A majority of the top leaders of the Socialist Party. including its six-time presidential candidate Norman Thomas, have proposed that the party abandon its tradi-

tional policy of independent elecparties and candidates. This undoubtedly is a preliminary to complete abdication of independent electoral activity.

This policy is embodied in a E. Tong, Robin Myers, Harvey Taylor and John Mecartney, voted for a resolution to continue the party's past policy.

#### PROPOSED POLICY

The core of the proposed new policy is contained in that section of the majority resolution which reads:

"Candidates [of the SP] should not be nominated where a campaign would contribute, or seem to our potential supporters to contribute, to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies opposed by labor and liberal forces. This does not imply, howof either of the two major

no longer run candidates in opposition to capitalist politicians who are labeled "progressive" and are backed by such groups as the CIO Political Action Committee, the AFL Labor's League for Political Education and Americans for Democratic Action. There are few instances, nationally or

Backs New Policy



NORMAN THOMAS

By Harry Braverman

CIO Council and to other labor ty with which I am affiliated," all

bodies every evening of his four those present felt that a genuine

ference attended by the press of being developed in Youngstown.

ing steel area, with the exception crat, was one of the prominent

of the steel-collared Youngstown figures in the Sacco-Vanzetti

views on three different stations to the CIO in the early organiza-

full writeups of Kutcher's fight, the local CIO movement here.

nocenzo Vagnozzi, former city bers to the banquet. The labor

missioner and a prominent Demo- deadly parallel between the per-

of Local 1617 of the United Steel- victions and the attacks of reac-

workers Local 1330, presided, and left a very favorable impression.

the Rev. Charles Jack of the His modesty combined with his

Boardman Methodist Church forthright presentation of the

opened with an invocation. Merlin facts in his case drew many com-

and Socialist Workers. Party legs also spoke.

member represented a genuine

During his stay here, Kutcher

days. He addressed a press con-

Youngstown and the surround-

Vindicator, which boycotted his

Kutcher had three radio inter-

a radio record in his tour thus

far. All the small weekly and

daily papers of the region carried

with photographs of the legless

The banquet featured as speak-

councilman and water com-

crat; Tony Traficant, president

the Jerusalem Baptist Church.

Sam Camens, president of Steel-

Luce, secretary of the Kutcher ments.

in one day, which, he said, sets tion days.

toral opposition to all capitalist locally, where these organizations

Even if the resolution does not "imply" that the SP "as such" will endorse capitalist party candidates, it would clearly open the way for SP members as individuals to support candidates of the Democratic and Republican

A section of the resolution states that "this resolution constitutes an explicit abandonment of electoral action as the primary function of the Socialist Party." Since running candidates has been the principal SP activity, it is hard to see what its future independent activity as a party

will consist of. The resolution gives more than a hint of the future role of the (Continued on page 4)

Workers of the World, Unite!

## THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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# New Policy will not be backing "progressive" candidates. Since opposition to Truman is considered by these "potential supporters" of the SP "to contribute to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies, the proposed new policy unblookedly contemplates that the SP will not oppose Truman, if he runs, in the 1952 national elections. N. Y. Seamen Fight Curran's Fight Curran's Manual Fight Curran's Cu

#### **Relief Payments** Slashed in N. Y.

Just prior to revealing that New York City's relief rolls had risen in October for the 11th straight month, Welfare Commissioner Raymond M. Hilliard ordered a general slash of \$2 /per person per month in the relief allowances. The pretext: "Declining pri-

The 320,699 persons forced to subsist on relief had been receiving the munificent average grant of \$40.68 a month to "live" on. It will now be about \$38.68. Hilliard answered "Lie!" to charges that relief is at "starvation levels."

## ever, that the Socialist Party, as such, should endorse candidates PRO-TITO DISSIDENTS IN or either of the two major parties." This means that the SP would

It has been known for some time that strong dissident Stalinist tendencies sympathetic to the struggle of the Yugoslavs existed in Italy, particularly in Turin, Genoa,

Leghorn, Palermo and other cities. Now comes news of the formal leagues, singling out Stanislaw organization on a local scale of a Kowalewski, former Vice-Minister pro-Titoist party. It was launch- of Agriculture and Agrarian ed in Terni, an industrial center Reform. Kowalewski is the 60 miles from Rome. The founder seventh prominent government is Morelli who resigned his post official dismissed from office. as mayor of Terni and his mem-

been a significant increase in Tito- in the Polish armed forces. The ist sympathies. Yugoslav litera- head of the general staff and one ture is being widely disseminated; of his deputies are Russians; so he anti-Yugoslav propaganda in is the head of the airforce and he Stalinist press has been the second-ranking navy comstepped up and sharpened in tone. mander; and so are the army in-Several leading Stalinist figures spectors. Three-fourths of the the Western zone denly disappeared.

From Poland comes the news of the extension of the purge to

Socialist Workers Party mem-

civil rights attitude was at last

Vagnozzi, while a leading Demo-

defense movement here a quarter-

century ago. He was also one of

the first public figures to rally

The banquet was supported by

Locals of the Steelworkers, Amal-

Communications Workers bought

speakers at the banquet drew the

secution of Kutcher for his con-

James Kutcher, by his speeches.

his activity and his conduct here

DEADLY PARALLEL

scrap heap, joined President secretary of the Bulgarian CP, on Nov. 17, Truman replied, Beirut's attack on his former col-Democrat Lashes Purge At Worker, Nov. 17.) Kutcher Rally in Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Nov. 18 — A banquet of almost 100 been sentenced to prison on spy the steel strike. Asked, "Will you people addressd by Youngstown labor, civic and religious and diversionist charges, the

The banquet in honor and Committee and combat veteran of defense of the legless veteran Italy where Kutcher lost his non-partisan civil rights assem- bers present at the banquet conblage, the first to be gathered in sidered that its high point was Youngstown in many years. As reached in the speech of I. such, it has an importance for Vagnozzi. They had reason to the labor and liberal movement disagree with much of what here far beyond even the Kutcher Vagnozzi said. But when Vagnozzi bounded away at the administration "loyalty" program, and said, spoke to the Mahoning County "I am compelled to attack the par-

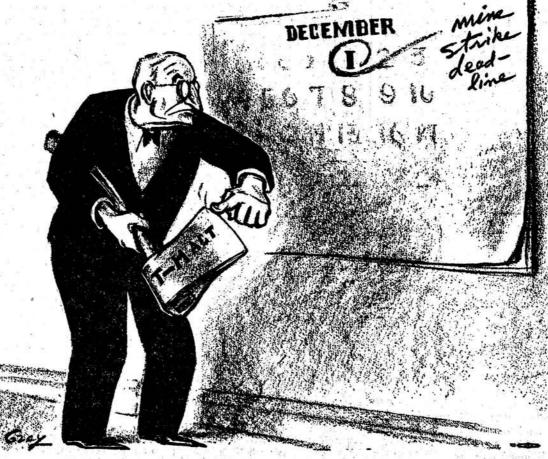
The appointment of Marshal pership in the Italian CP when Rokossovsky as Poland's war he Yugoslavs were expelled by chief and virtual military dictator is only the crowning move in In Eastern Germany there has the Russification of top echelons

a "treacherous Titoist." (Daily to use the infamous Slave Labor

In Czechoslovakia the purge CP member, have been expelled for "graft and corruption." Another 55 men and women have leaders came as a successful finale to James Kutcher's sentences ranging from one year

> Premier Enver Hoxha of Albania is reported to have departed hurriedly for Moscow to plead for immediate assistance because his own position is becoming untenable. According to Belgrade, been doubled in Albania in the recent period and already numbers about 15,000, among them

### THE MINEOWNERS' BEST FRIEND



## Truman Tries to Coerce Miners With T-H Threat

corps and divisional commanders tention to use the strikebreaking are likewise said to be Russian. Taft-Hartley Act against the coal The purge in Bulgaria has ap- miners if he decides to crack leaders. parently reached the stage of down on any renewal of their former Socialists and liberals, treason trials. The Czech Rude strike. The deadline for the end Premier Cyrankiewicz, himself Pravo has made public a state- of the current three-week truce rumored to be scheduled for the ment by Chervenkov, general is Dec. 1. At his press conference to the effect that Kostov, former "That is right," to the question Vice Premier and top Bulgarian whether he had not said previ-Stalinist would soon be tried as ously that he would "not hesitate"

> Law "if it becomes necessary." keeps mounting in intensity. relying on the Taft-Hartley Act 58 T-H injunctions within two wo members of Parliament, one in intervening against any future years. strike. Truman ruled out the use of the type of "fact-finding" take any action short of the Taft-Hartley Act, as you did in the with the UMW that has inspired the coal operators to continue solidarity and an immense fightwith a flat, "No."

#### REFUSED TO SAY

Truman refused to say whether he considers a United Mine Workmeasures of the anti-labor law.

ing circulated in liberal and labor

tical commitments to the union in the coal conflict.

against the miners. As a matter of fact, his hand-picked NLRB To emphasize his intention of has clubbed organized labor with

#### OPERATORS' CONFIDENCE

man will back them up with the protest, at least none that is Taft-Hartley Act in a showdown loud enough to be heard. with the UMW that has inspired ing negotiations.

that produce a large share of the resources are not inexhaustible. ers walkout on Dec. 1 a "national country's coal, are playing the They are up against a formidable Russian military personnel has emergency" subject to the harsh game of sitting back and letting array of the whole capitalist class But he scotched the notion be- "pattern." These steel magnates The labor movement can assure experts and trainers in guerrilla circles that he is opposed in prin- Truman intervened with his gives them solid and unstinted ciple to employing the Taft-"fact-finding" in the steel situa- moral and material support now. prize performer has been auto

Truman has confirmed his in- Hartley Act or that he will not tion; but they are welcoming and shrieked of a "red plot" to machine, by hook and crook, suc-

The mere threat of the Taft-If it comes to a choice between | Hartley Act, Truman calculates, | protecting the mine owners and may suffice to coerce the miners upholding his political commit- into accepting the operators' rights of the membership, purge nents, Truman will unhesitatingly terms, which include abrogation back the capitalists whose funda- of some of the most important mental interests he serves. He protective clauses in the old UMW showed that last year when he contract, affecting both the peninvoked the Taft-Hartley Act sion and welfare fund and the miners' right to strike.

#### WHY TRUMAN IS COCKY Truman feels free to use this

form of coercion and to demon strate his hostility to the coal miners so openly because the CIO It is their confidence that Tru- and AFL leaders are making no

The miners have unshakable their delaying tactics in renew- ing capacity. If they are forced to renew their strike, they will The major steel corporations, give a good account of themwhich own the "captive" mines selves. But their powers and the commercial operators set the and the government combined. squealed like stuck pigs when a victory for the miners if it offing.

## Illegal Ouster of Port Agent, **Patrolmen Arouses Members**

By R. Bell

The consolidation of bureaucratic power which marked the recent national CIO convention had its repercussion last week in a so-called "right-wing" union when National Maritime Union President Joseph®

savage blitzkrieg against the with an iron bureaucratic regime. elementary rights of the mem-

by Philip Murray at the CIO convention accelerated the powergrab of the Curran machine in out in opposition to a Curranthe NMU. Under cover of a heavy sponsored proposal to amend the redbaiting barrage the Curran constitution by: faction struck at the center of pposition in the Port of New sign a yellow-dog affidavit swearork, which had broken with the ing they were not members or leadership over the issue of in- supporters of any "subversive" ternal union democracy.

Opposition officials, elected on tor" by the Curran faction. The ization. action was challenged by the officials involved as illegal and unonstitutional. When the mem-

shipowners ganged up to do a job road toward rigid machine conon the alleged "mutineers." Cur- trol of the union. ranite officials issued inflammatory statements. Newspaper took place at the NMU convencolumnists and radio announcers tion in September. The Curran inviting government intervention capture the union, And all this sound and fury was deliberately contrived to screen the real con- ures. All convention proposals spiracy afoot to crush the opposi- to amend the constitution must tion, destroy the democratic be submitted to membership

Curran led his henchmen in a all dissenters and saddle the NMU

A brief background of the conflict in the NMU will throw some The redbaiting orgy unleashed light on current developments. Last spring a group of officials

in the Port of New York came

(1) Requiring all members to

organization, and (2) Expelling all members

he Curran slate in the last elec- who belonged to, aided, abetted, ion, were arbitrarily removed encouraged, supported or believed from office by Vice-President in, any policies and program of Warner, appointed "administra- any so-called subversive organ-

#### DICTATORSHIP BLUEPRINT The yellow-dog amendments

pership in the Port of New York were correctly branded by the allied around their elected of opposition as a blueprint for ficials to defend their rights, they dictatorship. In a thirty-day vote were branded as a "Red Mob" the amendments were voted down which had laid "siege" to the but the referendum was declared union hiring hall in order to take invalid because of "irregulari-over for Moscow." It was at this point that The boss-controlled press and the Curran faction embarked adio, the New York police force, on a deliberate course to crush capitalist politicians, lawyers and the opposition as a step along the

> The next stage of the struggle ceeded in jamming through the "loyalty" oath and purge meas-

(Continued on Page 4)

## ECONOMIC SITUATION REMAINS PRECARIOUS

By John G. Wright

It's been a long while since the columns of the financial and business periodicals have been able to report such a volume of encouraging developments in economic life as they have since midsummer of,

this year. There has been an undeniable pick-up in light industry, especially in textiles, paper, radio and lectrical industries. Inventory this year threatened to assume run-away proportions, has been halted, and, indeed, a trend to rebuilding inventories to new heights appeared to be in the

In the durable goods field, the

where production has set a new all-time high. Since mid-year the internal market has absorbed some two million new cars and it is confidently predicted that liquidation which up to July of next year will see the 1949 performance duplicated. AUTO AND STEEL

#### As a matter of fact, such an

eminent authority as the Federal Reserve Board has estimated the auto market at not less than 20 million new cars. This estimate is based on the large percentage of old models now on the road and on the assumption that a large percentage of jalopy owners represent potential buyers. This dubious assumption still remains to be tested.

The outlook for steel is likewise predicted to be rosy not only to make up for the recent strike but heavy construction. The demand steel production.'

deficit spending by the governtion. So conservative an authority City Bank, while conceding that some deflationary trends were history of industry, \$190,232,055, still manifest, has just announced outweighed by deficit spending plus the projected GI insurance rebates to the tune of some 21/2 billion dollars.

All this has imbued enough (Continued on page 3)

## The Issue That CIO Leaders Fear to Face

By Art Preis

The recent CIO convention was obsessed with the issue of "communism" and the purge of the Stalinists almost to the point of phobia. But this was not mere hysteria on the part of the CIO leaders. There was method in their madness. The anti-"communist" frenzy was calculated to disguise a more deep-seated feargamated Clothing Workers and their fright at the thought of any honest discussion of the workers' ers, in addition to Kutcher, In- blocks of tickets and sent mem- real problems.

Above all, Philip Murray and ing the Stalinists as a convenient thing out of the deal. workers; and Rev. A. J. Wood of tion against the labor movement. scapegoat, the Murray machine sought to divert attention from what had happened since the postthe CIO in Nov. 1948.

a Democratic majority in Con- happened to Truman's election decontroll bill, more than two mil- tracted struggle against the gang-

setback for Big Business reaction. bor would share in the fruits of islation, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the backing of the administration in gaining some substantial economic concessions from the employers. The union leaders, particularly of the CIO, Democratic triumph. They had swung the weight of their organization behind Truman's foreign his lieutenants wanted to avoid and domestic policies. Surely they any critical appraisal of the re- would get something-nothing as sults of their own policies. By us- much as was promised-but some-

gress as a guarantee of new ad- promises, all labor, including the lion tenants have been deprived of up of the government and operavances by labor and a crushing CIO, suffered a terrible defeat in all protection and hundreds of tors. the 81st Congress. The Taft-Hart- thousands of others soaked with It was expected of course that la- ley Act remained in full force, rent increases. The fourth-round tightening on the workers, the with repeal action abandoned un- wage campaign is completely corporations are enjoying un-"victory" through new social leg- til 1951. Civil rights legislation shattered by the intervention of exampled prosperity. This is rewas scuttled and the power of the Truman and his steel "fact-find- flected in dividend payments. For roads and bridges is said to be Southern filibuster in the Sen- ing" board. In fact, a wage freeze ate was strengthened. The CIO is in force by contractual agreelegislative gain that their "vic- steel and auto." tory" had accomplished other than had played a decisive role in the a gutted rent control law and a had never been so arrogant and industry-in the very midst of the and doctored that its avowed pur- and strategic position of the brought the last nine-month to- flationary trends into the situapose is almost nullified.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS The economic position of the

vorkers is measurably worsened. had no substantial gains for the ping only 3% under their all-time At that convention, they had CIO workers; in fact, they were peak. In six months of Truman's miners are still standing with hailed the election of Truman and worse off. By the test of what administration of the new rent their backs to the wall in a pro-

leaders could show not a single ment in such major industries as The corporations, for their part,

a minimum wage law so twisted recalcitrant, considering the size strike-distributed dividends that Millions are out of jobs and even Machine in Elizabeth, N. J. The bringing the total dividend this that they were beginning to be more millions working only part- steel barons forced the steel work- year to \$8 per share of common A year after the 1948 "Victory time at reduced take-home pay, ers into a prolonged, costly strike stock with a value of \$10-that is, election "Victory Convention" of Convention," the CIO leaders Prices are rising again after dip- over the issue of a meager, in- a return of 80% in nine months

dealt cruel blows to the workers in such strikes as Bell Aircraft in Buffalo and Singer Sewing adequate pension. And the coal on GM's invested capital.

the first nine months of 1949, ample to "support uninterrupted average dividends for all major industries are 8.2% higher than NEW INFLATION SPURS the all-time high of the corresponding period in 1948. The steel unions. With the aid of the courts tal to 18.7% above the same peand police forces, the corporations riod in golden 1948. General as Mr. Burgess of the National Motors on Nov. 7 declared the biggest single dividend in the world The only thing the CIO got

from the Truman "victory" was a (Continued on page 2)

Over and above this, huge

confidence in the stockmarket to

#### At a meeting in Milwaukee, the majority of the SP National Executive Board voted to urge the SP national convention, to be held next spring, to adopt what the Nov. 18 Socialist Call terms "a new policy of limited electoral OPENS THE WAY majority resolution supported by Thomas, Tucker P. Smith, Maynard Krueger, Martin Diamond, Hy Fish, Harry Fleischman and William Becker. A minority of five, Darlington Hoopes, Alfred

## Should Negroes Stick to Clo By Albert Parker Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo To- Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo Windows Worker, "Negroes Test Clo To- gram of Murray and Carey is Clo To- gram of Murray

inists in their campaign to keep from the CIO. control of the UE (and of the few times in the official proceed- to aid the interests of the Kremcampaign the Stalinists have the tional Convention," is the way advantage of being able to point | Berry's article begins. This, of erable record on Negro rights, never make. In their conventions which they are exploiting for all that it's worth, and in many sands of times; they make scores places successfully.

But at the same time the Stalinists themselves are resorting they will do to help the Negro if to all kinds of fals:fications about their own record in the fight against Jim Crow; they do not ALL TALK hesitate in locals where it serves their political purposes to are never reflected in their acdeliberately foment hostility be- tion, the promises are never tween Negro and white unionists kept. Conditions of the Negro where amiable relations existed workers in the Stalinist-controlled in the past: they seek to manipulate for their own benefit the just and legitimate grievances of the Negro workers; and they have already proved their readiness to sacrifice the Negroes' prospects for progress within the labor movement by trying to isolate them from the mainstream of the industrial union movement in which the Negro workers have made their greatest gains to date.

#### ARE STALINISTS BETTER?

Negro workers know for themselves that the record of Murray, Reuther, Carey, etc., is weak-kneed, vacillating and unsatisfactory on such crucial issues as up-grading of Negro workers, abolishing barriers to more skilled and better - paying jobs, Negro representation on top committees, wiping out all discriminatory practices inside the unions, and so on. But is the Stalinist record any better?

The answer is no, and the proof so far as the UE is concerned will be found in the excellent article by Irvin Marnin, "The UE Faces the Split," in the November issue of Fourth International. The facts show that despite their control of the UE since its formation, the Stalinist list of crimes and misdemeanors against Negro members is just as long and just as reactionary as those that can be attributed to the Murray bureaucracy.

Why isn't this fact better known? One reason can be found in the long article by Abner Berry in the Nov. 20 issue of The

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Name

Winning the support of the day," which undertakes to con- better than the Stalinist pro-Negro workers is one of the main vince Negroes that they should gram; not because a policy inconcentration points of the Stal- go along with the Stalinist break tended to aid the interests of the

the word Negro appears thouof flamboyant speeches about the evils of Jim Crow; they give all ruptcy. kinds of promises about what only they are re-elected to office.

But it's all talk. The speeches unions are no better in any respect than those in the Murray-controlled unions. The chief characteristic of their policy is demagogy, as can be easily demonstrated by the demands that the Stalinists are now emphasizing. One of them, as listed by Berry, is:

"Recognition of Negro leadership in the trade unions by securing representation on the policymaking bodies of national unions. THE BEST ARENA This is especially true of the executive boards of the steel and auto workers and of the CIO, tself."

But why are only the unions ed by Murray and Reuther mentioned by name? What about the UE, which was the third-largest CIO union and is led by the Stalinists? The truth is, as Marnin points out, "There is not a single Negro on the [UE] General Exocutive Board, very few in the district leaderships, and a not much better proportion in the large locals." In other words, the Stalinists are guilty of perpetuating the very same practices they denounce the Murrayites for!

#### SIMILAR POLICIES

The same point can be made on almost all of the Stalinist arguments. Berry accuses Murray of having a few Negro stcoges to cover up his betrayals; the Stalinists have such stooges themselves and make the same use of them. Berry accuses Murray of having ties with unsavory ray of having ties with unsavory capitalist politicians in the South; SWP Celebrates the Stalinists too supported these Jim Crow elements during the war, and would still be doing so Militant Birthday willing to make a deal with Moscow. Berry accuses Murray of today if only Washington were

For the benefit of those who have adhered fully to the fight for the rights of Negro workers." But his alibi for this - that the programs of the so-called progressive unions at least "are subiect to democratic change by the keynote address at the 1948 their memberships" - is limping their memberships"—18 timping and lame. After all, Murray and Reuther can offer the same alibi, tonal hookup by the American and with as much justice, because the Stalinist-led unions are no less dictatorial than those of clear and distinct, and members the CIO.

WHAT TO DO

Having satisfied themselves that there is no real difference Winifred Nelson, who gave a between the Stalinist bureaucrats brief history of The Militant, and time and reveal their basic and the Murray bureaucrats on reported that both St. Paul and the Negro question, some Negro | Minneapolis have gone over their workers may conclude: "Well, if quota in the subscription camthere is no important difference, paign. "We commemorate the anthen we may as well be neutral niversary of The Militant," she and other unions."

But that would be a mistake. ers to our paper." Mil'tant Negro workers have a Tonight's affair added \$23.51 genuine stake in remaining with to the St. Paul and Minneapolis the CIO. Not because the pro- | Party Building Fund.

U. S. State Department is

"The word 'Negro' appears a superior to a program intended expulsion from the CIO). In this ings of the CIO's 11th Constitu- lin. But because the CIO will remain the most progressive section of the labor movement, to the Murray bureaucracy's misers, while the independent UE and any third labor federation that the Stalinists succeed in cooking up are fated to end in bank-Murray's false policies weaken

the CIO (and did even in the days when the Stalinists were praising him to the heavens), but they are not the most important thing about the CIO. Far more decisive is the fact that the CIO, as an industrial union movement resting on the basic mass production industries, is by its very nature compelled to organize and seek the support of all workers, including Negro workers. That is what made Negro progress through the CIO possible in the past: and because the departure of the Stalinist-led unions does not change this fundamental fact, that is what will make Negro progress possible through the CIO

in the future.

Negro militants belong in the CIO. Sticking with the CIO does not mean endorsement of Murray's policies; it means sticking with the section of the labor movement that offers the best arena for satisfying the Negro workers' grievances: it means sticking with the other militant workers and cooperating with them in putting over a new and better and more democratic program in the CIO.

Sticking with the CIO will not automatically solve all the problems of the Negro workers, but the miners. it will present the most favorable conditions for their solution, while going with the Stalinists away from the CIO will result only in isolation from the masses of militant workers and Negroes in the auto, steel and other CIO unions who still represent the main hope and the best ally of full equality.

velt's record, which was no better. icas," was run off here tonight as a special feature of the 21st

This talk by the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party originally was delivered as Broadcasting Company. Tonight's of the audience commented that it sounded like a radio broadcast.

Chairman of the meeting was in a campaign to introduce work-

#### in the fight that is going on be- said, "not just by holding this tween them for control of the UE | celebration but by doing our best

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Name State **Huge Fine for Miners** 



Welly K. Hopkins, general counsel for the United Mine Workers, hands District Court Clerk Harry M. Hull a check for \$1,420,-000 in nayment of Taft-Hartley fines levied against union and UMW President John L. Lewis because they refused to call off their 1948 strike on the order of a federal court. No corporation ever gets fined that much for real crimes against the people.

### THE ISSUE THAT CIO'S LEADERS FEAR TO FACE

(Continued from Page 1)

steel "fact-finding" board for a Cleveland convention. The CIO picayune pension and insurance leaders, backed into a blind alley plan based on company contribu- politically, unable to deliver the an hour for pensions and four the interests of the CIO workers. cents for insurance. AND THE react with the instinct of bureau-STEEL UNION HAD TO EN- cratic self-protection-they try to GAGE IN A LONG STRIKE TO stifle the membership, put a lid GET EVEN THIS. Truman didn't on them. get tough with the steel barons like he's now getting tough with

The Steel Board's report supported the corporations on every point other than pensions and insurance It called for a wage freeze and enunciated the doctrine that while the workers have no efwage increases should not be based on the increased profits of industry. It backed the virulent piling mountain high. campaign of Big Business to the Negro people in their fight for strengthen the Taft-Hartley Act by proposing to prohibit industrywide bargaining and break up the unions into isolated, ineffectual local bargaining units.

#### CAPITALIST POLICY The steel industry, acting as the

spearhead for the whole of entrenched American monopoly capwhitewashing Truman's record on civil rights; the Stalinists did and still do the same on Roose- and still do the same on Roos sion and welfare plans out of action on every front against Big 38%. conscious political line designed know these facts, Berry adds:
"Not all of the progressive unions held in the state SWP headheld in the state SWP headdiscredit them. They wanted the a penny more immediate gainand in fact has cost them a 21/2cent wage deduction to pay for the contributory insurance plan which Murray accepted.

mosphere in which they can press for retention and expansion of the Fight for the U.S.A. in a War were stopped in mid-air, and that anti-labor laws and secure more brutal governmental measures against the unions. They want to arouse public sentiment against alleged union "monopolies" to vince his audience that democonceal their own monopoly stran- cracy, American brand, is worth glehold on the economic and political life of the country.

the very root of the social ills, thusiasm. that is, at monopoly capitalist control. But the union leaders are committed to advancing the politpitalist political machine which is with concern for the rights of the ical objectives of a corrupt caan instrument of Big Business rule. They give everything to this machine and get in return only hollow promises. It is all give and

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less drive to bureaucratize the

CIO, which reached its climax in recommendation from Truman's the witch-hunt atmosphere at the tions of "not more than" six cents goods and fight effectively for

But that will solve nothing. The workers are beset by anxiety and insecurity, by unemployment and declining income. The corporations are imposing intolerable speedup, restoring the old preunion conditions in the plants fective machinery for the settlement of grievances which are

They are going to feel the need more and more to break out of the straitjacket of dependency on ever, or even very much longer, into the kind of political trap which the union leaders have repeatedly sprung on them. They will demand the kind of politicsindependent labor political action ital, did not force the steel work- through their own party and pro- these comrades sent in \$105 which ers to strike for the proposed pen- gram-which will free them for pushed them from 11% to

## By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to raise a \$12,000 Party Building Fund has now passed the half-way mark. A total of \$5,604 has been paid through Nov. 22 by the branches and friends of the party. This is 47% of the national quota. We slipped a little during the week and are now 15% behind schedule. Our hats are still off to Flint Branch. These comrades have completed 90% of their quota. And it looks as though they will continue to hold first place right hrough the campaign. Comrade Genora says, "We feel good that we've got the bulk of our pledge n. If we can do it we're comoletely confident that all the rest of our branches will hit their New Haven ousted New Britain

out of second place by coming through with 80% of its quota. The challenge for third place on the scoreboard was picked up by the Morgantown comrades. This branch assured itself of third place by fulfilling 68% of its

Comrade Dennis of Boston Branch wrote: "We have been beset by the usual amount of unemployment that is prevalent these days, but our hopes of attaining our goal have not diminished in the least." In spite of the unemployment obstacle, Boston has paid 65% of its quota and holds fourth place.

A payment of \$45 just arrived from St. Paul to place St. Paul-Minneapolis fifth on the scoreboard. Comrade Jean reports that 'All of the comrades are right on schedule with their payments. So we're sure of pulling through." These are the branches that

are on schedule in the campaign. Eight of the other branches are ot too far behind - New York, Buffalo, San Francisco-Oakland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Newark, Allentown, Seattle. These branches are in the 50%-60% category. With a little extra push they can easily put themselves on schedule by next week, which means they will have to reach 69%.

Anne Chester sent in \$37 for man. They will not be fooled for- San Francisco, explaining that "\$25 represents the proceeds of our combined celebration of the October Revolution and the anniversary of The Militant."

Chicago Branch is getting the wind in its sails. During the week

## satisfaction in the unions and to discredit them. They wanted the steel workers to ask why they had Randolph Walks Tightrope in to suffer a six weeks' strike and loss of pay over a mere "fringe" issue that would not bring them

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 12 - A. Philip Randolph, president of the important Sleeping Car Porters Union and a sub-getters elsewhere, the Seattle Above all, the capitalists want leading figure in the Negro world, walked the tightrope comrades have run into a lot of to create a general anti-union at- here last Sunday in a speech on ?the subject, "Should Negroes forms initiated by the Civil War

with Soviet Russia?" Randolph appeared to have a

fighting for. It was not that the ap-Against the conscious political proximately 500 people who

counter-attack which strikes at difficulty in arousing their en-Randolph identified Communism with Stalinism, totalitarian-

ism and dictatorship; democracy individual.

IN A DILEMMA But a Negro audience, each

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member of which suffers daily is not easily convinced that This is the source of the Mur- capitalist "democracy" offers for ray machine's desperate and ruth- them a solution to their problems. Randolph's line was that the re-

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the job now is to see to it that those reforms are carried through pretty tough time trying to con- so that discrimination and segregation are thrown into the But since he rejected the social-

ist solution in favor of capitalism, he could offer very little in drive of the corporations, the on- listened were pro-Communist or the way of a program which ly effective answer for labor is a antagonistic to him. But he had could reasonably be expected to achieve the aims he proposed. That was his dilemma, and he sweated through it as best he

WARNS AGAINST HYSTERIA He denounced Paul Robeson for support the United States in a a most impressive 176%. war against the Soviet Union. He denounced Stalinism for splitting the labor movement, doing the from a lack of democratic rights, bidding of the Kremlin and resorting to purges to stifle free-

> But he also saw fit to warn against the hysteria of the witchhunt and the red scare and felt forced to lash out against 'monopoly capitalism."

Boiled down, Randolph's proposals appear to be that Negroes should now enter into a nationsame time help European families. Here are a few of the articles wide discussion of whether they should fight in a war against the Soviet Union; that they should line up against Communism but avoid hysteria; and that, through struggle, they should seek to wrest from monopoly capitalism the rights now so patently denied the Negro people.

> and forthright leadership than he getting four new subscriptions offered will be needed before the Negro people can actually win first-class citizenship.

## SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch			Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint		8	200	\$ 180	90
New Haven		10	25	20	80
New Britain			30	21	70
Morgantown		5751	25	17	68
Boston			200	130	65
St. Paul-Minneapolis			900	572	64
New York			3,000	1,784	59
Buffalo			500	292	58
San Francisco-Oakland	2		800	465	58
Toledo			75	43	- 57
Pittsburgh			150	80	53
Newark			350	179	51
Allentown			50	25	50
Seattle			200	100	50
Worcester			40	19	48
Cleveland	*		250	102	41
Chicago		100	400	151	38
Philadelphia			600	230	38
St. Louis			75	27	36
Detroit			1,100	382	35
Akron			100	25	25
Los Angeles			1,500	375	24
Milwaukee		1(4)	250	57	23
Youngstown			400	56	14
Lynn			75	10	13
General			705	262	37
TOTAL through Nov.	22	s	12,000	\$5,604	47

probably make another big jump | in the next week. Comrade Wil- \$100 to the Party Building Fund will follow shortly.'

Comrade Doris of Akron sent in \$15, assuring us that they each. should have no difficulty meeting their pledge of \$100.

A \$100 payment from Los Angeles reached us just in time to make this scoreboard. Comrade Myra Tanner says, "Some- Party Building Fund IN FULL time next week I'll be able to AND ON TIME assures the carrysend in enough to put us over ing out of our program to ex-

Last, but certainly not least, is tions from friends of the party. and publications.

H. of Detroit made a pledge of liams promises that "more money and sent in her first payment of

Two sympathizers sent in \$100

Our appreciation can best be expressed for these welcome contributions by pointing out to our friends that completion of the pand our activities, to build and the remarkable jump from 4% to strengthen the party, and to in-37% in the "General" contribu- crease the circulation of its press

### THE MILITANT ARMY

branch of the Socialist Workers "We are not breaking any records Party to double its quota in the yet as far as sub-getting is con-



New Haven. They helpful." broke their ther-

Pressing pace-setters hit 187%. It looks branch before the campaign ends. Literature Agent Marianne Stanthree-months introductory subscription for 50c. is a bit easier to sell than the regular \$1 sub for six months but some people can't even afford 50c." Like the remployment among workers.

to dig up that half-a-buck, but tion list of seamen on my ship who needs the revolutionary keeps growing. For America's socialist message carried in The best labor paper!" Militant more than the unem-

from Minneapolis in the hotly- J. C. contested Twin Cities race. That was some week, a jump of 106%! Branch The Minneapolis score has shot

up spectacularly in the past two weeks too. It wasn't that the subgetting suddenly got easier. The U. S. Mail apparently speeded up deliveries so that this week all the Minneapolis subs got in by declaring that Negroes would not the Tuesday deadline to ring up

Boston moved up from 120% last week to 147% of their goal. "The past holiday week end slowed things up a bit," writes Literature Agent Rena Breshi. 'We will be in full swing again next week end." Every race seems to have its

dark horse contenders. Chicago only two weeks ago was in the zero column. Last week they hit 18%. This week they completed their goal of 60 points and went 12% over. "And still ten days to go," writes Literature Agent Howard Anderson. That's a real challenge to some of the other branches who got off to a slow start in the campaign! Pittsburgh too went over the

top this week to tie Chicago with 112%. One of Pittsburgh's top sub-getters is Comrade Dallas who just joined the Socialist It was evident from Randolph's Workers Party. He started the talk today that far more dynamic right way by going out and for America's leading socialist weekly, The Militant.

Milwaukee's Task Force of subgetters is rolling along ahead of

The honor of being the first schedule with a comfortable 84%. November subscrip- cerned," writes Fred Martin, "but tion campaign for the mailing of sample Militants The Militant goes to and a leaflet is proving very

The Flint branch is on schedule mometer by passing with 80% despite obstacles and the boiling point and handicaps. "Sol is high with 12 hitting 213% of subs," Literature Agent D. Seytheir goal. Our con- mour reports. "Most of it is gratulations to the renewal work so it means just New Haven com- plugging away at the lists."

Morgantown is finding subgetting "slow," according to the chind New Haven, the Seattle comrades there. "However, we expect to make our quota." like a double bull's eye for this Articles in The Militant on problems of the Negro people are especially appreciated in this area ley writes us that "the special "where the contradictions are so pointed."

A seaman subscriber to The Militant sent in four subscriptions from his ship, "As an active supporter of your sub campaign, I'm trying to do my bit. I'm in town every three weeks and I'll be plugging away, while out to sea, It's hard for a jobless worker to make sure that the subscrip-

And J. C. of Los Angeles sent contribution of \$1 "to keep up St. Paul this week smashed its the work you are doing and I way from 77% to 183% of its hope I shall in the future be able quota and thus took the lead away to send more." Thanks a lot, Goal Points %

New Haven	15	32	213
Seattle	15	28	187
St. Paul	35	64.	183
Minneapolis	75	132	176
Cleveland	15	26	173
Boston	15	22	147
Chicago	60	67	112
Pittsburgh	25	28	112
Milwaukee	25	21	84
Allentown	10	8	80
Flint	50	40	80
Toledo	25	19	76
Worcester	20	12	60
Philadelphia	75	30	40
San Francisco	35	11	31
St. Louis	10	3	30
Detroit	50	14	28
Newark	50	13	26
Los 'Angeles	250	38	15
Morgantown	10	1	10
Youngstown	20	2	10
Buffalo	100	.3	3
Akron	25	0	0
New Britain	10	0	0
Oakland	30	0	0
General		16	
	_		-

Total

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Monday, November 28, 1949



"Consciousness, premeditation, and planning played a far smaller part in bourgeois revolutions than they are destined to play, and already do play in proletarian revolutions. . . The leadership remained in the hands of different sections of the bourgeoisie, and the latter had at its disposal wealth, education, and all the organizational advantages connected with them (the cities, the universities, the press, etc.) . . . The bourgeoisie would bide its time to seize a favorable moment when it could profit from the movement of the lower classes and throw its whole social weight into the scale, and so seize the state power. The proletarian revolution is distinguished by the fact that the proletariat - in the person of its vanguard - acts in it not only as the main offensive force but also as the guiding force.' -Leon Trotsky, Lessons of October, 1924.



#### Why They Hate John L. Lewis

John L. Lewis has been under more continuous, vituperative and concerted attack than any labor leader in American history. All the agencies of monied rule, every section of the capitalist press from ultra-reactionary to liberal, the whole apparatus and personnel of government have leaped like a wolf pack on this one man. In their abuse of Lewis, the Truman Democrats, the Dixiecrats and the Republicans find common ground.

Why is this? They cannot call him a "Communist" — indeed, Lewis himself long ago purged the UMW of every radical opposition and by the most ruthless means. In his economic thinking, he is ardently pro-capitalist. In politics, he shifts between the Democrats and Republicans. He runs the UMW with methods no different than any other old-line labor bureaucrat.

But Lewis differs from all the other top union leaders in one decisive respect - aggressiveness. He's a fighter. He utilizes the organized strength of the miners. He does not hesitate to use militant action to win results. Even those papers which split the most venom on Lewis admit, that the struggles he led won top wages for the miners. His fighting methods also won a 361/2-hour week and the best pension and welfare plans.

The effectiveness of Lewis' militant methods, demonstrated in the gains the UMW has won, stand out in sharp and favorable contrast to the timidity and compromise of the other union leaders. It is an inspiration to all the ranks of labor, an example for them to follow. And that is why the "Hate Lewis" mob is out to get him.

This "Hate Lewis" mob encompasses unfortunately, even top union leaders. If

In the last few years, naked dictator-

ships have been imposed on a whole num-

ber of Latin American countries. Invari-

ably and with indecent haste the State

Department has recognized each of these

We have now two more instances of

"democracy" at work in the Western

Hemisphere and of how the State Depart-

ment stands guard over it. One is Pana-

The President of Panama demanded

the resignation of three top officials of

the Panamanian police force, the only

armed force in this little country. Instead

of resigning they deposed him. The State

Department promptly recognized as "con-

stitutional" this literal dictatorship by

form but is identical in substance. This

country has been deemed as a prize ex-

ample of democracy. It was chosen as

the seat for the Pan-American Confer-

ence which was so rudely disrupted by

After that uprising, the Liberals rush-

ed to save the regime by entering a coali-

tion government. They are now getting

repaid for their past services. Knowing

themselves to be a tiny minority, the re-

the Bogota uprising of April 1948.

What is going on in Colombia differs in

new governments.

ma; the other, Colombia.

Latin American "Democracy" at Work

they do not attack him openly, they lose no opportunity to strike at Lewis from ambush. It is no accident that they keep silence when the miners are engaged in a desperate struggle against the combined host of their enemies and Truman threatens them with the T-H Act.

These other union leaders think they would have a softer time of it, if it weren't for Lewis. He keeps raising the ante on them - higher wages, shorter hours, company-financed pensions, health and welfare plans. Every time they think they can sit back and relax, Lewis wins something new. His effective militant methods discredit them and their policy of reliance on the capitalist government.

We must tell the plain truth — these spineless union leaders want Lewis defeated. They think this will give more prestige to themselves and more weight to their own weak and bankrupt policies. They deceive themselves. If the miners lose in this present fight, it will be a sad day for all labor. It will embolden the corporations as nothing else has; they will take it as a signal for a more furious general assault on the whole labor move-

Every union man and woman must understand this fact: the miners are but the most advanced bastion of labor's defense. Let this outpost be taken by labor's enemies, and the whole front of the labor movement will stand exposed. That is why all support and reinforcements must be rushed to the miners at once. Every union local, regardless of affiliation, must give its moral and material backing to the miners now. A mighty movement must rise up and speak with one voice to Washington: "Hands Off the

actionaries have unleashed a reign of ter-

ror on the eve of the presidential elec-

tions. The incumbent president took the

occasion of the murder of a Liberal Dep-

uty (by the Conservative Deputies) to

dissolve the Congress with its Liberal

majority. Constitutional guarantees have

been suspended, the press placed under

strict censorship and martial law pro-

Declaring "free elections" to be impos-

sible, Dario Echandia, the Liberal candi-

date, has withdrawn and the Liberals are

calling on the people to boycott the elec-

tions. Meanwhile, of course, the Nov. 27

"elections" will take place and Laureano

Gomez, the unopposed Conservative can-

didate, who fled to Franco Spain after

the Bogota uprising, will be duly declared

There has not been so much as a whis-

per from the State Department about the

Colombian outrages. For that matter, the

major newspapers have played down the

point that Gomez and his henchmen are

avowed Falangists, that is, followers of

Why should they? Aren't they busy

clearing the decks for accepting Franco

himself into the North Atlantic Pact and

the "family of democratic nations?"

## A Letter to CP Members By One Who Was Expelled in 1948 and Now Joins the Trotskyists

Nov. 1, 1949

Dear Comrade: I have decided to join the

was expelled a year and a half title, "Trotskyite." ago from the Communist Party. take.

I would like to tell you how I came to that conclusion.

When in the CP, I shared for some time with a great many other party members a growing for the working people; a mount- accusations. My accusers and quietly and let it happen? What him right as disaster piled on ing frustration about the complete lack of democracy in the CP-the impossibility of registering any criticism, no matter how well thought out, in any way.

All these things, however, attributed to a purely local of other expulsions I had known situation and continued working in my own branch as best I could, waiting for the day when the national office would reach over and straighten things out.

The international state of the I had been in the party.

#### THE YUGOSLAV EVENTS

Then the Yugoslavian situation broke. For years, we had heard nothing but the most glowing local, praise of Marshal Tito and the Yugoslavian people's movement as a whole. Then in less than a devotion to children—the quantity us to talk to Trotskyists? Was week we were expected to join in denouncing him and all who worked with him as the most traitorous, villainous, uncommunistic scoundrels in all Europe. This Alexander but neither had I liked it be because they were afraid was really quite a lot to swallow.

ever might be its weaknesses, the Communist Party is still the only vanguard of the working class." believed what I was told -

leaders of the working class. I ignore. also believed that all other workers' parties and organizations -I was not a Trotskyist when I disposed of with the convenient smarter than her organizer.

I remained loyal to the Com-But serious study and reflection munist Party and continued to these all be isolated cases? since then has convinced me that engage in active work. It took this is the only possible action my own expulsion to force me to came to my mind. Why the for a revolutionary worker to analyze all my criticisms of the demoralization of the Spain vets, Marxian theory has been the CP and to think them through to almost to a man, soon after their fountainhead of a steady chain

uneasiness over the apparent in- unprincipled proceedings of my old unanswered question, "Why and that has shown its face time ability of the CP to outgrow the trial in which Eleanor Long and Browder sm?" So Browder was a and again in the national comeffects of Browderism; a rising I were expelled in an atmosphere fool. Did that explain how an mittee. irritation over the lack of con- of disgusting hysteria, slander- entire national committee of a fidence in or any genuine respect ous personal attacks, and wild Communist party could sit there bureaucracy and events proved solid support given me by my China? And again, what was own branch - the people who knew me best.

> my mind any longer the picture happen? about.

There was Gene Dennett. I knew Gene was a veteran party me - the hysteria about the unionist with seventeen years in Trotskvists - the gripping fear the party. I knew he had turned on the part of our leaders lest down a pie-card to work in in-some of us might hear a Trotparty I simply took for granted dustry. He was respected by Ne- skyist talk. That could even go as I had done for the ten years gro workers both in and out of to the lengths of dismantling a the party, far more than most of healthy organization because there the people who expelled him. were a few Trotskyists in it. The Harriet Dennett, expelled with refusal of our leaders to engage Gene, was cleared of the charge of in open debate with Trotskyists. being an FBI agent by her union

I thought of Betty Smith. I had ing a Trotskyist paper, no more. worked with Betty. I knew of her and quality of work she had done it really because they thought a in their interest. Mistaken she substantial number of us would could be, but an FBI agent? Really! I had not much liked Ed cognize a correct line; or could the "pot calling the kettle black" we would? Didn't the whole thing "However," I reasoned, "what- I saw going on in relation to his look suspicious as hell? expulsion.

stories told by seamen who had been in the San Francisco area I studied the history and works shows as yet no signs of bouncing that the Trotskyists were fascists, at the time of the 1946 expul- of Trotsky carefully. I closely back. Dollar volume of retail pick-up of the last few months betrayers of the revolution, sions. Stories which, coming from associated with and observed sales continues to fall below last agents of the police (well paid so many people whose judgment members of the Socialist Work- year's low levels. The effects of

Seattle Wash. | probably), and deliberate mis- | I respected, were difficult to | ers Party. I went back over the | persecuted and slandered Trotsky

I remembered Bernice Bellows, a hard working, loyal girl, ex-

There were many others. How A host of political questions

MY EXPULSION AND OTHERS French CP, with power in their has been the direct cause of the I was thoroughly aroused by hands, docilely handed over France opningresent bureaucracy we have philosophy of Karl Marx lives. the illogical, undemocratic, and to the bourgeoisie in 1944? The all been so well aware of here judges completely disregarded the had happened to Greece, to going on in Yugoslavia, anyhow? And in the party of Marx and of permanent revolution was the I could not then shut out of Lenin, how could all these things

Then for the first time it struck I remembered a fine young man expelled from the YCL for read-

Why were they so afraid for not have sense enough to re-

I determined to find out for I remembered the disturbing myself, and proceeded to do so. signalled the so-called "recession"

Socialist Workers Party, the SP, IWW, Anarchists, SLP - pelled years ago for the crime, country cannot be reconciled with what he had to say. could be lumped together and as I strongly suspected, of being the theories of Marx and Lenin. It was the necessary invention

many others? I wondered. Could up in the Soviet state and This bureaucracy with its un-

Trotsky correctly criticized this disaster throughout the years. Stalin and the other bureaucrats knew that the Trotskyist theory Marxist-Leninist line. They have

works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and his followers unceasingly beand Stalin. This is what I found, cause they could not afford for The theory of Socialism in one the workers of the world to hear

I have become convinced that the Socialist Workers Party is of the bureaucracy which grew the real Marxist - Leninist party - capable of leading the workthroughout the Third Interna- ing class to victory. Here is an tional after the death of Lenin. organization that practices genuine democratic centralism, an tive thinking we sought in the return? Why the sudden defeat of of needless defeats for the work- CP, and rarely found, is the rule Spain, anyhow? Why had the ing class all over the world. It rather than the exception. Here is an organization in which the

> I'do not ask you to take my word for this. I do ask you to study the question. I would welcome an opportunity to discuss these things with you in greater detail. I believe you owe it to yourself and to the working class to which I know you are devoted to hear what we have to say.

> > Comradely, RUTH BROWN PORTER

## ECONOMIC SITUATION

(Continued from page 1) post shares to their highest levels in three years. And President Truman has officially declared that "the worst of the readjustment following the 1948 boom has been weathered." A rather cautious pronouncement under the circumstances for the superoptimist in the White House.

"Business upturn looks too good to be true to many businessmen," chimes in the weekly U.S. News in its issue of Nov. 25.

The reasons for this seemingly surprising caution are not hard to find. The domestic market, whose decline in October, 1948 I didn't jump to conclusions. of almost one year's duration,

for these declines because areas which remained unaffected by the strikes likewise registered the same trend.

#### MASS INCOMES SHRINK

The two main factors for this condition are the shrinking incomes of workers and farmers. Farm income has fallen this year by 13 percent; the drop will extend into next year as huge agricultural surpluses accumulate and farmers are compelled to cut production - and income - in order to qualify under the pricesupport program.

The slash in mass incomes of wages, from layoffs and cutbacks. It is significant that the left the unemployment situation just about where it was in July at the bottom of the slump. Improvements in some badly hit areas were balanced off by layoffs in others. Unemployment, in other words, has for the time

goods sector remains a big ques-

maining the vulnerable element in the business picture.'

Finally, the effects of the worldwide trade war, set off by the recent currency devaluations, are still to make themselves fully felt on American exports and face of an increased inflow of competitive European goods could have serious repercussions in a relatively brief space of time.

To sum up, the economic situation remains highly unstable despite the pick-up since midsummer. There has still been no definitive reversal of the downward cycle, but merely a levelling off that may endure for several more months. This year, as last, the barometer to future trends is supplied by the Christmas sales again flop, the downward trend will reassert itself.

followed a different course.

ecognizes the struggle as "the biggest crisis" in the history of Stalinism, and Tito's resistance as one that will speed up "the whole process of disintegration within the Stalinist empire" if he survives. Furthermore, it concedes that the element of Yugoslavia's national independence is definitely involved in the conflict and that in waging it Tito has the support of virtually the entire Yugoslav population. Nevertheless, the ISL refuses to lift a finger to help the Yugoslavs in their struggle.

#### CONTRADICTIONS

we bear in mind that in the ISL "the same kind of impulsion that capitalist nation that rules it."

perialism"?

#### THE NATIONAL QUESTION

lecided: "Without giving one iota of political support to Mikolajczyk but indeed fighting his influence over the Stalinist opposition, the task of the Marxists was to give unequivocal support to the struggle of the [national resistance] movement on which he temporarily rested." Now the Yugoslav struggle cer-

tainly has many differences from Tito is not an agent of imperial- their claim to be the "best" ism. But according to the ISL. dence prevails in both situations its support of Mikolajczyk. Why tradictions. It said: then does it withhold support from the Yugoslavs?

The answer will be found in the Stalinophobia which increas ingly dominates the ISL's politics. and strategy. Demoralized by the degeneration of the first workers state and departing from the class analysis of events and movements, they make the presence or absence of "democracy" (divorced from its class content) their supreme criterion for arriving at political positions. Thus, in their concept Stalinism is the greatest danger in the world because its victory would mean world totalitarianism while under capitalism there are still some remnants of democracy. That is why they recoil from Stalinism with a fear and panic they do not exhibit toward capitalism or its agents.

#### POLITICAL PARALYSIS

Blinded by Stalinism to the point where they cannot even conceive of a progressive tendency developing out of a party that has split with the Kremlin, they keep repeating that Titoism is Stalinism, despite the unique country (with notable lapses such origins of Titoism in the indeas China against Japan and pendent insurrectionary mass India against Britain during the movement in Yugoslavia during war). Why then does it with- the war and despite the fact that "Stalinism minus Kremlin control" is, by its very description, salt by those who remember that something new and different on the Schachtmanites are rather not only relieves them of the need them when the time for payment The mystery grows deeper when to analyze the direction in which comes around (as it did on their we recall (1) the ISL's oft- Titoism is moving (whether to promise to defend the Soviet repeated boast that it is the only the right or left of Stalinism); it Union against imperialist attack). also dictates that they cannot

and (2) the ISL's position on the unequivocal support to the move- a bureaucratic level." Why a dif-Mikolajczyk movement in Poland. ments led by the Mikolajczyks ferent position on Tito today if, tion mark. The rebound in con-Mikolajczyk was an agent of and the colonial bourgeoisie, but as they claim, both lead a national sumers goods has not been intervening in "the biggest crisis" by other means? of Stalinism and limits their position to variations of a "plague on both your houses.'

Embarrassed by the sterility that of Poland - for one thing, of a position that clearly belies a resolution which only adds to and was decisive in determining the hopelessness of their con-

#### FURTHER CONFUSION "Although the clash between

Russia and Yugoslavia did not as appeared possible at first lead to an armed attack by Russia (directly or through a neighboring satellite) upon Yugoslavia for the purpose of bringing Tito into line, it can be stated that in this event the position of the anti-Stalinist workers should be to wish for the victory of Yugoslavia in its war against the invader; such support would have been determined by the nature of the war itself, limited to a duel between the two states, in which Tito's regime would be fighting for the national independence of the country as truly as this was the politics behind the Ethiopian side of its war with Italy. . While, however, the conflict between the two totalitarian regimes remains propagandistic and diplomatic and on the bureaucratic level, the Marxists give no support whatever to the Tito-Stalinist regime in Yugoslavia but expose its reactionary character and identity with the Moscow regime, and seek to

mobilize all popular support behind it.' The implied promise to supoort Tito in the event of war with the Kremlin will be taken with the political scene. Their view lavish with such promises but that Titoism equals Stalinism that they often don't deliver on But more important is the fact

that the ISL supported Mikohow to apply the Leninist posi-tion on the national question to This explains why — to use the Kremlin remained "propa-

necessity to take a position for imperialism, whose program was cannot give any kind of support, resistance movement? And if the strong enough to offset the or against the Yugoslav strug- the restoration of the reactionary no matter how critical, to the "politics" of the Yugoslav strug- dwindling and in many cases the gle for independence from the pre-war Poland. Yet the ISL movement led by Tito. For after gle against the Kremlin is un- suspension of plant expansions. all, Tito is a totalitarian while worthy of support today, what and re-equipme the colonial bourgeoisie and Miko- will make it worthy of support G. Forrest, financial editor of the laiczyk parade as "democrats." tomorrow when it is extended on N. Y. Times, cautiously points And that's what's decisive with the level of armed conflict? What out "the durable goods manu-Stalinophobes - so decisive, in ever happened to the idea that facturers have not completed fact, that it prevents them from war is the continuation of politics their readjustment, thereby re-

#### Last year, when the Moscow-

Belgrade split became public, Shachtman wrote: "Go to it, bandits! Deepen the rift between fighters against Stalinism, the you!" This year his resolution imports. Declining exports in the the element of national indepen- ISL convention this year adopted adds in effect: "And I will support you, Bandit Tito - but only if you declare war on the Kremlin or if the Kremlin declares war on you." Determination of their position by what Stalin or Tito is forced to do - that is what passes under the name of 'independent" politics in ISL circles.

> Such a dilettante attitude toward "the biggest crisis" in the history of Stalinism is of benefit only to the Kremlin. It shows that Stalinophobia is not only a sales. If these hold up, the pickbridge to the camp of imperialism, up will carry over into the first it is also a roadblock in the way quarter of 1950. If the Christmas of revolutionary struggle against

## Visit your local headquarters of the

BOSTON-Workers Educational Center O Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 social last Sat. of month.

BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every CHICAGO-166 W. Washington Bivd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment.

CLEVELAND --- Every Sunday, 9 p. m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Liberty 5606.

DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. FLINT-Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2498. n House Saturday evenings. LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke

LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m. MILWAUKEE 917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337.

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NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)—116 Univer-ty Place. Phone GR 5-8149. HARLEM-103 W. 110 St., Rm. 28 hone MO 2-1866. Open discussion

Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion.
Thurs. 8 p.m. BRONX—Hunts Point Palace, 953
Southern Bivd; Room 25. Every Fri.
night at 8:30 p.m. BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor,
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meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
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PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Fhurs., 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO—1789 Filtmore Ave., sth fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except 9un., 12-4:30 p.m. ST. LOUIS -- "For information SEATTLE—Maynard Bidg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 2278, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, book-

WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester, YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 te 4 s.m.

#### Chicago's Sequel to The recent fascist-like Peekskill riots were not isolated incidents. Their pattern

is discernible in a growing series of similar outrages in other parts of the country. The latest occurred in Chicago two weeks ago when a mob, inspired by property owners and inflamed with anti-Jewish and anti-Negro propaganda, attacked the home of a CIO organizer and assaulted scores of persons on the streets.

At Peekskill, the racist prejudice appeared in the guise of an attack on "communism." In Chicago, the mob violence was openly and directly inspired by anti-Semitism and racism. Property owners, seeking to enforce "racial covenants" in a white neighborhood, circulated the rumor that Negroes were moving into the home where a CIO organizer, who happened to be Jewish, had held a meeting which was attended by some Negroes. The mob terrorized the area for a week

### Peekskill

Dictator Franco.

elected.

and laid nightly siege to the organizer's

And in Chicago, as at Peekskill, the police acted in complicity with the terrorists. This fact was so obvious that even the Chicago Daily News felt impelled to editorially attack "the continuing manifestations of police incompetence in handling riotous mobs." It charged that "the fact seems to be that in this case the sympathies of the police were very largely with the mob.'

One policeman told a Daily News reporter that several persons assaulted by the mob "were properly beaten because they were Communists." "How do you know they were Communists?" the reporter asked. "Because they were Jews," the policeman explained.

Hitlerism isn't dead. It is stalking the streets of America today. It even wears the uniforms of official "law and order."

### Yugoslavia and the Stalinophobes the present situation in Europe, their own phrase - they can give gandistic and diplomatic and on

The break between Stalin and l'ito imposed on every tendency in the labor movement the Kremlin. It wasn't difficult for the Trotskyists to see the progressive features of the Yugoslav struggle and the tremendous potentialities it held for unmasking Stalinism and destroying its influence over large numbers of revolutionary workers throughout the world. That was why we unhesitatingly took our place on the side of the Yugoslav rebels, without in any way abating our criticism of the wrong policies of their leaders. The Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites)

At least in words, the ISL

This abstentionist attitude seems all the more curious when conception of Stalin's "bureaucratic collectivist empire" the Tito regime is driven into conflict with the Kremlin by essentially drives the rising bourgeoisie of a colonial country to seek increasing independence from the bigger

In the case of a colonial struggle for independence from an imperialist country, the ISL is on record for support of the colonial hold support from what it characterizes as an analagous struggle by Tito against "Stalinist im-

group that really understands have any more to do with the

"I like a country where it's nobody's damned business what magazines anyone reads, what he thinks, whom he has cocktails with. I like a country where we do not have to stuff the chimney against listening ears and where what we say does not go into the FBI files along with a note from S-17 that I may have another wife in Cálifornia. I like a country where no collegetrained flatfleet collect memoranda about us and ask judicial protection for them, a country where when someone makes statements about us to officials he can be held to account. We had that kind of country only a little while back and I'm' for getting it back. It was a lot less scared than the one we've got now."

DeVoto draws far too pretty a picture of the prewar days. The secret police has been used to hound labor militants and supposed radicals for decades, as the Palmer Raids of 1920 proved. He excuses the 1939-1945 record of the G-men by calling their "enormous asininities and enormous injustices" an inevitable "part of the cost of the war.'

We who have consistently warned of Washington's secret police, take no part in condoning any chapter of its inquisitorial history. But the very fact that DeVoto is a former supporter of the FBI makes his opposition all the more significant and heartening.

He writes a scathing indictment of the govern-

ment's use of stool-pigeons and reliance on unsupported evidence. He cites the fantastic evidence in the trial of Judith Coplon, and the vicious secret hearings of the Loyalty Board under Truman's infamous Executive Order. He under Truman's infamous Executive Order. He assails the FBI dossiers as "a hash of gossip, assails the FBI dossiers as "a hash of gossip, rumor, slander, backbiting, malice and drunken Toledo Pensions inventions which, when it makes the headlines, shatters the reputations of innocent and harmless people and of people who our laws say are innocent until someone proves them guilty in court. . . We know that the thing stinks to high heaven, that it is an avalanching danger to our

There are no figures in his article on the extent of this monstrous evil. But the federal budget of 1948 made provision for over 11,000 FBI personnel, while part-time informers, stool-pigeons and self-appointed snoopers bask and flourish in the glow of the witch-burning fires.

"A single decade has come close to making us a nation of common informers," DeVoto warns. His own answer to the question "What to do about it?" boils down to the following personal challenge to the FBI:

"From now on any representative of the government, properly identified, can count on a drink and perhaps informed talk about the Red (but progress has been made up to non-Communist) Sox at my house. But if he wants information from me about anyone whomsoever, no soap. If it is my duty as a citizen to tell what I know about someone, I will battle has continued in the papers, perform that duty under subpoena, in open court, at meetings and over the radio. before that person and his attorney. This notice The latest recruits to the milis posted in the court-house square: I will not discuss anyone in private with any government

## Plight of the 'Braceros'

By Juan Suares

The film "Border Incident" purports to tell the story of a group of Mexican agricultural workers (braceros) who are smuggled across the border to work on ranches in California's Imperial Valley. They are paid substandard wages and cannot appeal to the law for "protection" beacuse of their illegal status. Their plight is pictured as an isolated case, owing entirely to the activity of some criminals, with the police presented as their benevolent guardians.

But whether unwittingly or deliberately - in order to explain away a real problem - Hollywood has here touched upon a few of the vicious conditions imposed upon the great mass of Mexican agricultural workers in this area, illegal entrants, legal entrants and American citizens

The raising of fruit and vegetables on a mass production basis in the irrigated valleys of California requires large numbers of workers for short periods of time. The history of this industry has been one attempt after another to find a labor force which would appear on the scene when needed, toil for bare subsistence wages, then disappear after the season's work was done. This sounds like a "fair deal" for the capitalist ranchers if they could get it. It also happens to be a little too much to expect.

It might perhaps be possible to keep the workers docile so long as they were kept working, even at low wages, but trouble is bound to arise when hundreds of thousands suddenly find themselves without jobs and without savings. To keep the workers unorganized under such conditions requires the full utilization of the most repressive devices: fascist terror in the form of vigilante groups, utter ruthlessness by the authorities, and

most virulent weapon of all, racial prejudice.

In the past, large number of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and other ethnic groups were imported, scheme at that time. The union-More recently, destitute families from the dust bowl and Negroes from the South have also toiled ed over 3,000 members had joined in this industry under some of the worst condi- their ranks. tions. In every case the workers have been segregated wherever possible, and racial divisions between the groups have been manufactured and fostered by the local press, police, etc. The largest group used at present are the Mexicans.

They happen to be the most convenient from the management's standpoint. In a period of that have thrown 30,000 workers rising unemployment the Mexican and American governments signed an agreement by which 40,000 Mexican nationals would be moved into in the last week and it is re- spring: the San Joaquin Valley.

Mexican nationals can be admitted on temporary permits or by deliberate laxity of the border patrols during the working season. They can be super-exploited, deprived of citizen rights, and then kicked out of the country when so longer needed. American workers of Mexican ancestry are treated at best as second class citizens and enjoy only slightly better conditions.

The Di Giorgio strike which gained national prominence shows how the corporation farmers actually handle the problem. This strike involved Americans of Mexican origin many of whom were active militants. The owners of the Di Giorgio ranch with the help of the U.S. State Department brought in "legal" Mexican nationals to

The Mexican worker is not the comic opera character Hollywood writers love so much. There are healthy indications that he is begining to realize that a united struggle by all the workers

## **VOLUME XIII**

TOLEDO, Nov. 19 - Now that the pension strikes have been settled in the steel industry, the local UAW leaders have served notice on the companies that it is time "to get down to business" here. The corporations have maintained a solid front up to now in refusing to accept the area-wide pension plan proposed by the

From the tone of the union's demand that serious negotiations begin and that the corporations submit an alternative plan if they have one, it is clear that no now in securing a basis for an agreement.

Meanwhile, the propaganda lionaire-sponsored Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls, which is spearheading opposition to the union, include the Toledo Small Business Association.

This outfit received notoriety a few months ago by attempting to establish a red-hunting censorship of text books used in schools in this city. Public opposition compelled them to abandon this busting committee recently claim-

The time is rapidly approaching when the union will have to bring matters to a head with a strike call, if no progress is made in negotiations. The situation here is complicated by large layoffs out on the streets. Some 5,000 to 6,000 of these have been laid off tional convention of the SP next ported that more layoffs are

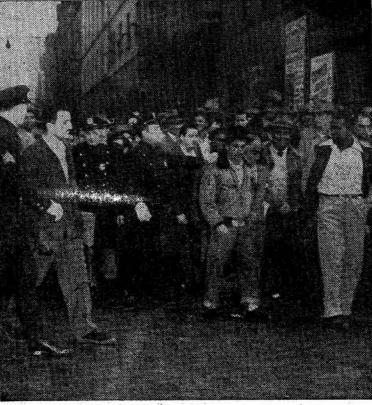
strikes, the union ranks will be decided by tradition, by drift or pressive and truly educational

#### Next Week: R. Bell will resume his ser-

ies on the background of the current Trotskyist-baiting campaign by the leaders of the Seafarers International Union and the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

#### Cops Guard Curranites

THE MILITANT



Guarded by New York police, Guy Savio, a leader of the Curran machine in the National Maritime Union, leaves union headquarters after fighting which erupted when opponents of Curran refused to surrender the hiring hall and the right to elect their

## **Full Text of** SP Resolution

The following is the full text of the resolution passed by the majority of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party and recommended for adoption by a na-

1. We can no longer escape a basic re-evaluation of the Socialist There is a strong suspicion that Party's electoral policy in relasome of these layoffs were made tion to our success in spreading to weaken the bargaining posi- the message of Socialism, in tion of the union in the pension building our own organization dispute. However, the sentiment and in paving the way for a new

> to go by default. There are basic factors in the of the party. The ultimate decision must be reached by a na

a basic approach as set forth

2. Electoral campaigns should be run by sections of the Socialist Party only when the following conditions are met:

a. Local and state bodies should nominate candidates only of the workers continues to back political alignment. We must not where the resources and morale the union and in case of any allow our electoral policy to be of the party permit an imcampaign.

b. Candidates should not be to the triumph of reactionary discussion the National-Executive endorse candidates of either of anti-Negro riots of 1943. the two major parties.

c. There are, however, areas where the possibility of winning or maintaining the Socialist place dorse Rev. Charles A. Hill, the their own political party, their on the ballot is such as to require the running of one or more candidates. In such cases care should be taken in choosing the posts to his imported supporters, he had state and local bodies to consult 3. Section two of the resolu-

tion constitutes an explicit abandonment of electoral action as cialist Party. It becomes necessary to develop a basically new role for the Party so that a more effective and systematic program of education for Socialism may Necessarily, such a program will deal with the manner and extent to which the Party, as an organization, or individual Socialworse showing and then declared like the AFL's Labor's League ists should work in organizations Curran elected without taking a for Political Education, the CIO's Political Action Committee, or Americans for Democratic Action and through them participate in

> major parties. The NEC strongly urges on Party locals pre-convention discussion of our educational func-

electoral action in one of the

tion in all its aspects. Democratic Socialism requires mass electoral party consciously levoted to it. Conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties. We believe it far more likely - and definitely preferable - that it will be achieved by the establishment in the elec-But several thousand members toral field of a party like the photographers. The N. Y. Times sat and refused to budge. Curran British Labor Party or the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation for which we one lieutenant, seven sergeants, and photographers. Along with long have worked. In any case the active existence of the Socialmounted policemen under a ser- outports - not all of them, as ist Party continually working for Socialism along lines suggested in this resolution is essential.

CORRECTION

By an error the vote for the Joseph Glass, Socialist Party candidate for Mayor, was omitted from last week's report on the New York election returns. According to the Police Department report, Glass got 3,434 votes as compared with the 26,742 cast for Norman Thomas in New York City in 1948.

## Edwards' Defeat Marks Setback For PAC Policy

DETROIT — The defeat of George Edwards for Mayor of Detroit struck a severe blow at the Michigan CIO's policy of working within the Democratic Party. Running

as a Democrat in a city which is Democratic stronghold, at a ime when Democrats elsewhere in the nation were making gains, Edwards suffered the worst defeat of any local "labor candi- Party. (Even without CIO supdate" for Mayor since 1937.

His opponent, Albert E. Cobo, a former high executive of the Buroughs Adding Machine Corporation and City Treasurer for the past 14 years, got 309,067 votes while Edwards got 203,957 - or two years ago when he was elect-Council.

The CIO attempted to sell Edwards, a national ADA vicepresident, one-time socialist and UAW member, on the basis of his being a Democrat. This was the Number One point in his program. When attacked by the press for his union background and radical past, he retreated into the shadows of respectability by declaring himself a loyal Demo-

However, the party-line vote never materialized. Furthermore Edwards' emphasis on his party connections gave the kept press immunition to attack him and the CIO leaders for injecting "party politics" into a "non-partisan' election. The more the vested interests attacked him, the more he steered clear of controversial

ALIENATED MILITANTS

Edwards succeeded in antagonizing the most progressive and would have been elected if the oldonly warmly endorsed the anti- him instead of bolting. The facts labor City Charter Amendment will not bear this out. A check of creating a "loyalty" investigating the voting districts shows that committee for municipal workers the apathy of the working class but even boasted that he had written it.

nominated where a campaign much of the Negro community must be openly acknowledged and would contribute, or seem to our too. While he campaigned on a it show how stupid it is for the candidly discussed in the councils potential supporters to contribute, promise to fire the hated police unions to rely on capitalist policommissioner, Harry S. Toy, his ticians who are ready to bolt candidates and policies opposed by own slate of councilmanic candi- their own ticket rather than let labor and liberal forces. This does dates was headed by former Maypreceded by thorough-going party not imply, however, that the or Edward J. Jeffries, renowned party? Doesn't it reveal that discussion. In launching this Socialist Party, as such, should for his reactionary role in the merely taking over the bosses

Anathy toward his campaign was further increased when the ers to action? Doesn't it prove CIO leadership refused to en- that what the workers need is only Negro candidate for Common own candidates, their own pro-Council, because Hill's name gram?

appeared on a two-man slate with that of Stanley Nowak, former State Senator reputed to be a fellow traveler of the Communist port, Hill ran 14th in a field of 18 from which nine were elected.)

NUMBER 48

The program of Edwards and the CIO was bereft of any concrete proposals to defend or better the living conditions of Detroit's workers. It consisted of less than the number he received vague campaign oratory generalities - federal funds for ed President of the Common housing, lower taxes, reorganization of the public transportation system. Edwards apparently was not helped by his actions during eight years as a member of the Common Council. He attempted to be all things to all people. When he denounced Cobo as a "Republican businessman and tax collector," his rival was able to answer that Edwards himself was secretary of a small corpora-

#### FALSE THEORY

The defeat of Edwards showed the falseness of the theory that the union movement must bury itself inside one of the capitalist parties in order to win political victories. Edwards, running as a Democrat, lost by over 20% of the total vote cast. Richard T. Frankensteen, a UAW vice-presis dent, who ran as an independent labor candidate in 1945, lost by only 11% of the total.

It may be argued that Edwards militant workers when he not line Democrats had united behind was a greater factor than the opwritten it.

His opportunist deals estranged crats in Edwards' defeat.

But even if it were true, doesn't the labor leaders take over their political machinery does not serve to mobilize and inspire the work-

## own elected officials. A regular scales and in the bureaucratic fraternity. At in this action by a huge majority of the building satisfies and hiring hall of the New York Port.

The SP, according to the resolu-

tion, would still engage "as such" in its own electoral activity

hope that there may be achieved a mass party of "socialism" in this country along the lines of the reformist British Labor Party or the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. It does not exclude, however, the possibility that "conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties."

#### ADOPTION EXPECTED

Adoption of this resolution at the SP national convention appears almost certain, since the resolution is supported by the most influential SP leaders.

The SP's formal abandonment SP when it states: "It becomes capitalist political machines on of independent opposition to the necessary to develop a basically the electoral field — that is, abandonment of opposition to capitalism itself - has long been expected. The SP has been politically insolvent for many years, and has been seeking receiver-Federation. The policy of "limited electoral activity" is intended to expedite the SP's absorption in the SDF, which is engaged completely in capitalist politics.

## **On Civil Rights**

San Francisco-Oakland - Dec.

Los Angeles - Dec. 10-13. St. Louis — Dec. 17. Chicago — Dec. 18-21. Milwaukee - Dec. 23. Chicago - Dec. 24-25. Toledo - Dec. 27. Detroit - Dec. 28-31. Flint - Dec. 29-30. Detroit — Jan. 1-2. Cleveland - Jan. 3-4. Akron - Jan. 5. Youngstown - Jan. 6-7. Pittsburgh - Jan. 8. Morgantown - Jan. 9. -Buffalo - Jan. 12-14. Rochester - Jan. 13. Boston - Jan. 15-16. Lynn - Jan. 17. Worcester - Jan. 18. New Britain - Jan. 19. New Haven - Jan. 20. New York - Jan. 21. Philadelphia - Jan. 22-23. Allentown - Jan. 24. Reading - Jan. 25. New York - Jan. 26. Newark - Jan. 27.

#### Fight Curran Dictatorship Drive defend the right of the member- prestige politician. As a CIO dictators took refuge in the Na- chair against opposition candi-(Cont. from page 1)

referendum for ratification. A 60day referendum is now in pro-

gress, to conclude on Dec. 31. their first attempt to push over the yellow-dog admendments was defeated because (1) the opissues involved. The Curranites decided not to take any chances with their second attempt to straitjacket the ranks.

#### RIGID CENSORSHIP

into a factional weapon against ment. the opposition. The opposition and its leaders were slandered, vilified and deprived of their job action! Dump the aliens and it the Curran machine set in right to reply. Only material sup- kick out the reds! The sole con- motion the train of events leadporting the position of the Cur- cern was to carry forward the ing to the so-called "red revolt." ran crew was published. A rigid witch-hunt. Are members grumcensorship was clamped on in bling about conditions aboard violation of constitutional provi- ship? - gag them! Do the unemsions governing the conduct of ployed want jobs? - divert them internal discussion on disputed into hounding the "reds." Does

President Lawrenson, in charge ship? - purge them! of Pilot, Publicity and Education was arbitrarily stripped of his ing adopted proposals, motions, authority. A new editor and resolutions, embodying measures assistant editor were appointed to deal with the union's problems, without the necessary member- protests against gag-rule of the time it was announced that Presiship approval. These were but a Pilot, demands for recognition of dent Curran had left for Texas where - except in the NMU!

With the Pilot operating under was against the Port of New charges were brought against York. Immediately following the President Curran and Treasurer NMU convention the National M. Hedley Stone, by Port Agent cratic blitz against Port Agent hell broke loose! Drummond. A few days later the National Office appointed Vice-President Warner as administrameasures were necessary to of New York. Curran is a of this resistance the would-be accepted the nomination for the file union.

The Curran gang realized that in this action by a huge majority. such gatherings as the CIO con- York Port.

#### TEMPORARY RETREAT

position controlled the Port of pelled a temporary retreat on the But within his own union he care-New York which gave them access part of the Curran clique. The fully avoids a test of strength to approximately half the mem- port continued to function as before the membership unless he Curran's "Mission to Texas" and For outside of his own bus loads bership of the entire union and usual, with "administrator" is more than reasonably sure in Secretary Hanley's trip to the of followers only a few hands (2) the pages of the NMU paper, Warner retiring to the back- advance to emerge victorious. The Pilot, were opened to all ground. During this entire period points of view, thus providing a the national leadership had no ample, Curran hasn't dared run bers into coming to New York to went up all over the hall. It was be adopted and put into action. democratic discussion of the answer to the burning problems for chairman of a New York stave off the "red revolt." of the seamen. Unemployment membership meeting against any mounted, conditions aboard ship candidate of the opposition aldeteriorated, shipowner arrogance became insufferable, the blacklist flourished and union militants were victimized and fired for at-First, the Pilot was converted tempting to enforce the agree- it. Under the circumstances, he place swarming with uniformed

the opposition insist on the demo-An opposition leader, Vice- cratic right to criticize the leader-

Meeting after membership meetmembership.

#### CURRAN'S PRESTIGE

Under the NMU constitution a

vention he cuts a great swathe

as hatchetman for Murray against that Curran supporters were being ers. This show of resistance com- the discredited Stalinist minority. mobilized in the outports to in-

In the recent period, for ex-

though six months ago he ran has lost the support of the New York membership and he knows answer: "Keep 'Em Sailing! No could prevent it. And to prevent

#### WARNER STEPS IN

A few days after the National Office had received the charges against Curran, Vice - President Warner descended on the Port of New York, announced he was taking over as administrator, took the keys off Port Agent Drummond, "fired" Assistant Agent the platform sat the top officials The charges were declared ac-Eddie Costello, and installed his own man in charge. At the same few of the bureaucratic measures democratic rights. With studied to address a State CIO conven- reports that the police detail con- took off with his police bodyimposed by the self-styled ad- contempt the bureaucrats ignored tion; Secretary Neal Hanley had vocates of "free speech" every- and flouted the actions of the left for the rivers on "union business"; Treasurer M. Hedley Goaded, finally, by the outra- Stone had left for Europe and Curranite gag-rule, the next move geous conduct of the leadership, opposition Vice - President Jack geant, forty detectives and four some had their eyes opened by Lawrenson had been sent to the

With the decks thus cleared Council met to authorize a bureau- Drummond. It was then that all for action the blitzkrieg was the National Officers by a U. S. ing that followed. launched. Uniformed police and Marshal at the meeting hall, the detectives threw a cordon around police took their orders from Cur-cepted the charges against Curthe block in which the NMU hall ran who had Port Agent Drum-ran and Stone by a vote of 1858 was situated. The New York mond forcibly removed from the to 4, elected a 15-man trial comtor over the port. A special mem- national officer brought on membership rallied around their platform. In defiance of the re- mittee, transacted its business in bership meeting condemned the charges is tried by a rank and file elected officials in determined straining order, Vice - President an orderly manner and then adattempted seizure and authorized committee elected at a regular resistance to the power-grab of Warner opened the meeting. For journed to continue the fight for Drummond to take whatever membership meeting in the Port the Curran machine. In the face the first time in months Curran a democratic, militant, rank and

Lakes.

pretext for a junket to panic mem-

#### SWARMING WITH COPS

When members from New York regularly and was unbeatable. He arrived to attend their regular membership meeting at St. Nicholas Arena they found the had no intention of facing charges cops and plain clothesmen. Port To all this Curran had but one in the Port of New York, if he members were refused admittance CURRAN'S "MEETING" until chartered buses disgorged their contingent of Curran supporters from other ports. As the Curranites entered the hall they were handed "master - of - arms" insignia. It was estimated that over the meeting.

When the New York members they were greeted with a neverto-be-forgotten sight. There on of their union, flanked by a lawyer, uniformed cops, detectives, newspaper reporters and detective officers."

Meanwhile reports filtered in his own "master-of-arms" count- with the NEC in these matters.

However, when Warner asked vade New York and take over the for a show of hands Curran must the primary function of the Somembership meeting. President have gotten the shock of his life. rivers provided a convenient were raised. When the vote for Keith was called a sea of hands easily a five to one vote against Curran. Warner hemmed and hawed for a few moments, asked for another show of hands in which his candidate made an even

This was so raw the membership howled down every attempt by Curran to continue the meeting. With the hall in bedlam, Curran consulted with his lawyer over 500 men were transported and then proceeded to "elect" to New York to attend and take one of his stooges secretary by "acclamation." The stooge read off a list of charges, which nobody were permitted to enter the hall could hear above the din in the hall, against the 14 opposition officials in the Port of New York. cepted by Curran and the meet-

ing adjourned. sisted of an "Inspector, a captain, guard, his lawyer, his reporters seventy-five foot patrolmen, ten him went the group from the what they saw at the meeting Although a Federal Court and stayed to participate in the restraining order was served on rank and file membership meet-

The meeting reconvened, ac-

new role for the Party so that a more effective and systematic program of education for Socialism may be adopted and put into action." This "effective" program for "socialism," according to the ship in the Social Democratic further claims of the resolution, "will deal with the manner and extent to which the Party, as an organization or individual Socialists, should work in organizations like the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education, the CIO's Political Action Committee, or Americans for Democratic Action V. R. Dunne's Tour and through them participate in electoral action in one of the major parties." (Our emphasis.)

- provided this does not "seem" out of line with the politics of "our potential supporters" - only "where the resources and morale of the party permit an impressive and truly educational campaign." Since such "resources and morale' have long been absent in the SP there will be little electoral activity under this leading. The resolution expresses the