delineate of peaceful collaboration with the Marxism." Here is where Mr N. Y. Times: guerrillas, while making public in advance the limits of each and capitalists are not at all ac Trumbull shuns the truth most. every maneuver can therefore cidental or tactical errors. They The Trotskyist parties, which flow from and are part of a very are not anti-Soviet but of course It is a dangerous concession not definite set of ideas, the keystone thoroughly anti-Stalinist, alalone to imperialism but also to of which is Stalin's pernicious though differing in the past or United States policies than when Meanwhile the political prep- Stalinism to paint up the UN as theory of "socialism in one coun- important questions, are discussarations for such incursions and "an indispensable instrument for try." It is this theory that Belling unification at the present time | Confederation met 20 months ago similar attacks are being care- peace and international collabora- grade must irrevocably break with as a result of common activity in Lima." fully carried out. Highly signi- tion." This is almost word for in order to untie its hands for : in both the trade union and the ficent in this connection are in- word what the Stalinists say; successful struggle both against variamentary fields. Together in Latin America appears to have spired reports of mass uprisings this is what all the imperialists the Kremlin and the imperialists they have led the great strike been punctured somewhat.

sions from the government. Together they polled over a million Ceylon Situation votes in the last elections out of A certain Robert Trumbull has a total population of 61% million ecently written a series of disinhabitants, and elected 15 mempatches from Colombo, Ceylon to bers to the Parliament of slightly the N. Y. Times. It could hardly over 100 members. be said that he lives up to that

precedented trade union conces-

If the Ceylon Stalinists are paper's motto, "All the news weak, if the government of that's fit to print." For there are Ceylon is forced to enact proobvious indications that he missed gressive labor laws and even to up on well-known and simple talk of nationalizing the island facts. But he makes up for that industries, then that is due to the shortcoming by filling a real need fact that the masses there have for the rulers of the United given far greater support to States, and consequently also the Marxism, represented by the publishers of the Times. That is, Trotskyists, than anywhere else to try and find some bright spot n the world. in the Far East situation, which

The London Economist, in a long report on Ceylon last year, made just this point in a very sober comment accompanying an analysis of the situation in the erstwhile British colony. The Ceylonese Trotskyists have really only begun their drive for the revolutionary socialist transformation of Ceylon. Mr. Trumbull and the Times are merely whistling in the dark.

### U. S. Iron Curtain **Punctured** in Latin American Parley

Among other instruments in the. exchange for its recent "incold war," U. S. labor "statesmen" some two years ago created a se-called Inter-American Labor Co. of Akron has moved in to try Confederation. Its main purpose exploitation of the native rubber. has been to rally support for Other American business con-Yankee imperialism under the cerns are planning to take similar cover of trade union organizaadvantage with native glass, tion. A large part of the organized labor movement there had previwhether these enterprises will ously been under Stalinist domimeet with success is far from nation for many years. But Washington policy south of the Rio Mr. Trumbull speaks of the Grande is so odious that the new Ceylonese being well fed, only to instrument has not been living up mention in passing that the legal to the expectations of its sponminimum wage (read: average

> At its recent second congress in Havana, the delegates — handpicked as they were - could not refrain from attempting to push through a resolution attacking the U. S. State Department for its support of the dictatorships in Peru, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, etc. It took all the art of the labor "statesmen" to get around this move by a compromise to establish a "human rights tribunal," where victims of the dictatorial regimes "might present their case."

The congress, amidst student demonstrations in Havana, also almost took action to endorse the movement for Puerto Rican independence. Again the new "labor marines" came to the rescue of

The real sentiment in Latin America, as seen even through

". . . it was noticeable in several committees that the Laborites in Latin American nations appeared more incensed against the first Congress of the Labor

Wall Street's own Iron Curtain

# Slanders About the Bolivian Trotskyists

By J. Gomez

The Sept. 19 Labor Action, weekly publication of Shacht-"Independent Socialist League," carried a slanderous attack by J. Rey on Bolivian Trotskyists who are at present mong the victims of a savage government witch-hunt.

After asserting that the recent armed struggle between government forces and rebels headed by the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) was a "Nazi-military plot," Rey levels the following charges:

1. That the POR (Revolusection of the Fourth International, was guilty of "open bebecause it issued a manifesto which among other things pro

2. That the POR "refrained Peronism" and "placed itself frankly in the camp of the totalitarian and reactionary opposition. proposing a Nazi-Stalinist 'anti-3. That the "issuance" of the

unionists who backed the miners' such dictatorial elements are a the feudalistic-bourgeoisie.] at the end of last May.

the political parties to which the Labor Action. manifesto was addressed? It appears that Rey is not only

him with a Bolivian version of the Trotskyists work in league with "Nazis."

UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL From the standpoint of militant

socialist anti-imperialist politics, the POR is absolutely justified in including the MNR in a united front proposal. The MNR is not a "Nazi" party, as Rey claims, but a bourgeois nationalistic force with roots in the trade unions, particularly in the Miners Fed- WHAT THE POR WROTE eration headed by Juan Lechin. In a semi-colonial country a trade union leader like Juan Lechin performs a much more progressive Peronism," is a malicious falserole than a Walter Reuther before whom Labor Action grovels.

strike which was crushed in blood common feature of all national-How can a manifesto issued by geois movements. For example, of the proletarian revolution, has the POR Central Committee they are to be found in the ranks made a 'shift to the left' in acwhile Lora is in exile make him of Romulo Betancourt's "Accion cordance with the diplomatic the manifesto but they suffice to guilty of "complicity" in an Democratica" party of Venezuela, maneuvers of the Soviet bureau- show what a smear artist Rev is. armed struggle involving one of which has been defended by cracy, and is conducting an anti-

the main frame-up charge in the the MNR and PIR contain the for- ism or Stalinism." Moscow Trials - namely that ces which the Bolivian Trotskyists are trying to rally for an effec- of criticism and of advocating its tive defense against the offensive own program in the proposed of the incumbent reactionary united front and then concludes: Bolivian government.

"It is a question of partial and provisional agreements with the nationalistic - minded bourgeoisie (MNR) and with Stalinism (PIR) for the physical defense of the people," states the POR mani-

Rey's contention that the Available in Yiddish Bolivian Trotskyists "refrained from attacking Stalinism and hood. "We know," continues the manifesto, "that the nationalistic That the MNR contains dicta- bourgeoisie (MNR) is incapable torial elements or that it behaved of expropriating imperialism and dictatorially when itself in power the 'rosca' but its relative posivoted at the ratification mem-busting drive at Bell Aircraft. government together with other a semi-colonial country. In the phant reaction, [The term "rosca"

"Similarly Stalinism, which in-

istic bourgeois and petty-bour- ternationally is the gravedigger imperialist opposition in order to The POR was also justified in put pressure on the U. S. It is a including in its united front pro- question of involving these forces united front proposal in defense trying to tell the government that posal the Stalinist-controlled PIR. in concrete tasks against the ad- of democratic rights in any way Lora should also be charged with This party enjoys considerable in- vance of dictatorship. We do not "complicity" in the recent upris- fluence among the middle-class intend to put the interests of the ing, but also helping to smear radicals and has some roots in revolutionary proletariat at the the trade unions. In brief, both tail of either bourgeois national-

The POR reserves the full right "Finally, it is not a question of

trying to find in the nationalistic bourgeoisie and the Stalinists virtues they do not have. We repeat, our sole aim is to forge united front for the defense of the interests of the people and the nation which will serve as the point of departure for the

MY LIFE by Leon Trotsky 2 volumes, 400 pages each translation by P. Rakovsky First published in Warsaw in 1930 Price \$5.00 Set PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

leaders of the POR and trade | political life of Latin America | refers to the ruling oligarchy, | complete liberation of the country from the yoke of imperialism and the feudalistic-bourgeoisie."

These passages by no means exhaust the sharp criticism of the MNR and PIR contained in

As for the broader issues involved, only a helpless political moron could argue that POR's conflicts with principled socialist politics. The Bolivian Trotskyists are under persecution precisely because of their indomitable defense of Marxism, and, by this token, of the elementary democratic rights of the super-exploited masses. It is for such "crimes" that they are being exiled and thrown into concentration camps. Their struggle merits the support of every work-

## **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

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pies): So each in U.S., 44

each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contribu-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its

LENIN



"We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was politically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class. We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except fur-

- Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.

## N. J. 'Loyalty' Oath Invalidated

The witch-hunters got a setback last week when the three-man Appellate Division of the New Jersey Superior Court ruled unanimously that the "loyalty" oath law adopted in that state last spring was unconstitutional. The law had required all candidates for public office to swear that they did not advocate the violent overthrow of the government and did not belong to any organization which did so.

Like the recent court decision invalidating the Ober Thought-Control Act in Maryland, the New Jersey ruling went against the general pattern of post-war politics in this country. The law was sponsored by both capitalist parties and passed unanimously by both houses of the New Jersey Legislature.

The appellate court held that the law violates the state constitution, which already provides for an oath of loyalty to the constitution for all elected officials. As in Maryland, the state authorities have announced that they will appeal to higher courts.

This ruling will undoubtedly encourage and stimulate additional resistance to the administrative, legislative and judicial assaults on civil liberties. But it would be harmful to conclude from this that the defense of civil liberties can therefore be safely entrusted to the courts.

In the first place, the record of the courts themselves should help to dispel

Following the adjournment of Con-

gress without passage of a single civil

rights measure, the NAACP has announc-

ed plans for a nationwide drive to secure

enactment of this legislation early in the

next session. As reported by Roy Wilkins,

acting NAACP secretary, the following

Nov. 15 through Jan 17 has been des-

ignated as a "national civil rights mobil-

ization period." NAACP state conferences

were urged to call a meeting of all branch

presidents within their respective juris-

dictions to map activities for this period.

"Local branches were asked to send dele-

gations to call upon members of Congress

while at home and upon local political

leaders; to solicit the cooperation of trade

unions, churches, fraternal groups and

other organizations; to organize mass

meetings; and to select delegates to at-

tend a three day conference in Washing-

initiated in response to a resolution pass-

ed at the 40th annual conference in Los

Angeles." Invitations to join in this cam-

paign will be issued to 50 national organ-

izations, he added, with the drive sched-

uled to culminate in the Washington con-

ference, to be attended by delegates from

the NAACP is embarking upon, and one

that should receive the enthusiastic sup-

This is a momentous campaign that

"This project," said Wilkins, "has been

steps have been decided on:

NAACP Launches New Campaign

that illusion. The federal appellate courts. thus far have turned down all challenges of the sinister Truman "loyalty" purge and "subversive" lists. The U. S. Supreme Court proved how little reliance could be placed in it when it three times refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Smith Gag Act in the Minneapolis case of the 18 Trotskyists.

In the second place, and more fundamentally, the courts are an integral part of the government machinery for maintaining the rule of the capitalist class. Here or there we may find a few judges who believe that there already are enough laws on the books to take care of critics of the capitalist system; or that the best way to deal with such critics is through administrative measures like the executive order Trurian used to initiate the federal purge; or that "loyalty" oaths tend to be ineffective, defeat their own purpose and serve only to discredit their sponsors.

Judges holding such views may be unwilling to go as far or as fast as the allout witch-hunters would like, and on occasion may even exercise a restraining influence on the thought-centre! drive. But since the main concern of even such judges is the defense of the capitalist system rather than the protection of civil rights, it would be the height of folly for the workers to relax even for a minute their independent activities on behalf of democratic rights.

port of all fighters against Jim Crow. If

it is undertaken in a serious spirit; if the

routine dullness and inefficiency that

have marked so many NAACP campaigns

in the past are discarded and replaced by

a determination to really mobilize the

masses and involve them in the fight; if

the campaign is conceived as an instru-

ment of struggle rather than as a glori-

fied lobbying project — then it can be

the signal for a resurgence of mass ac-

tivity that will deal powerful blows to

In great part the success or failure of

this campaign will depend on the degree

to which the local militants in and around

the NAACP are able to give leadership

to the Negro masses and on the extent

to which they secure the cooperation of

the labor movement — not just token

cooperation in the form of a trade union

speaker at a mass meeting, but genuine

collaboration in jointly planning the cam-

paign, financing it and bringing to its

support the active participation of the

as well as a splendid opportunity for the

militants. If they do their part, if they

work hard and effectively at reaching

the masses, the response of the rank and

file may make the Washington confer-

ence not the end of a campaign but the

beginning of a new upsurge of Negro and

The NAACP campaign is a challenge

Negro and labor rank and file.

labor militancy.

the enemies of the Negro people.

# The Theory of American Exceptionalism'

By Farrell Dobbs

The Stalinists are like the crook who shouted "Stop thief." Their favorite trick is to attribute their own crimes to others; the purpose being to conceal their own duplicity

and at the same time discredit

Stalin set the main example 'agent of fascism" to divert attention from his own maneuvers he has accused Tito of conspiring against Hungary to mask his own efforts to smash the Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

This Stalinist trick is used against the American Trotskyists by William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, in his article, "Cannon, Lovestone and Browder," in the September issue of Political Af-

Foster's article lashed out against "American 'exceptionalsm,' the erroneous idea that for some mysterious reason capitalism in this country is immune to the laws of growth and decay that apply to capitalism every-

"Exceptionalism," he continued nanifests itself "in tendencies to verestimate the strength of American capitalism" and in "s ack of faith in the revolutionary power of the working class and

### FOSTER'S QUOTATIONS

The arch-"exceptionalist," of Workers Party. Cannon got that elopment from the beginning. way, Foster alleged, "by an ac- (The Militant, June 1, 1929.)

ashion of the Foley Square pro- with Europe and outdistance o deal with the new masters of he world."

nastery of the world."

With that claim, plus the usual slanders, Foster rested his case by slandering Trotsky as an against Trotsky and Cannon. Before we look around to see what Foster is really up to, let us set for a pact with Hitler. Similarly, the record straight on Trotsky's actual opinion about the strength - and weaknesses - of American capitalism.

### WHAT TROTSKY WROTE

He also wrote in Whither England that "in spite of all its huge ower, American capitalism is not a self-contained factor, but a part of world economy. . . Driving the European countries farther and farther down their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for war and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail to strike the economic system of the United States."

Trotsky's first letter to hi American supporters made his oint of view even more explicit 'We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that the might tion of world economy with its contradictions and crises, military and revolutionary," he said. Trotskyists.

"This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive course, is James P. Cannon, na- a good deal sooner than many tional secretary of the Socialist think, and have a feverish dev-

ceptance of Trotskyism." Trotsky In his introduction to The ceptionalist" by a sentence he in 1939, Trotsky predicted the wrote in 1925 in Whither Eng- dawn of a new epoch of independent class action by the work-That sentence, torn from its ers. In this too, he said, "America ican imperialism. context by Foster after the will in a few jumps catch up

secutor, reads: "Relinquishing it. . . The best theoreticians of may well cause a social crisis in tools to force the capitalists into learned trade unionism - from their world rule, the diplomats Marxism will appear on American the United States "a good deal a deal with Stalin; a deal that and magnates of England are soil. Marx will become the sooner than many think." That would be made at the expense of take the road of independent poliecommending their former clients mentor of the advanced American means, he said, "It is necessary the workers. workers.'

Foster called this proof that that Trotsky understood the fatal socialism. "conceded offhand to weaknesses of American capital-American imperialism its dearest ism and that he had complete draws the opposite conclusion. He program. This socialist perspecambition, one that it has not been confidence in the ability of the stated in his deposition that "in tive is clearly stated in the able to fulfill yet, 24 years later, American workers to play a lead- all probability the United States "Theses on the American Revoand never will - namely, the ing role in the fight for world will either be the last great power lution," written by James P.

Lawyers Cited for Contempt



Following conviction of their clients, the five attorneys were guilty of contempt for their conduct while defending the 11 Stalinist leaders. Sentences set by Judge Medina range from 30 days to six months beginning Nov. 15, (L. to r.) Abraham J. Isserman, George Crockett Jr., Richard Gladstein, Harry Sacher and Louis

Trotsky's are fully shared by question of socialism only in a Cannon. But let us first examine of American capitalism rests Foster's deposition at the Foley more and more upon a founda- Square trial. There we shall find

Here he repeated, in effect, the the basis of the capitalist system. very remark of Trotsky's on Thus we find that the "Amerwhich he based his charge that ican exceptionalism," of which in turn proved himself an "ex- Living Thoughts of Marx, written Trotsky was an "American ex- Foster falsely accused the Trotceptionalist." However, Trotsky skyists in Political Affairs, acand Foster are poles apart in tually appears in its crudest form their program to combat Amer- in his deposition at Foley Square;

> In Trotsky's opinion, the contradictions of world capitalism scheme to use the workers as to prepare," to orient the work-These statements clearly show ers toward the struggle for

> > or one of the very last to go Cannon and adopted at the 1946

As we shall see, these views of socialist." He would raise the

"propaganda sense."

The fundamental position of the Stalinists, he said, is "to advocate the duplicity he tried to conceal the collaboration of the United by shouting "Stop thief" at the States and other capitalist countries with the Soviet Union.' "The fact of the matter is," Foster would have the workers Foster said in his deposition, make a political alliance with "that the United States today is "progressive" capitalists to form dominating the capitalist world." a government "operating upon

and that Foster's "exceptionalism" expresses itself in a cynical

In opposition to the false line of the Stalinists, the Trotskyists have consistently advocated a Foster, on the other hand, genuine revolutionary socialist

Stalin's crimes, and the portrait

of Stalin that emerges coincides

on the whole with that drawn by

Trotsky (from whose writings

Deutscher has borrowed much).

It shows Stalin's development

nto a professional revolutionary,

whose grasp of Marxism was

never more than superficial and

of Menshevism in every crisis. It

ers Party. The Theses, together with Cannon's report to the convention, will be found in the Pioneer pamphlet, The Coming American Revolution.

### SWP POSITION

"U. S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of world capitalist decay than the older European capitalist powers," Cannon said The basic conditions that precipitated the 1929 crisis when American capitalism enjoyed its fullest health, not only persist out have grown more malignant."

What is really in store for America is not unbounded prosperity but another crisis and depression even worse than the 1929 collapse. A war will not solve the internal difficulties of American imperialism but will rather sharpen and complicate

"The impending economic paroxysms must, under the existing conditions, pass inexorably into the social and political crisis of American capitalism," he predicted. "posing in its course point blank the question of who shall

be the master of the land." Cannon recalled how the capitalists proclaimed that Marx had been refuted by Henry Ford. But the blind operation of the internal laws of capitalism, he said, "has created the greatest power in the world - the American workng class. Here is where Marx takes revenge on Henry Ford."

### AMERICAN WORKERS

"The American workers do not ilways move when impatient revolutionists call them." he continued, "as many of us have learned to our sorrow. But they do move when they are ready, and then they move massively.'

They will "learn politics as they an abridged dictionary.' They will tical action with hurricane speed and power.'

There will be a "rapid transformation of the organized vanguard from a propaganda group to a mass party strong enough to lead the revolutionary struggle for power."

"The revolutionary vanguard party, destined to lead this tumultuous revolutionary moveent in the U.S., does not have o be created," Cannon declared. "It already exists, and its name s the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

opportunist policy he pursuedthroughout in his conduct of the

More books recounting Stalin's crimes against socialism are certainly needed to help educate the new generations and to cou teract the flood of volumes depicting Stalin as arch-enemy o capitalism and organizer of world revolution. But Deutscher's book cannot fulfill this need, For whatever qualities one may be ready to concede its popularization of some major historical events are wholly negated by the who gravitated in the direction interpretation Deutscher gives to the role of Stalinism as a whole. Is Stalinism revolutionary or

describes his rise to dictatorial power after Lenin's death as the counter-revolutionary? Does it representative of a bureaucratic can it play a progressive role caste which leaned on the more in the struggle for socialism backward elements in Soviet | despite the reactionary methods society and was strengthened by it employs? Is Stalin's position the defeats of the world revoluin the modern scene comparable tion. It explains why and how he to that of Cromwell and Robesnvented the anti-Marxist theory pierre in the British and French f "socialism in one country." bourgeois revolutions? No book It discloses how he suppressed on the subject that gives wrong answers to these questions can democracy in the Bolshevik Party, have any value for revolutionary curate information on historical details. Deutscher gives the wrong Trials. The later chapters, deal- answers. How they are wrong, ing with World War II, also tell and how they differ from those of his pact with Hitler, his later | made by the Trotskyists, will be relations with his Allied imperial- the subject of an article next ist partners, and the empirical, week.

## Deutscher's Biography of Stalin study of pre-1917 Bolshevism and |"the nationalization of the means | gressive role in the economy,

By George Breitman

GRAPHY by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford University Press, 1949,

say, "It is not pro not pro-Communist. It is, rather, book is genuinely objective, its complex character was certainly confirmed by the conflicting reviews it received from the different political schools.

The N. Y. Times reviewer, generally reflecting the sentiments of the capitalist press, hinks it will serve as "the classic biography and reference book" on Stalin until such time as the historians get access to the archives in the Soviet Union. But e refuses to offer a "final judgnent" on this volume until he Deutscher's next two books, dealpresumably so that he can get a learer idea of Deutscher's attiude to Lenin and Leninism.

The Social Democratic New Leader issued a pre-publication memorandum warning all reviewers that it is "the most adroit apology for Soviet domestic and foreign policy to be published in Trotsky-Stalin experiment."

The Shachtmanite Labor Action

book is intended as the first in- the masses.

book. . ." Whether or not the understanding of the chief time by the fact that the Soviet character."

because he favored a united front with the Social Democrats against skyism. At the beginning of the be accommodated to bureaucratic war, however, he came to Engexpert on the editorial staff of urge. But the higher the econ-The Economist and for the BBC. omy rose, the more complex its factual and documentary materials available on his subject bureaucratic regime. The conhas had a chance to study and handles them scrupulously on stantly sharpening contradiction ing with Lenin and Trotsky, his method is to question all rupted political convulsions, to charges or testimony adverse to systematic annihilation of the Stalin that cannot be verified most outstanding creative elebeyond question, and to give him ments in all spheres of activity. the benefit of the doubt in most such cases. It is this method, plus the curiously detached manner objectivity in some quarters.

He also has the irritating habit, after detailing one of Stalin's crimes against the revolution, of caste interests and police methods engaging in entirely uncalled-for conflict with the needs of socialist speculation about possible justi- development. Whatever achievefications for his acts which Stalin may have had in his mind. Thus, after reporting the Moscow Trials and showing them to be monstrous outweighed by the bureaucratic frameups, he adds: "It is not chains in which it shackles the necessary to assume that he economy, by its exclusion of the [Stalin] acted from sheer cruelty workers from the planning process or lust for power. He may be given the dubious credit of the ism exacts from the national inevery slander and lie which, has sincere conviction that what he ever been utilized against Stalin did served the interests of the inism, far from playing a proterpreted those interests aright.

Deutscher himself says: "This scope and immediate effect on

evolution of these on the technical and cultural give a fairly complete picture of

# **SWP** on Radio

1130 on your dial at 10:35 PM MONDAY, OCTOBER 31 WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2

> TELEVISION WPIX

transformed the world communist novement into frontier guards workers, even if it contains acfor Soviet foreign policy, wiped out the Old Guard in the Moscow

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social last Sat. of month.

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Forums 2nd Frl. each month. Martist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m., SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except tun., 12-4:30 p.m. ST. LOUIS --- "For information, ohone PR 5305."
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# DETROIT BANQUET HONORS KUTCHER

(Continued from Page 1) Kutcher's persecutors for violat-

all sections of the country.

ton, Jan. 15-17."

ing freedom of conscience.

In response to an appeal by George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, \$450 in cash and pledges was contributed to the defense fund, including \$100 from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Joint Board, \$50 from UAW Hudson Local 154, and \$50 from the New Calvary Baptist Church. Rights Committee "will have our The banquet chairman, Al Barbour, secretary-treasurer of the Wayne County CIO, announced that space taken to date in the banquet souvenir program at their churches. amounted to \$1,750. Most of the large CIO unions and numerous read.

radio station. Most union papers auspices of the Student League printed accounts of his visit. The for Industrial Democracy was a dynamic CIO movement here ac- victory for free speech at Wayne corded Kutcher wholehearted sup-

NEGRO COMMUNITY

Negro, citizens likewise recoin their own struggle for civil rights. Rev. Robert Bradby, president of the Detroit NAACP. stated that the Kutcher Civil full and complete support." After hearing Kutcher's story, the Ministers Conference Baptist voted to take an offering for him

On Wednesday afternoon 300 students and faculty members at AFL locals were on the list he Wayne University came to hear the legless veteran and other During the past two weeks prominent people talk on the day the Detroit comrades of the thousands of Detroit workers "loyalty" program in the largest Socialist Workers Party presentheard Kutcher tell his story. He meeting of its type on that ed Jimmy with a handsome often spoke to as many as six or campus in years. Other speakers thavelling bag in which to carry stallment of a biographical trilogy But, as Trotsky pointed out ten seven meetings a day. On Thurs- were Dr. William J. Goode, Dr. the suits given him by the Amal- to be continued and completed day he was interviewed over Sta- Russell Ackoff and Al Barbour. gamated Clothing Workers and with a Life of Lenin and a study progress in the USSR was the

since faculty officials had tried to that his case had no connection with academic freedom. On Thursday Kutcher spoke at the gnized the importance of his case University of Michigan under the sponsorship of the American Vet-

> the attitude of the Stalinists in pyramid of lies . . . the same old An interesting sidelight was the Detroit labor movement. In contrast to other cities the CP followers here not only evidenced no opposition to Kutcher's campaign but in several places came forward as supporters and defenders of his fight, seeking to hook up their own cases with his.

At a welcome social last Sun-

many years." It's own review disparages Deutscher for "his evident ideological bias in favor of the broad aims of the Lenin-For the Stalinist Daily Worker it is "a grotesque amalgam of concepts and phrases borrowed from Marxism, Trotskyism and block the meeting on the pretext the capitalists . . . bristling with

garbled quotations . . . this spurious facade of balanced historiography . . . veils a savage bias and an unscrupulous use of and the Soviet Union . . . a revolution and that he alone insmelly package.'

finds it an "impressive achieveinist myth.'

tion WDET, the official UAW Kutcher's appearance under the Labor Cooperative Clothing Store. of Trotsky in Exile. The main revolution of 1917, which led to

ideas have been sketched only in that rare creation - an objective so far as it was necessary for an

There is much in this book that no Marxist can accept. One of the worst is Deutscher's evaluation ment . . . written from a gen- of the period of industrialization erally Marxist point of view," but and collectivization beginning marred by "a very poor final with the first Five-Year Plan in chapter" in which "Deutscher 1929 as Soviet Russia's "second succumbs to a variety of 'Can- revolution, which was directed nonism' - actually, that is, to a solely and exclusively by Stalin" critical acceptance of the Stal- and "was even more sweeping and radical than the first" in its

years ago, the source of economic

STALIN: A POLITICAL BIO. the history of such ideas as the of production and the planned functions as the biggest internal dictatorship of the proletariat, beginnings, and by no means the obstacle to the Soviet Union's the Soviets, the 'proletarian van- fact that the bureaucracy usurped harmonious economic developguard,' and so on, must have command over the economy. On ment. their place in the biography of the contrary, bureaucratism, as a system, became the worst brake RECORDS HIS CRIMES Nevertheless, Deutscher does

development of the country. "This was veiled for a certain

economy was occupied for two Deutscher is a Polish journalist decades with transplanting and who broke with Stalinism in 1932 assimilating the technology and organization of production in advanced capitalist countries. The the Nazis; it is said that for a period of borrowing and imitation while he was sympathetic to Trot- still could, for better or for worse, automatism, i.e., the suffocation land, and served as a Russian of all initiative and all creative He is well acquainted with the requirements became, all the more unbearable became the the whole, although in general between them leads to uninter-

ing any revolution, "second" or otherwise, clamped a bureaucratic in which it is written, that has grip on the Soviet economy. The earned the book its reputation for viability of the economic foundations laid by the 1917 revolution enabled the economy to develop despite the bureaueracy, whose ments Stalinism can claim in the technological progress of Soviet economy are a thousand times and by the heavy toll its parasitcome. The facts show that Stal-

In short, Stalin, far from lead-

# WNEW

WNBC 660 on your dial at 8:30 AM WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2

7:30 PM SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6

On Oct. 4, Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, wrote a letter to Marcantonio asking point-blank if he is for civil rights only for the Communist Party and its allies, and where he stands on the civil rights of Trotskyists and other political opponents of the Communist Party.

Bartell's letter was reported in the daily papers, repeated over the air, and at street corner meetings in many parts of the city. It is still unanswered - for a reason!

If Marcantonio rejects support for the Trotskyists, he stands exposed as a Stalinist stooge, like his running mate Paul Ross, the ALP candidate for Comptroller who flatly declared he is against civil rights for the Socialist Workers Party. If Marcantonio gives support to the Trotskyists, he faces denunciation and slander by the Stalinists who dominate the ALP and set its policy.

So this unprincipled banner-bearer of the ALP ducks, squirms, and lies, completely indifferent to the damage he does to the fight for civil liberties that he pretends to lead.

Marcantonio's juggling stunt fails to amuse or fool his audience, though. Twice last week, it almost broke down. Addressing an open-air meeting at City College on Oct. 20, he lashed the conviction of the 11 Stalinist leaders.

After the meeting a crowd of students surrounded him and one demanded, "Are you for the civil rights of the Trotskvists?"

"The ALP is for civil rights for all parties," Marcantonio evaded.

VOLUME XIII

M. Stein Speaks

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 22-Three

stimulating meetings and a num-

ber of conferences were held here

last week by the local branch of

the Socialist Workers Party dur-

ing the four-day visit of Morris

Stein, national organization sec-

At a public lecture Sunday

night Stein discussed "The Stalin-

T'to Conflict and the Crisis of

World Stalinism" for an audience

of 120 persons. An appeal by

Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman,

for contributions to the current

national SWP fund drive brought

collection of \$250 in cash and

Stein reported on the world

situation and the Trotskyist

current national strikes.

The interesting lecture and re

appetite of local SWPers and

Seattle Audience

Shows Enthusiasm

SEATTLE, Oct. 25 - An en-

meeting at the Workmen's Circle

Stein analyze the Stalin-Tito con-

flict and the reasons why the

the Yugoslav struggle for in-

The audience of workers and

students, including a number of

Croatian descent, then expressed

their agreement with the position

presented by Stein by contribut-

fecture follows:

Milwaukee

Detroit-Flint

Philadelphia

Chicago

Toledo

St. Paul-Minneapolis

One student and a former Stal-

Oct. 29-Nov. 1

Nov. 2

Nov. 3-5

Nov. 6-10

Nov. 11

Nov. 13

retary of the party.

pledges.

"Does that mean the Trotskyists too?" the student persisted.

"They have my answer," Marcantonio lied desperately, scurrying away. "I sent them a letter."

But he dared not repeat the lie or face Bartell. All mayoralty candidates were invited to speak the following day at Hunter College, where 1,700 students turned out to hear them. Two candidates repeat the majoralty candidates were invited to speak the following day at Hunter College, where 1,700 students turned out to hear them. Two candidates repeat them to be at the them to students turned out to hear them. Two candidates were absent - O'Dwyer, who never appears at forums where the audience is allowed to ask questions, and Marcantonio, who sent a substitute speaker.

It was City College all over again. To the ques-It was City College all over again. To the question on civil rights for the Trotskyists, Daniel At 3 Meetings Allen, trade union director of the ALP and Mar-In Los Angeles cantonio's spokesman, replied with a generality when he could no longer duck: "The ALP is against the Smith Act, and against any prosecutions under it."

Again, after the meeting, a student prodded for a concrete answer. "If I pay for a telegram to Truman asking for the pardon of the Trotskyists, will you sign it?"

"If I want to send any telegrams, I'll pay for them myself," Allen muttered, slinking away.

And so the act goes, a cynical display of opportunism. Marcantonio and the ALP are finding no applause for it among the workers, liberals and students sincerely interested in fighting for civil liberties.

## What Is A 'Cospiracy'?

The Foley Square prosecution was in the most strict and literal sense a thought-control trial. The main charge was a ten-count indictment that the defendants "did conspire with each other and with diverse other persons to the Grand Jurors unknown" to "advocate" the violent overthrow of the government by organizing the Communist Party, holding certain conventions and conferences and disseminating certain literature "advocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

Judge Medina devoted nearly half of his lengthy charge to the jury to this charge of "conspiracy." It was like the movie gunman's injunction: "Don't move! I got ya covered!" Nothing the defendants might have adduced as evidence against the charge of "conspiracy" would have made the slightest difference. Medina had them "covered" with his double-barreled interpretation of "criminal conspiracy."

A "conspiracy," said Judge Medina, is not something to say or do. It is something you merely agree with others to say or do. It is what you intend. You don't even have to put the intention in words. It may be merely an "understanding." It may be just something in your mind. But you know the other fellow has the same thing in his mind, and he knows you know. And if what you both have in your minds is the "intention" to "advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence" - that's criminal conspiracy and you can get five years in the pen and a \$10,000 fine. The 11 Stalinists di

"Let me repeat," Medina told the jury, "that the crime charged is conspiracy. The crime charged is not that these defendants personally advocated or taught the duty or necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence; nor is the charge that the Communist party as such advocates or teaches such violent overthrow and destruction."

Did the defendants and the Communist Party actually advocate acts in violation of the Smith Act? That has nothing to do with it, said Medina. "The gist of the offense," he said, "is the unlawful combination or agreement to violate the law." They intended to violate the law - that's all that needed to be proved.

It's pretty tough to prove what someone intends to do, especially if nothing is done to further the intention. Don't you need material evidence - signed documents at least or written

Not according to Medina. "However, it is not necessary in order to constitute a conspiracy," he charged the jury, "that two or more persons should meet together and enter into an explicit or formal agreement for an unlawful scheme, or that they should directly, by words or in writing, state what the unlawful scheme was to be. . .

movement to a well-attended It is "sufficient," he said, "if two or more persons, in any manner, or through any contrivance, membership meeting Tuesday come to a mutual understanding to accomplish night, and Wednesday night on the condition of the party a common and unlawful design. . .

Well, how do you prove a "mutual understand- branches and the strike situations ing" whose objects were not carried out and in the cities he had visited in which is based on no tangible agreement? The his current national tour. prosecution, of course, offered the "evidence" of In addition, he conferred with paid FBI stoolpigeons and of quotations torn National Committee members, from context from the writings of Marx and with striking steelworkers and Lenin. But Medina told the jury they must find others on the work of the organthe defendants guilty even if the jury didn't be- zation and the significance of the lieve all this "evidence."

He said: "It is not incumbent upon the prosecution to prove that all of the means set out in ports by Stein in this first of the the indictment were, in fact, agreed upon to series of tours by national speakcarry out the conspiracy, or that all of them were ers projected for the fall and actually used or put into operation." It is only winter months has whetted the necessary for the jury to find "that one or more of the means described in the indictment was friends for those to follow. agreed upon. . .

The jury need only pick and choose until it finds "one" bit that looks good. And what might that bit be? "However the indictment does refer to co-conspirators unknown to the Grand Jury. . . you may consider the acts and statements of coconspirators, engaged in the same enterprise, and done or said in furtherance of the conspiracy thusiastic audience of 40 people, and in the time specified in the indictment, just as though such statements and acts were said Center tonight, heard Morris and done by the defendant or defendants. . . "

In short, all that is needed is for an "unknown co-conspirator" - say an FBI provocateur inside American workers should support the accused party — to make such statements and commit such acts as may be alleged to be dependence from the Kremlin. part of a "conspiracy." This may be cited as "proof" against any or all other members of the party.

group of defendants were brought any judge on a charge of "conspiracy" to "advocate" the robbing of a bank, the judge would ing \$30 in the collection. throw the case out of court and reprimand the prosecuting attorney. But it's different, accord- inist were recruited to the SWP ing to Medina, when it comes to a political witchhunt against an unpopular minority party ac- as chairman. cused of "conspiracy" to "advocate" the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Then it is "sufficient" for a jury merely to see into the minds of the defendants and assure themselves "beyond a reasonable doubt" that the defendants had the "intention," even without any explicit agreement, to commit an "unlawful" act with "unknown co-conspirators" - an act never carried out - and the jury must find the defendants "guilty."

What a masterly contrivance for thought-control and frameups this "criminal conspiracy" charge will prove to be if Medina's charge to the jury becomes accepted precedent.

## Nationalists Quit Canton

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1949

Reutherite Defense of Ford



Nationalist troops are shown leaving Canton shortly before the Stalinist-led troops entered the city. Canton had been the capital of the crumbling Kuomintang government for the Jast

## Radio Debates Climax SWP Election Campaign in N. Y.

the Socialist Workers Party campaign for its ticket in

night, when Harold Robbins, SWP 3candidate for Manhattan Borough of other mayoralty candidates was President, participated in a five- broadcast over WFDR, the way debate over station WNBC | ILGWU radio station. that was heard by millions of radio listeners.

O'Dwyer's record of strikebreak- the main auditorium. ing and indicted the misleaders gotten that O'Dwyer only got open air rally. elected because the ALP had made a deal with Tammany."

"We candidates of the Socialist the workers' movement to the Harlem meeting sponsored by the you to represent us." capitalist parties or the Kremlin. New York NAACP Youth Counand a workers government to advance their interests."

at this meeting. Clara Kaye acted BUSY SCHEDULE

an election forum in the Stuy- politicians in office. vesant Town area sponsored by The schedule of Stein's tour the League of Womens Voters. The next day Harry Ring, SWP

of 500 at a forum sponsored by the American Veterans Committee. His speech, along with those

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 - The most intensive week of the New York elections reached a high point on Tuesday

On Oct. 21 Bartell debated his opponents before 1,700 Hunter Harold Robbins ripped into College students assembled

That evening Harold Robbins of the New York labor movement spoke to an audience of Negro for their support to the anti- workers in Harlem at a forum labor Democratic and Republican sponsored by a community orcandidates. Turning to Ewart ganization, Meanwhile in Browns-Guinier, ALP candidate, he con- ville, a radicalized workers distinued: "Mr. Guinier . . . has trict in Brooklyn, Bartell, Ring denounced the brutal beatings of and Gladys Barker, SWP candistrikers, Negroes and Puerto date for President of the City Ricans by O'Dwyer's cops, But Council, addressed several hun-Mr. Guinier, it seems, has for- dred workers at an impressive

> DEBATE IN HARLEM On Oct. 23 Bartell debated

Workers Party," he concluded, candidates of the other parties be-"are opposed to anyone who ties fore an audience of 200 at a genuinely independent labor party crats and Republicans were Walker asked for special priviequally responsible for maintainparties of Marcantonio, Guinier and Ben Davis had connived to On Oct. 19 Robbins addressed keep these Jim Crow capitalist buster for another hour. Walker, conference in Detroit. The bureau-

"The Stalinists and their allies sound very radical this particular season," Bartell declared. "But candidate for Comptroller, spoke how radical were they a few at a large open air noon-day elec- short years ago? Where were tion rally in the heart of the they during the great March-onteeming needle trades district. | Washington Movement that won That same night, Michael FEPC? They were sabotaging Bartell, SWP candidate for that struggle on orders from the Mayor, was heard by an audience Kremlin. . . The Socialist Workers Party supported that struggle wholeheartedly.

is the only party that has con- aroused the ire of the workers. sistently championed every single struggle of labor and the oppressed minorities, because we only allegiance is to the exploited and persecuted peoples fourth-round wage fight. Genske and down the line. In the course

On the night of Oct. 24 thousands of pieces of literature and a special leaflet were distributed to an election rally of the ALP at Madison Square Garden. The leaflet was an open letter to When the question was called, Marcantonio, challenging him to the Selander amendment was repudiate his running mates Paul shouted down. The whole con- Ross, ALP candidate for Compference broke into circles of troller, and Benjamin Davis, of the Cleveland Federation of heated discussions. It had shown candidate for City Council. These Labor. I attended this conference to all that although the witch- Stalinist hacks had publicly proagainst the wishes of the leaders hunt has got worse since the claimed their refusal to defend

FLINT, Oct. 22 — A rebellious meeting, such as Flint hasn't seen for years, of 250 officers and committeemen of the five General Motors locals reaffirmed their opposi-

tion to the Ford pension? settlement. The resolution initiated last week by Chevrolet Local Why Bosses Like 659 was adopted after stormy debate.. This action was a repudiation of the international's attempt to ram its position down the auto workers' throats. Top officials sent in to line up Flint were Secretary-Treasurer Emil ector Don Chapman.

The militants repeatedly rejected the insolent dictatorial actions of the chairman and Reuther's attempt to squelch the ris- hrough any changes. ing tide of opposition backfired.

From the beginning the members indicated their burning discontent with the plans of the speakers when chairman Chaplet worker was roundly applauded when he insisted that anyone paying a buck and a half dues in the UAW was entitled to speak.

MAZEY'S SPEECH

Mazey sorely tried the patience of the body with a rambling hour and fifteen minute speech during which he was repeatedly asked to cut it short and discuss the issues. When he attempted the favorite trick of Reuther-to inject the poison of redbaiting by pointing to settlements in UE, FE. West Coast Longshoremen and other Stalinist-led unions the ranks cut him short with sharp rebukes.

In answer to his claims that the UAW couldn't do any better in negotiations at Ford and that it to discipline union members who was ridiculous to expect the participate in wildcast strikes." company to grant a pension after 20 years of service or at the age of 55 because it would cost 30c an hour, he received the telling

After Mazey's speech, which lege to answer. With consummate ing the hated ghetto and that the gall the chairman refused to rec- Chevrolet resolution which called refusing to yield, declared amid continue until I am given a chance to speak." After 20 minutes of chair's decision. pandemonium, the chairman had to back down and give Walker the floor and announced he would

the floor. Johnstone followed Walker and tried to frighten the workers. He less to say, the militants supportclaimed that GM workers would ed him, passed the resolution and sing another tune when they were demonstrated their contempt for faced with a strike. Both Mazey the dictators by adjourning the and Johnstone harped constantly meeting. on the dreadful consequences of "The Socialist Workers Party a strike in Ford. This further are omens of greater fights to

4th ROUND FIGHT

Wall Street Jim Crow rulers or mered home the need for a uni- The ex-Reutherites found that opthe cynical Kremlin despots. Our fied CIO strategy. He accused the from Mazey that CIO affiliates machine rule. have such autonomy on matters of economic demands. Evidently CIO policy only applies to the Marshall Plan, aid to Europe, PAC and so on. I will not go on any further, else I be considered a spiritual citizen of a foreign land." Genske's sarcasm was heartily greeted by the audience. Larry Jones of Chevrolet demonstrated that the Ford Contract closed the door on the fight for a 30-hour week for five years.

NUMBER 44

The employers like the Ford-Reuther pension contract for the same reasons so many auto work-Mazey, national GM director Art ers dislike it. The Oct. 5 Em-Johnstone, Jack Conway, assist- ployee Relations Bulletin, "an ant to Reuther, and regional di- operating guide for executives" published by the National Foremen's Institute, wrote:

"Management didn't get the short end of the stick in the ther's top henchmen. Sparking bargaining at Ford. For its 8-3/4 the fight were Coburn Walker, cents an hour contribution toward president of Chevrolet, and a a pension plan, the company got large delegation of officers and union assurance that the pension committeemen. The decision of issue is settled for at least five this meeting follows the passage and one-half years. Plan cannot of the Chevrolet resolution by be reopened until March 1, 1955. Buick, Fisher Body 2 and the The Union has agreed not to Flint CIO Council meetings. Reu- strike before that date to force

"Ford pension charges may eventually be even less than 8-3/4 cents an hour. That sum is expected to give an employee with 30 years service \$100 a month at man announced that only officers the age of 65, including his Social could take the floor. A Chevro- Security benefits. If the Government increases SS payments, worker still gets only \$100 a month. But Ford contributions to its pension plan will be correspondingly reduced

"Ford management won a nice deal on wage too. No wage increase now; contract runs for two and one-half years until April 1, 1952. And the union can't reopen to ask for pay hike until January 1, 1951.

"Further proof that Ford negotiators did a good job: Last July at its convention the UAW-CIO instructed its bargaining teams to grant no more company-security clauses. But Ford has such a provision in its new contract. Clause gives company the right

participate in wildcat strikes." omy of the country is on the downgrade with millions already answer from the floor, "That's unemployed. He refuted Mazey's the bosses' worry. We are paying charge that Flint leaders were using the pension issue as a political football.

The climax of the meeting came when Mark Reid of Chevrolet introduced a motion to support the ognize him and called on John- for rejection of the pension and stone, who was prepared to fili- the convoking of a national auto crats went into a huddle and then cheers, "This meeting will not refused to recognize the motion and the subsequent appeal of the

Amid this hubbub Walker took conduct the vote on the resolution and adjourn the meeting. Need-

These heartening developments come. For the first time the Reuther machine was overwhelmingly defeated in its bureaucratic at-Bill Genske, financial secretary tempt to make GM workers swalowe no allegiance either to the of the Fisher Body local, ham- low their "beautiful programs." position to the Ford agreement top leaders of messing up the meant opposition all the way up brought down the house with his of the meeting they found themattack on lack of CIO policy. He selves voicing antipathy to raids said, "I am surprised to learn on CIO unions, redbaiting and

### **New York Election Wind-Up** Party

Dancing - Refreshments -Music

SAT., NOV. 5 - 9 PM HARLEM HEADQUARTERS 103 West 110th Street Admission 35c

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 - purpose of aiding another victim conference. He belongs here, and the Stalinists, even though they E. Leventhal last Monday. The judge also reprimanded the police Daly showed the bias which had

making arrests. Simpson was arrested last March along with 38 other workgathered at his home for the Negroes and whites.

Charges against Fred Simpson, of Jim Crow justice, Bayard gratifying, the fact is that his It is necessary now to awaken Negro worker indicted on the Jenkins, framed up and convicted dismissal does not stop the police the labor movement to the need trumped-up accusation that he of murder. The others were re- practice of breaking into homes was running a "disorderly house," leased the next morning, but of Negroes and subjecting workwere dismissed by Judge Lewis Simpson was held on \$500 bail.

At the first hearing, Magistrate of arbitrary arrest. into Simpson's home. He flatly admitted that it was his aim to

ers to the indignity and injury

Simpson was defended by the Rights, of which Julian Goldberg is executive director. Raymond Alexander Pace, the noted attorney, represented Simpson in

## P Torpedoes Ohio Civil Rights Parley torpedoed the ships I sailed on convicted the 18 solely on the That set off some of the most going to exclude them from this

(Continued from page 1) defense of the 11 CP leaders as

despite our fundamental differences with them. "This amendment is an acid test for this conference. You will never enlist support from the progressive sections of the labor movement and the liberals unless you prove here today that you will

defend all victims of the witch-

hunt regardless of their political

beliefs." Hands were up all over the place - for the first time in the conference there was going to be some discussion. The Stalinist had about a dozen speakers in the debate. Some argued that the case of the 18 was ancient history, others that the CP and SWP cases were not similar since the 18 were found guilty of overt acts, and of advocating overthrow of the government by force and viclence, etc.

Then came a whole batch of emotional, almost hvsterical attacks to the effect that the Trot Braverman took the floor. He ference we are being blacklisted skyists are fascists, fifth columnists, disrupters, splitters, promoters of strikes during the war, had thrown out the first count of oath to Stalinism here at this con- ference. You say these people Cleveland (from Oct. 28 to Nov. and so on. One person hailing the indictment charging "con- ference?" He also pointed out promoted strikes during the war? 11) should act as a stimulus and from the West Coast even said, spiracy to overthrow the govern- that the SWP does not support I don't know anything about that rallying center for such united ers, Negro and white, who had break up "mixed" meetings of "The Trotskyists and their kind ment by force and violence" and free speech for fascists.

but even lifeboats."

soon as they were indicted, LIBERALS PROTEST

that he had understood that this conference was going to defend the "loyalty" purge. the civil rights of everybody under attack. (Most of them took the civil-libertarian view that in- the need for a united front in cluded fascists as well.)

Rights Conference in New York last July where this same situ- that the conviction of the 11 CP

refuted the Stalinist lawyers by arbitrarily without any evidence.

In contrast, we came out in during the war, not only ships second count, based on the Smith virulent Stalinist speeches. Finally conference for that, then you are But after every Stalinist speak- supporting the 18, and a similar organization, rose and took the ment during the war. I believe in er, a liberal took the floor to say statement by Prof. Thomas I.

> "Mr. O. John Rogge, who spoke here last night so fervently on the civil liberties fight, supports Fred Neubauer, Cleveland Col- this case and agreed to let us lege AVC delegate, said that he quote him to that effect here at had attended the national Bill of this conference," Braverman said.

> "You are right when you say ation arose. He said that he and leaders is only the precursor of a many other liberals couldn't go widespread attack on civil liberalong with the action taken in ties and democratic rights," Brav-New York of turning down erman concluded. "Just remember defense of the Trotskyists, or Italy and Germany, that's the way anyone else for that matter. He the fascists began - first the ended by saying, "Don't ape At- radicals and minorities and then torney General Clark by estab- the entire labor movement. Can lishing your own blacklist here you be so factionally blind as not at this conference for civil to see that the conviction of the 18 was the first thin wedge that Midway in the debate, Harry led to Foley Square? At this con-

resent it at this conference) and conference for." a Negro leader with a fine reputation for supporting progressive causes in Cleveland for many years. He said:

"I attended this conference against the wishes of the leaders may lose my job tomorrow morning as a consequence of my attending this conference. I ungoing to defend everybody against the though-control witch-hunt.

"I have known Ted Selander for many, many years, I have known Arnold Johnson for about but I do know that if you are front activity.

Gag Act, of advocating the ideas Lee Morgan, who had just been going to exclude A. Philip Ranof Marxism. Then he read Henry elected to the executive commit- dolph too, because he organized of America and the entire Wallace's letter of Sept. 21, 1948 tee of the Ohio Bill of Rights the March-on-Washington Move- world." floor. Morgan is business agent fighting for everybody's demo-Emerson, the noted authority on of the AFL Building Service cratic rights, and I thought that Union (although he did not rep- was what we are holding this WHAT IT SHOWED

of the NAACP in Cleveland. I national conference in July and the civil rights of Trotskyists. although the 11 defendants at Foley Square have been convicted in the meantime, the Stalinists derstood that this conference was still prefer to wreck united front action rather than permit any support for their political opponents.

as long - I see no reason to for united action in behalf of exclude Ted Selander from this all witch-hunt victims, including he belongs in the organization sabotage it with all their strength. relating how the Minneapolis jury Do you want us to take a loyalty that should come out of this con- James Kutcher's coming visit to for being "too enthusiastic" in motivated the police in breaking Philadelphia Council on Civil