# **81st Congress Breaks Every 1948** Promise

#### By Farrell Dobbs

On the eve of the 1948 elections I predicted over the radio that no matter whether Truman or Dewey was elected President, Big Business would be the winner and the Vol. XIII - No. 44 American working people the Flan — all part of the prepara-

losers. The country will remain in the tions for war. Fat profits have grip of the monopoly corpora-been reaped by the monopoly cor-Labor, Liberals

sion on war and peace. Prices corporation agents and brass hats will continue to rise unless a new who are running the whole show. Detroit Banquet Toward the working people, on depression substitutes unemploy-ment for the high cost of living. Toward the working people, on the other hand, the Fair Deal Con-

The offensive against the labor gress has pursued a nickel-nursmovement will grow in scope and ing, belly-robbing policy. Price- activity in the auto center was fury, I emphasized, and the Con-gressional witch-hunters will con-while millions are unemployed rights banquet given in his honor tinue their assault on the precious and additional millions have only by the Detroit Kutcher Commitdemocratic rights of all the Amer- part-time jobs. ican people.

these predictions; the Democratic- law to provide increases of a controlled 81st Congress has just nickel to a dime an hour covering, concluded its 290-day first ses- like Volstead's formula, "one-half sion, after filling the record with of one percentum by volume" of 15,000 pages of oratory; and Big the workers. At the same time Business has been the winner and over a million workers formerly the working people the losers on covered by the law were cut off by the amendments. Nothing every issue.

Truman and his Fair-Deal Con- whatever was done for the ungress have given lavish aid to the employed. bankers and industrial barons in their preparations for a war of forged through the Atlantic Pact say that at least ten million new torted." with the Dutch and French.im- units are needed. These million perialist butchers of the Indone- units are to be built at a snail's

sian and Indo-Chinese peoples. Included in this holy alliance ing which time more than a milagainst the human race is the lion marginal dwellings will detotalitarian Salazar regime in teriorate into slums. Portugal. Congressmen are busy whitewashing the fascist beast, placed at the mercy of the rent Franco, as a "lovely character" sharks through the "local option" who should be a member. Another rent decontrol law with its "fair candidate for the Atlantic mili- net operating income" gimmick tary conspiracy is the capitalist enacted by the 81st Congress. government carved out of Western Germany and well-staffed by promises of the Fair Dealers they Nazis

economic security for the work-Over \$20 billion have been appropriated in 1949 for the Amer-ican military machine, the foreign ability and in their old age. Nor (Continued on page 2) arms program and the Marshall

NATIONAL SUB CAMPAIGN

**OPENS FOR "MILITANT"** 

DETROIT, Oct. 24 - James Kutcher's two weeks of intense

tee at the Central Methodist Yet Congress did nothing more Charch last Saturday night. Over A year has passed since I made than amend the minimum wage 300 Detroiters from most of the big plants and progressive organizations in the community came to demonstrate their solidarity with the legless veteran's campaign for justice.

The noted liberal minister Henry Hitt Crane welcomed "the guests and repeated his sermon of a previous Sunday on "Loyalty

By Mandate." "Loyalty," he re-The housing bill passed by Congress provides for only a million marked, "must be voluntary, not world conquest. An unprecedent- housing units when even the most coercive; it must be deserved and ed military alliance has been conservative housing engineers earned, not commanded and ex-

> pace over a 7-year period, dur-Millions of tenants have been fense in the battle for civil rights

Despite the many campaign all of us can rally." He observed that the Veterans did absolutely nothing to provide

pressured the Detroit Common Council into taking a loyalty pledge of its own manufacture. 'There was no legal basis for

this. How far will this loyalty business go? Will the American Legion, the Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce now compete with one another to see which can get the Council to take

On Nov. 1 the Socialist Workers Party will open a na-President August Scholle remindtional subscription campaign for The Militant. To facilitate ed the audience that "as the bringing America's leading socialist weekly to new readers, Boston Tea Party showed, many people became revolutionary in three - months introductory sub- you obtain will go to the SWP order to establish democracy in branch in your area. A renewal this country." He said that the The campaign will be for one of your own subscription will Socialist Workers Party to which Kutcher belongs does not take

off to the fall and winter work of hounced by the various branches ment but is an American revolutionary party, with every right to advocate its own ideas. "Reactionaries are introducing the thought-control practices of 250 Hitler and Mussolini." Scholle 100 declared. "Organized capital has 75 complete control of propaganda 75 and the press; in Michigan, for 60 example, every big newspaper is 50 owned by Republican supporters 50 of Big Business." He concluded 50 by pledging that, although the 35 CIO does not agree with Kutch-35 er's views. "we'll fight to the last 30 ditch until his cause is won." 25 25 25 25 (Continued on page 3) 20 20 Next Week: 15 15 THE CIO 15 CONVENTION 15 10 The first dispatches by Art 10 Preis, our special correspondent 10 at the Cleveland. CIO conven-10 tion, will appear in the next

issue of The Militant.

#### 207 51 1

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

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

**PRICE: FIVE CENTS** 

# The country will remain in the grip of the monopoly corporations, I said. A tiny handful of industrial overlords and brass hats will hold the power of decision on war and peace. Prices will continue to rise unless a new whole show. By Congress of Labor

Who Will Be Next?





Who will be next? The whole labor

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

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

it clear that Truman will inter- seek to weaken the labor movevene in the strikes within the ment and starve the workers back to the plants on the corporations' week if there is no settlement. Irving S. Olds, chairman of U. S. terms. The way to meet this problem

Steel. has demanded that Murray is by fighting for the nationaliza-"get off his high horse" and said he "will have no objections" if tion of the industries whose profiteering masters hold such mon-Truman gets an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction against the strons power over the economic well-heing of the workers. Not strikers. fake government "seizures" of

Corporation agents and smallindustry where the capitalists fry capitalist politicians all over the country are screaming about and where they are handed back a coal famine and threats are the plants after the strikes are being made to lay off hundreds ended. But genuine taking over of thousands of industrial workers. Confronted with this situation, it is more urgent than ever that the unions close ranks and government ownership, the plants face the capitalists and their polifiteers or their representatives in tical agents with a firm united front based on a correct program.

THE LEWIS PROPOSAL

John L. Lewis' proposal for mutual aid and combined struggle against the steel and coal trusts was pointed in the right direction. But after it was rebuffed by William Green and approved by Philip Murray, neither Lewis nor Murray has made any further move toward joint action. The best way to concretize the Lewis proposal, and advance beyond it, would be for Lewis movement. and Murray to take the initiative in summoning a national Consections of the union movement.

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

continue to receive the profits

of the industries by the govern-

ment, genuine and permanent

to be operated not by the pro-

the government, but by the unions

themselves under the control and

supervision of the workers on the

in summoning a national Con-gress of Labor, composed of all Bell Strike Ends. to meet in Washington and work out a program of action to bring Main Issues Sent victory to the embattled steel and TA "East Findore"

building the circulation of the are as follows: Branch New York Los Angeles Buffalo Minneapolis Philadelphia Chicago Detroit Flint Newark St. Paul San Francisco Oakland Akron Milwaukee Pittsburgh Toledo Worcester Youngstown Boston ' Cleveland New Haven Seattle Allentown Morgantown New Britain St. Louis

month, closing Nov. 30. Its main likewise be counted. objective is to give a good send-

#### Speaking as a member of the Detroit AFL Federation of Teachers and the American Association of University Professors, Prof. Orville Linck of Wayne University stated, "We have already lost the first line of de-

in our country. Our job now is to win back what we have lost. The case of this legless veteran is preeminently one around which

of Foreign Wars had recently

the toughest oath?"

In a rousing talk Michigan CIO

The subscription goals an- orders from any foreign govern-

Protskyist press.

scription at 50c.

The total goal decided upon by the various branches is 1,350 points. A credit of one point is given for each three-months sub, two points for each six-months sub, and four points for each onevear sub.

The Militant is offering a special

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

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

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

has no plans for similar prosecu-

tions "at the present time."

Shown at the top on their way to prison prison, victims of the same thought-conare the first victims of the Smith Act, trol law.

the 18 Trotskyists convicted in Minneapolis in 1941.

movement faces similar repressions un-The bottom picture shows 11 leaders of less it realizes that the Smith Act menaces the Communist Party. They cheered the the rights of all workers and comes to conviction of the Trotskyists and sabo- the defense of all the witch-hunt victims, taged their defense. Now they too are in regardless of their political views.



Attorney General J. Howard | These assurances are part of | whose constitutionality is open McGrath declared in a speech on the Truman administration's at- to question.

Oct. 20 that the conviction of the tempts to allay apprehensions The capitalist press on the 11 Stalinist leaders in New York about the threat to democratic whole hailed the convictions, but does not mean that the Com- rights involved in the CP trial at the same time a number of munist Party has been outlawed. and the application of the Smith editors voiced a certain uneasiness would revive the whole fourth board. This "small group," said to He also said that the government Gag Act. Fears of this kind have about the implications of this round wage drive and enlist the be about 22, includes some of the been expressed in many con- thought - control trial. The day enthusiastic backing of the work most outstanding militants in the servative as well as liberal papers. after the verdict, the N. Y. Times ers in other industries.

maximum sentence of the Smith

years in prison and \$10,000 fine case. . . [In this case America] for each of the 11 CP defendants is imposing new and perhaps - and that bail be denied to very drastic restrictions on the Cannon To Speak free political choice of the in-

dividual."

papers have no proposal other than - wait until the Supreme Court gets the case. This ignores the fact that the Supreme Court The chairman, who was scrupu- three years for the eleventh, and refused to hear the appeal of the \$10,000 fine for each. He ex- 18 Trotskyists convicted under pressed regret for the change in the Smith Act in Minneapolis, for support of the 18 Trotskyist set longer prison terms but for went to jail. There is no more reason to rely for justice on the Supreme Court today than there

In addition, Medina denied the was in the Minneapolis case. defendants' plea to be released on The real need, emphasized by bail pending their appeal to higher the CP trial, is united action by courts. In this way the govern-

ment achieves the jailing of the the labor and liberal movements SWP Trade Union Committee, fate of these militants into the defendants without having to to strike at the source of the wait for a Supreme Court decision witch-hunt, to force the revoca-Smith Act. This is a distinct departure from the traditional win the repeal of the Smith Act, review the major international defendants convicted under a law for the Minneapolis 18.

#### IO Fact-Finders

radio announcement Monday

afternoon reported the company

This United Congress of Labor BUFFALO, Oct. 24 - The would be a dramatic demonstration of solidarity, serving notice magnificent struggle of the Bell on the monopolists that the unions Aircraft workers ended last Wedare fully prepared to fight them nesday with a heavy blow delivered to the strikers by the top union to the finish, and making it clear to the government that any leadership headed by Edward strikebreaking moves would meet Gray, UAW Sub-regional Directhe united resistance of the whole tor in charge of the strike. The blow was struck suddenly and labor movement. took the strikers by surprise. A

**REVIVE FOURTH-ROUND** 

will preside.

Such a conference should make declaration of independence and the union had agreed to the from Taft-Hartleyism and rebel terms recommended by a "factagainst compulsory arbitration finding" board under which all imposed under the guise of so- issues between the union and the called "fact-finding" boards. It company would be submitted to should put forward the original arbitration to the board for final wage demands of the workers in and binding decision.

addition to a decent pension and All strikers were to return to welfare program. This would not work with the exception of a only strengthen the morale of the "small group" whose "employstrikers with new incentives bu' ability" is to be decided by the Bell union as well as officers of

More than that, however, the the local, bargaining committee-Grath's "liberal" assurances was torial: "We do not know that the delegates to a Congress of Labor men and others. One of the company's principal need to work out a program to demands had been the discharge The Madison Capital Times meet the ever-recurring problem of these active unionists. Pracspoke more clearly on Oct. 17: of lengthy strikes forced on the ically all of them had participated "A lot of Americans will be dis- workers by the corporations -in the mass demonstrations long sieges through which they which were responsible for turn-

ing the tide in favor of the strikers and arousing the support of the organized labor movement. The agreement reached beividual." But even the most liberal At Nov. 4 Meeting hind closed doors was negotiated solcly between the management and top union officials from the NEW YORK - A mass meetinternational. The local's toping to celebrate the 32nd anbargaining committee did not niversary of the Russian Revoluparticipate in the negotiations but tion and wind up the mayoralty their agreement was obtained campaign of the Socialist Work- later.

ers Party in New York will be The "small group of unemploythe occasion for a major address ables" is divided into three by James P. Cannon, the party's groups: 1. The so-called "subnational secretary. The meeting, versive" elements; 2. A group which will take place at the suspected of being "subversive"; Cornish Arms Hotel Friday night, 3. A group charged with "vio-Nov. 4, will also hear Michael lence" arising out of the mass Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor. demonstrations.

Bert Cochran, chairman of the The agreement to submit the hands of a corporation - minded

"1950 - Midway Point of the "fact-finding" board set up under on the constitutionality of the tion of the "subversive" lists, to 20th Century" will be the theme the direction of Governor Dewey who openly showed his bias review the major international against the strikers, is regarded departure from the traditional practices of the American courts, the release of its latest victims developments of the first half of by all progressives in the Bufaction soaps the rope for the tions Committee reported out its Then after a one paragraph the precedent for Foley Square. which generally allow bail for and the restoration of civil rights the century and analyze the social falo labor movement as one of the trends of the atomic era ahead. (Continued on page 2)

**CP** Torpedoes Ohio Rights Parley

1,350

CLEVELAND, Oct. 16 - A About 200 delegates attended eral resolution protesting the the resolution on defense of the two-day Ohio Conference on the this Ohio conference, chiefly from "loyaity" purge, Harry Braver- 11 was placed before the body Bill of Rights, assembled to or- Stalinist - dominated unions, fra- man, Youngstown SWP organizer, as the final and high point of the ganize a broad united front to ternal organizations and cultural took the floor and told the facts two-day conference. Arnold Johnfight the witch-hunt, was tor-|groups, with a small number of | in the James Kutcher case. pedoed by the Communist Party liberal teachers, ministers and "Kutcher," he pointed out, "is in the closing hours of its sessions church groups. Russell N. Chase, touring the country right now, chairman, tried to arouse the today. When the resolution to Cleveland lawyer, served as speaking to hundreds of organ- delegates to the central task of izations not only in defense of this conference, the defense of the defend the convicted CP leaders chairman.

was introduced, the Stalinists ROGGE'S SPEECH launched a one-hour factional

The most prominent speaker barrage and shouted down an amendment by Ted Selander, O. John Rogge, received the Ohio secretary of the Socialist greatest attention and response Workers Party, to support the from the conference. Obviously Braverman added that Kutcher unconditional pardon and restora- stunned by the Foley Square would be in Ohio soon and he who made an amendment calling the law, saying he would have that it turned its back while they tion of civil rights for the 18 verdict, Rogge said that "the Trotskyist leaders, the first vic- American people were taking this help him speak before their or- leaders. Selander pointed out that that.

tims of the Smith Gag Act. Square and the CP's desperate not sufficient to arouse them."

CP's own neck.

Despite the verdict at Foley down and that words alone were

need to organize a broad move- He repeated over and over again ment of defense, the Stalinists that what is needed is a "united tions Committee replied that they have again demonstrated in ac- front to fight this attack upon had so many "loyalty" cases that tion that any civil rights move, our civil liberties." ment which defends the liberties The conference set up an Ohio separate resolutions for each case

political belief or affiliation." urged all delegates present to courageous fighter for civil libertics in every way they could. The chairman of the Resolu-

it would be impractical to write

of Trotskyists will receive only Bill of Rights organization and and therefore they had decided sabotage and disruptive opposi- elected its officers and executive to handle it with a general resolution from them even though such committee. Finally, the Resolu- tion. Braverman accepted that. last three resolutions. On a gen- resolution against the Smith Act,

his own case but of all the 11. victims of the thought-control SELANDER'S AMENDMENT purge - the 11 CP leaders, Harry Bridges, all victims regardless of lously fair during this debate, then recognized Ted Selander

thought-control witch-hunt lying ganizations and assist this the 18 were convicted under the Smith Act for advocating the teachings of Marxism. "The Communist Manifesto and

the Marxist classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were the evidence the government used against our party," he declared.

"The CP applauded the prosecution and hailed the conviction of the 18 although these acts set (Continued on page 4)

But the worthlessness of Mccautiously observed in an edibared two days later at Foley Smith Act . . . is an ideal piece would be confronted with the Square when his subordinate, of legislation." U. S. Attorney McGohey, demanded that Judge Medina impose the

Act's original penal clause - ten turbed by the import of this son, former chairman of the Ohio them. CP and now national legislative

In a display of judicial vin-

lictiveness, Medina handed down the maximum sentence set by the Smith Act's revised clause of August, 1948 - five years in prison for ten of the defendants,

#### Page Two

THE MILITANT

sions from the government. To-

gether they polled over a million

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

#### By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager The \$12,000 Party Building Fund campaign of the Socialist Workers Party is now in its fourth week with two months to go. Members and friends of the party have collected \$2,068 so far - 17% of the total pledged. Top honors this week go to the Flint Branch. We know that times have been unusually tough for the comrades in Flint. Although they accepted their \$200 quota with some misgivings, let's take a look at what this doughty group of comrades has accomplished. On Sept. 16 Comrade Genora wrote that the branch has accept ed its quota: "Hope we can make it! We've only a handful of com rades who are able to contribute We'll have to get help from our sympathizers." On Sept. 17 the branch sent in its initial payment of \$10; Oct. 1, a payment of \$45; Oct. 1, another payment of \$11; Oct. 11, \$5; Oct. 14, \$11; Oct. 24, \$10 - a total of \$90 which is 45% of Flint's quota. Persistence and a determination to complete their quota on time and in full! Likewise. Worcester Branch. These comrades accepted a \$40 quota, high for this plucky branch. They admitted, "It will take some doing!" But we let the record speak for the efforts these comrades have made. They have already completed 38% of their quota.

The going is rough for many of the branches, but their determination is without parallel. Carl Minor, chairman of the Party Building Fund campaign in Pittsburgh, writes: "With the strikes on around here, it may slow us up, but we will keep plugging away." To help complete their quota, the Pittsburgh comrades have already had one social and are planning another in November.

\$150 or \$175."

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

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SCOREBOARD	LAU 3	NF F	עחט
Branch	Quota	Paid	Percen
Flint	\$ 200	<b>\$</b> 90	45
New Britain	30	12	40
St. Paul-Minneapolis	'900	335	39
Worcester	40	15	38
St. Louis	75	27	36
Buffalo	500	155	31
Cleveland	250	67	27
Boston	200	52	26
Pittsburgh	150	39	26
New York	3,000	735	25
Philadelphia	600	115	19
Detroit	1,100	198	18
Newark	350	56	16
San Francisco-Oakland	800	107	13
Toledo	75	8	11
Chicago	400	30	8
Youngstown	400	20	5
Akron	100	0	0
Allentown	50	0	0
Los Angeles	1,500	0	0
Lynn	75	0	0
Milwaukee .	250	0	0
Morgantown	25	0.	0
New Haven	25	0	0
Seattle	100	0	0
General	805	7	Ó

meager old-age pension. Talk to. As a demonstration of our intent to assume more fully our about sacrifices!" Anne Chester of San Francisco obligations, please revise our informs us: "The pledges made quota to \$1,100. We are convinced: by the members of the Bay Area that we will not only raise this Local are quite satisfactory. We sum but unless we fall victims. feel confident that we will fulfil to some unexpected catastrophe,

we shall go over the top." our quota on time." Comrade Max of Philadelphia "Barring any unforeseen cirsays, "From the pledges made so cumstances," Boston Branch hopes far plus the proceeds of a social "to go over the top" with their or two, it looks like you can quota. Comrade Dennis adds: count on Philly making its quota." 'May there be no goose-eggs on Seattle Branch accepted their the scoreboard at the drive's \$100 duota and added: "We will end!" in all likelihood up this quota to

We'd like to end this column with a thought expressed by the A letter from Ernie Kennedy Los Angeles Local in a letter to speaks for the Detroit Branch: all its members: "The entire fall After careful consideration of campaign of the party nationally.

the quotas proposed for the we must remember, is based various branches in the Party around this Party Building Fund Building Fund campaign and our campaign. The whole propaganda ability to pay, the Detroit mem- campaign, the national tours, bership and Executive Board have maximum hitting power for the rejected the assignment of \$800. party press, and a widening in-We are convinced that the quota fluence of the party is based on suggested represents discrimina- the collection of this fund. The tion in favor of the Detroit fund is not just money - it is Branch - discrimination which money raised to political signi-

we no longer need or are entitled ficance."

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

this slave labor law still on the (Continued from page 1) was a single effective step taken statute books, and at the very to provide national health protec- time when almost a million coal to start a revolution against But no maneuvers, no matter await only a favorable oppor. Sama Samaja and the boisnevic When Cardinal Spellman

### **Harlem Tenants**

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

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

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



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

Yugoslav workers have allegedly Yugoslav emissaries at the recent

sessions of the UN.

The danger of such a position

is illustrated by such actions as

the one taken by Salko Feyitch,

member of the Yugoslav Foreign

Ministry. During the debates of

the UN Trusteeship Committee,

to praise the "contributions" of

Britain, France and other colonial

enslavers to the "progress of the

colonies" under their administra-

of the imperialists and emboldens

them to press for further and

This also plays into the hands

The imperialists would not

Europe, or in the Far East. They

slavia with the imperialist world. end of the war.

hesitate for a moment to leave the weakness of the Communist

Yugoslavia at the mercy of (Stalinist) Party, which is true,

Stalin, provided he met their and dismisses as negligible the

price, say, elsewhere in Eastern influence of the "divided" Lanka

bigger "acknowledgments."

REINFORCES ILLUSIONS

perialist agents."

# Yugoslavs Try to Parry War Moves by Kremlin

been engaging in strikes and a

By John G. Wright in Yugoslavia. On Oct. 25 the have been claiming. Yet this has Daily Worker featured a dispatch also been the keynote of the Stalin's pressure against Yugofrom Sofia to the effect that speeches of Kardelj and other slavia keeps mounting as his warlike moves multiply. Soviet troops continue to maneuver

from Moscow.

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

> ported on Oct. 23 that the "chief reason why all American ambassadors from the Iron Curtain countries have been summoned that the Kremlin "plans to infiltrate Bulgarian, Hungarian and

Rumanian troops into Yugoslavia MANEUVERS NOT ENOUGH miners and steel workers are on Tito. Moscow would then trumpet how skillful, can save Yugoslavia. tunity to rape Yugoslavia them- says "are Trotskyist and antiin- the picket lines resisting the un- this to the world as a revolution Her fate will be ultimately settled selves.

**Steel Workers Navy** 

World Events **By Paul G. Stevens** Times Correspondent struggles that have forced unprecedented trade union conces-

#### Shuns Truth on **Ceylon Situation**

votes in the last elections out of A certain Robert Trumbull has a total population of 61/2 million ecently written a series of disinhabitants, and elected 15 mempatches from Colombo, Ceylon to bers to the Parliament of slightly the N. Y. Times. It could hardly over 100 members. be said that he lives up to that If the Ceylon Stalinists are paper's motto, "All the news weak, if the government of that's fit to print." For there are Ceylon is forced to enact progressive labor laws and even to

obvious indications that he missed up on well-known and simple talk of nationalizing the island facts. But he makes up for that industries, then that is due to the shortcoming by filling a real need fact that the masses there have for the rulers of the United given far greater support to States, and consequently also the Marxism, represented by the publishers of the Times. That is Trotskyists, than anywhere else to try and find some bright spot n the world. in the Far East situation, which undoubtedly looks as dark as never before from the roosts in

He also makes a big point of

Sama Samaja and the Bolshevik

Wall Street.

The London Economist, in a long report on Ceylon last year, made just this point in a very sober comment accompanying an

There is, to be sure, a grain analysis of the situation in the of consolation for them in Ceylon. erstwhile British colony. The in contrast with the debris of Cevionese Trotskyists have really their hopes in China, the unonly begun their drive for the certainty in the newly inderevolutionary socialist transforendent India and the irrepressible mation of Ceylon. Mr. Trumbull civil wars in Indo-China, Inand the Times are merely whistlionesia and Burma, Ceylon does ing in the dark.

indeed present a somewhat more stable picture. The national bour-U. S. Iron Curtain geoisie there was able, against **Punctured** in Latin the protest of the masses, to put over a back-door deal giving the **American Parley** British vital military bases in

Among other instruments in the. exchange for its recent "incold war," U. S. labor "statesdependence." With this guarmen" some two years ago created antee, the General Tire & Rubber a so-called Inter-American Labor Co. of Akron has moved in to try Confederation. Its main purpose exploitation of the native rubber. has been to rally support for

Other American business con-Yankee imperialism under the cerns are planning to take similar cover of trade union organizaadvantage with native glass, tion. A large part of the organized rolled steel and ceramics. But, labor movement there had previwhether these enterprises will ously been under Stalinist domimeet with success is far from nation for many years. But Washington policy south of the Rio

Mr. Trumbull speaks of the Grande is so odious that the new Ceylonese being well fed, only to instrument has not been living up mention in passing that the legal to the expectations of its sponminimum wage (read: average Sors.

tion. This plays into the hands wage) is 60 cents a day and that At its recent second congress prices are high. He reveals that in Havana, the delegates — handworkers have a maximum 8-hour, picked as they were - could not workday with time-and-a-half for refrain from attempting to push overtime and double-time for through a resolution attacking the of the Kremlin and its campaign Sunday work, and that before an U. S. State Department for its to depict the Yugoslavs as "im- employee can be discharged the support of the dictatorships in employer must produce proof of Peru, Venezuela, the Dominican dereliction, for which he can be Republic, etc. It took all the art

sued if it is incorrect. But he of the labor "statesmen" to get Worst of all, this tends to rein- fails to mention that these condiaround this move by a compromise force still another illusion — that tions were obtained by a trade to establish a "human rights of a lasting collaboration and union movement which has led tribunal," where victims of the peaceful coexistence of Yugo- several general strikes since the dictatorial regimes "might present their case."

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

... it was noticeable in sev-

in Latin American nations ap-

the first Congress of the Labor

The real sentiment in Latin Soviet." This whole account is America, as seen even through Unfortunately, the absolute con- summed up by a headline the the distorted mirror of this con-

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

in the UN, clearly shows. No Marxist would deny the Yugoslays the right to maneuver between the imperialists. on the one side, and the Kremlin, on the other. This is dictated by the position in which Yugoslavia finds

Columnist Drew Pearson reherself today and the existing relationship of forces. Tito and his friends would be foolish if they failed to utilize in their struggle every public forum availto meet in London" is that the able, up to and including the V. S. government has informa-United Nations and fighting, as tion from the Balkans indicating they did, for a place on the Security Council.

'mass' boycott" as part of a demonstratively along Yugoslav rising tide of "popular resistance" frontiers. War hysteria against against the Tito regime. We may the Tito regime is being whipped expect a barrage of similar up to new heights in the Balkans. The Yugoslav envoy is expelled Prague reports that Czech and Slovak veterans who had fought with the Yugoslav partisans during the war have taken a pledge "to fight, if called upon, against Marshal Tito.'

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ACTIVITY DISCONTRACTOR OF THE OWNER,

solently and arrogantly denounced ion-busting offensive of the monthe Barden bill for aid to educa- opoly corporations. On the day Congress adjourned, tion, the capitalist politicians backed away from it like curs Truman sent letters to the House any violations of its borders by gle. Failure to clearly delineate of peaceful collaboration with the Marxism." Here is where Mr N. Y. Times: from a porcupine. and Senate hailing the results of

STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS The Fair Deal, ballyhoo about Deal colleagues success in their action to protect civil rights for political fence-mending back satellites. all proved to be so much hot air, home.

Nothing whatever has been done Their fence-mending will conto safeguard the Negro people sist of slick alibis for the broken from lynch murder, or to abolish old promises and new promises Jim Crow discrimination, or to to do something for the good and

guarantee to them their right to welfare of the working people in 1950. The same routine will be Plenty has been done, however, repeated again next year, and the

by Truman and Congress to whip next, and the next. . . It will be repeated year after up hysteria and add new victims in the thought-control witch-hunt year after year, until the worknow being waged against the ing people break with all the capi-

democratic rights of the American | talist politicians, form their own independent mass political party, people. After promising to repeal the based on a socialist program, and

Faft-Hartley Act, the Fair-Deal take the reins of government into Congress has gone home with their own hands.

### **BELL STRIKE ENDED IN BUFFALO**

| bership meeting, 373 voted with (Continued from Page 1) worst deeds ever committed by the opposition.

the labor bureaucracy in the his-The opposition vote constituted tory of the Niagara frontier. Its by far the very bulk of all those very announcement shocked thou- who had really participated in sands of workers who had looked the strike, daily picketing and forward to the Bell settlement mass actions. as an example to the whole labor The agreement by no means

movement. It was a foregone conclusion. nowever, that the strikers, who

for 19 weeks held out in spite of unprecedented terror, wholesale mass arrests, imprisonment without bail, not to speak of the hysterical campaign conducted by the radio, the press and the church hierarchy, would neces-

savily swallow the bitter pill and vote in favor of acceptance.

ONE-THIRD OPPOSED

Nevertheless, the progressives 23 of the defendants on the in the union, with Warely 24 hours contempt charge. Apparently ir left to gather their forces, or the greatest haste to secure conganized a drive to override that victions, the court even resorted imperialist pact." portion of the agreement which to night sessions.

called for submitting the cases As yet, the union has not set manifesto "reveals the complicity of the 22 unionists to arbitration. up machinery to involve the mass of some leaders of the POR Joining in the struggle of the labor movement to defend the (Lora) in the Nazi-military plot." opposition were some of the civil rights of the defendants. Let us first dispose of Rey's staunchest supporters of the Only the greatest amount of mass crude attempt to defame Guil-Reuther group, including a num- pressure from the whole labor lermo Lora. Lora, an elected memvoted at the ratification mem-busting drive at Bell Aircraft. government together with other a semi-colonial country. In the phant reaction. [The term "rosca"

by Yugoslav patriots and would Ineither on the diplomatic nor military arenas but on the field fidence the Yugoslavs mistakenly Times gives to one of his gress, was summed up in a march across the border." Belgrade has officially denied of the international class strug- place in the UN and their illusion articles: "Well-fed Ceylon Shuns dispatch by Louis Stark to the

the 290-day session as "well and denouncing Soviet troop worthwhile," and wishing his Fair movements and other warlike prove disastrous. measures of the Kremlin and its

Meanwhile the political prep-

guerrillas, while making public in advance the limits of each and capitalists are not at all ac Trumbull shuns the truth most. every maneuver can therefore cidental or tactical errors. They The Trotskyist parties, which eral committees that the Laborites flow from and are part of a very are not anti-Soviet but of course It is a dangerous concession not definite set of ideas, the keystone thoroughly anti-Stalinist, al peared more incensed against alone to imperialism but also to of which is Stalin's pernicious though differing in the past or United States policies than when

Stalinism to paint up the UN as theory of "socialism in one coun- important questions, are discussarations for such incursions and "an indispensable instrument for try." It is this theory that Bel ing unification at the present time Confederation met 20 months ago similar attacks are being care- peace and international collabora- grade must irrevocably break with as a result of common activity in Lima."

fully carried out. Highly signi- tion." This is almost word for in order to untie its hands for : in both the trade union and the Wall Street's own Iron Curtain ficant in this connection are in- word what the Stalinists say; successful struggle both against variamentary fields. Together in Latin America appears to have spired reports of mass uprisings this is what all the imperialists the Kremlin and the imperialists they have led the great strike been punctured somewhat.

Slanders About the Bolivian Trotskyists

By J. Gomez

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

After asserting that the recent armed struggle between government forces and rebels headed by the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) was a "Nazi-military

plot," Rey levels the following charges: 1. That the POR (Revolu-

ends the company's efforts to tionary Workers Party); Bolivian break the back of the union. section of the Fourth Interna-Hanging over the heads of many tional, was guilty of "open beof the militants and local leaders trayal of the proletarian cause" are a multitude of criminal pro- because it issued a manifesto secutions including assault, riot- which among other things proing, conspiracy, disorderly con- posed a united front to the MNR duct as well as criminal and civil and the PIR (Party of the Revocontempt of court arising out of lutionary Left), a Stalinist-

the company's effort to enforce dominated organization. a sweeping injunction to limit 2. That the POR "refrained picketing. Right now the Niagars from attacking Stalinism and County Supreme Court is trying Peronism" and "placed itself frankly in the camp of the totali-

tarian and reactionary opposition. proposing a Nazi-Stalinist 'anti-

ber of Gray's closest collaborators movement can free the militant ber of the Chamber of Deputies, does not alter the fact that it is tion is such that it acquires imin the local. Out of the 1,000 who victims of Wall Street's union- was exiled from Bolivia by the a bourgeois nationalistic force in portance in this hour of trium-

at the end of last May. How can a manifesto issued by geois movements. For example, of the proletarian revolution, has the POR Central Committee they are to be found in the ranks made a 'shift to the left' in acarmed struggle involving one of which has been defended by cracy, and is conducting an anti-

trying to tell the government that posal the Stalinist-controlled PIR. in concrete tasks against the ad- of democratic rights in any way Lora should also be charged with This party enjoys considerable in- vance of dictatorship. We do not "complicity" in the recent upris- fluence among the middle-class intend to put the interests of the ing, but also helping to smear radicals and has some roots in revolutionary proletariat at the the trade unions. In brief, both tail of either bourgeois nationalhim with a Bolivian version of

Moscow Trials - namely that ces which the Bolivian Trotskyists are trying to rally for an effec- of criticism and of advocating its tive defense against the offensive own program in the proposed

of the incumbent reactionary united front and then concludes:

"It is a question of partial and provisional agreements with the

repeat, our sole aim is to forge : united front for the defense of for the physical defense of the the interests of the people and people," states the POR mani-

with roots in the trade unions, particularly in the Miners Fed- WHAT THE POR WROTE

eration headed by Juan Lechin. Rey's contention that the Available in Yiddish In a semi-colonial country a trade Bolivian Trotskyists "refrained

3. That the "issuance" of the union leader like Juan Lechin perfrom attacking Stalinism and forms a much more progressive Peronism," is a malicious false role than a Walter Reuther behood. "We know," continues the fore whom Labor Action grovels. manifesto, "that the nationalistic That the MNR contains dicta- bourgeoisie (MNR) is incapable torial elements or that it behaved of expropriating imperialism and dictatorially when itself in power the 'rosca' but its relative posi-

leaders of the POR and trade political life of Latin America refers to the ruling oligarchy, complete liberation of the country unionists who backed the miners' such dictatorial elements are a the feudalistic-bourgeoisie.] from the yoke of imperialism and

"Similarly Stalinism, which inthe feudalistic-bourgeoisie." istic bourgeois and petty-bour- ternationally is the gravedigger These passages by no means exhaust the sharp criticism of the MNR and PIR contained in while Lora is in exile make him of Romulo Betancourt's "Accion cordance with the diplomatic the manifesto but they suffice to guilty of "complicity" in an Democratica" party of Venezuela, maneuvers of the Soviet bureau- show what a smear artist Rev is. As for the broader issues inimperialist opposition in order to volved, only a helpless political

moron could argue that POR's It appears that Rey is not only including in its united front pro- question of involving these forces united front proposal in defense conflicts with principled socialist politics. The Bolivian Trotskyists are under persecution precisely because of their indomitable defense of Marxism, and, by this

The POR reserves the full right token, of the elementary democratic rights of the super-exploited masses. It is for such "crimes" that they are being exiled and thrown into concen-

tration camps. Their struggle merits the support of every worker-militant.

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**Michael Bartell** For Mayor

> Harry Ring For Controller

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"Finally, it is not a question of trying to find in the nationalistic bourgeoisie and the Stalinists virtues they do not have. We

the political parties to which the Labor Action. The POR was also justified in put pressure on the U.S. It is a

strike which was crushed in blood common feature of all national-

manifesto was addressed?

the main frame-up charge in the the MNR and PIR contain the for- ism or Stalinism."

the Trotskyists work in league

front proposal. The MNR is not a

"Nazi" party, as Rey claims, but

a bourgeois nationalistic force festo.

with "Nazis."

Bolivian government.

UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL From the standpoint of militant

socialist anti-imperialist politics, the POR is absolutely justified

nationalistic - minded bourgeoisie in including the MNR in a united

(MNR) and with Stalinism (PIR)

the nation which will serve as the point of departure for the

MY LIFE

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Monday, October 31, 1949

LENIN

fairs.



ically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the defense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class. We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except further decay.'

"We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was polit-

- Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.

### N. J. 'Loyalty' Oath Invalidated

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **NAACP** Launches New Campaign

Following the adjournment of Congress without passage of a single civil rights measure, the NAACP has announced plans for a nationwide drive to secure enactment of this legislation early in the next session. As reported by Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, the following steps have been decided on:

Nov. 15 through Jan 17 has been designated as a "national civil rights mobilization period." NAACP state conferences were urged to call a meeting of all branch presidents within their respective jurisdictions to map activities for this period. "Local branches were asked to send delegations to call upon members of Congress while at home and upon local political leaders; to solicit the cooperation of trade unions, churches, fraternal groups and other organizations; to organize mass meetings; and to select delegates to attend a three day conference in Washington, Jan. 15-17." "This project," said Wilkins, "has been initiated in response to a resolution passed at the 40th annual conference in Los Angeles." Invitations to join in this campaign will be issued to 50 national organizations, he added, with the drive scheduled to culminate in the Washington conference, to be attended by delegates from all sections of the country.

port of all fighters against Jim Crow. If it is undertaken in a serious spirit; if the routine dullness and inefficiency that have marked so many NAACP campaigns in the past are discarded and replaced by a determination to really mobilize the masses and involve them in the fight; if the campaign is conceived as an instrument of struggle rather than as a glorified lobbying project — then it can be

## The Theory of American 'Exceptionalism' convention of the Socialist Work

#### By Farrell Dobbs

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

and at the same time discredit an opponent.

slanders, Foster rested his case. Stalin set the main example by slandering Trotsky as an against Trotsky and Cannon. Before we look around to see what agent of fascism" to divert at-Foster is really up to, let us set tention from his own maneuvers for a pact with Hitler. Similarly, the record straight on Trotsky's actual opinion about the strength he has accused Tito of conspir--- and weaknesses -- of American ing against Hungary to mask his capitalism. own efforts to smash the Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

WHAT TROTSKY WROTE This Stalinist trick is used He also wrote in Whither Engagainst the American Trotskvists land that "in spite of all its huge by William Z. Foster, national ower, American capitalism is not hairman of the Communist a self-contained factor, but a part Party, in his article, "Cannon, of world economy. . . Driving the Lovestone and Browder," in the September issue of Political Af-

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

oint of view even more explicit "Exceptionalism," he continued We must not for a minute lose nanifests itself "in tendencies to verestimate the strength of American capitalism" and in "a ack of faith in the revolutionary power of the working class and ts allies.

FOSTER'S QUOTATIONS

By George Breitman

GRAPHY by Isaac Deutscher,

Oxford University Press, 1949,

For the Stalinist Daily Worker

it is "a grotesque amalgam of

concepts and phrases borrowed

garbled quotations . . . this

toriography . . . veils a savage

ay, "It is not p

"This means that a social crisis The arch-"exceptionalist," of in the United States may arrive course, is James P. Cannon, na- a good deal sooner than many tional secretary of the Socialist think, and have a feverish dev-Workers Party Cannon get that elopment from the beginning." way, Foster alleged, "by an ac- (The Militant, June 1, 1929.) ceptance of Trotskyism," Trotsky In his introduction to The which he based his charge that ican exceptionalism," of which in turn proved himself an "ex- Living Thoughts of Marx, written Trotsky was an "American ex- Foster falsely accused the Trotceptionalist" by a sentence he in 1939, Trotsky predicted the ceptionalist." However, Trotsky skyists in Political Affairs, acwrote in 1925 in Whither Eng- dawn of a new epoch of inde- and Foster are poles apart in tually appears in its crudest form and.

That sentence, torn from its ers. In this too, he said, "America ican imperialism. context by Foster after the will in a few jumps catch up In Trotsky's opinion, the con- ism" expresses itself in a cynical fashion of the Foley Square pro- with Europe and outdistance tradictions of world capitalism scheme to use the workers as secutor, reads: "Relinquishing it. . . The best theoreticians of may well cause a social crisis in tools to force the capitalists into learned trade unionism - 'from their world rule, the diplomats Marxism will appear on American the United States "a good deal a deal with Stalin; a deal that and magnates of England are soil. Marx will become the sooner than many think." That would be made at the expense of take the road of independent poliecommending their former clients mentor of the advanced American means, he said, "It is necessary the workers. to prepare," to orient the worko deal with the new masters of workers.' These statements clearly show ers toward the struggle for he world."

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



guard,' and so on, must have command over the economy. On ment.

evolution of these on the technical and cultural

their place in the biography of the contrary, bureaucratism, as a their place in the present volume the system, became the worst brake RECORDS HIS CRIMES Deutscher

|study of pre-1917 Bolshevism and |"the nationalization of the means | gressive role in the economy,

Lawyers Cited for Contempt With that claim, plus the usual



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

American capitalism," he predict-As we shall see, these views of | socialist." He would raise the ed. "posing in its course point Trotsky's are fully shared by question of socialism only in a blank the question of who shall Cannon. But let us first examine "propaganda sense." be the master of the land."

The fundamental position of the Stalinists, he said, is "to advocate talists proclaimed that Marx had tion of world economy with its the duplicity he tried to conceal the collaboration of the United been refuted by Henry Ford. But by shouting "Stop, thief" at the States and other capitalist counthe blind operation of the internal tries with the Soviet Union.' laws of capitalism, he said, "has

"The fact of the matter is," Foster would have the workers created the greatest power in Foster said in his deposition, make a' political alliance with the world - the American work-"that the United States today is "progressive" capitalists to form, ng class. Here is where Marx dominating the capitalist world." a government "operating upon takes revenge on Henry Ford." Here he repeated, in effect, the the basis of the capitalist system. very remark of Trotsky's on Thus we find that the "Amer-AMERICAN WORKERS

pendent class action by the work- their program to combat Amer- in his deposition at Foley Square; and that Foster's "exceptional-

In opposition to the false line

of the Stalinists, the Trotskyists have consistently advocated a genuine revolutionary socialist

guard from a propaganda group to a mass party strong enough to lead the revolutionary struggle for power." "The revolutionary vanguard/ party, destined to lead this umultuous revolutionary move-

Page Three

ers Party. The Theses, together

with Cannon's report to the con-

vention, will be found in the

Pioneer pamphlet, The Coming

"U. S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary

consequences of world capitalist

decay than the older European

capitalist powers," Cannon said.

'The basic conditions that preci-

pitated the 1929 crisis when

American capitalism enjoyed its

fullest health, not only persist

out have grown more malignant."

America is not unbounded pro-

sperity but another crisis and

depression even worse than the

1929 collapse. A war will not

solve the internal difficulties of

American imperialism but will

ather sharpen and complicate

"The impending economic parox-

ysms must, under the existing

conditions, pass inexorably into

the social and political crisis of

Cannon recalled how the capi-

"The American workers do not

ulways move when impatient

revolutionists call them." he con-

tinucd, "as many of us have

learned to our sorrow. But they

do move when they are ready,

and then they move massively.'

They will "learn politics as they

an abridged dictionary.' They will

tical action with hurricane speed

There will be a "rapid trans-

formation of the organized van-

and power.'

What is really in store for

American Revolution.

SWP POSITION

nent in the U.S., does not have o be created," Cannon declared. "It already exists, and its name s the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

STALIN: A POLITICAL BIO- the history of such ideas as the of production and the planned functions as the biggest internal opportunist policy he pursued dictatorship of the proletariat, beginnings, and by no means the obstacle to the Soviet Union's throughout in his conduct of the the Soviets, the 'proletarian van- fact that the bureaucracy usurped harmonious economic develop-

> More books recounting Stalin's crimes against socialism are certainly needed to help educate the new generations and to cou ing Stalin as arch-enemy of capitalism and organizer of world revolution. But Deutscher's book cannot fulfill this need. For whatever qualities one may be ready to concede its popularization of some major historical the role of Stalinism as a whole Is Stalinism revolutionary or counter-revolutionary? Does it in the modern scene comparable pierre in the British and French bourgeois revolutions? No book on the subject that gives wrong answers to these questions, can have any value for revolutionary curate information on historical

European countries farther and farther down their blind alley, American capitalism is laying the foundation for war and revolutionary upheavals, which in their frightful rebound will not fail to strike the economic system of the United States."

Trotsky's first letter to hi American supporters made his

of American capitalism rests Foster's deposition at the Foley more and more upon a founda- Square trial. There we shall find

contradictions and crises, mili-

sight of the fact that the might tary and revolutionary," he said. Trotskyists.

This is a momentous campaign that the NAACP is embarking upon, and one that should receive the enthusiastic sup-

the signal for a resurgence of mass activity that will deal powerful blows to the enemies of the Negro people.

In great part the success or failure of this campaign will depend on the degree to which the local militants in and around the NAACP are able to give leadership to the Negro masses and on the extent to which they secure the cooperation of the labor movement — not just token cooperation in the form of a trade union speaker at a mass meeting, but genuine collaboration in jointly planning the campaign, financing it and bringing to its support the active participation of the Negro and labor rank and file.

The NAACP campaign is a challenge as well as a splendid opportunity for the militants. If they do their part, if they work hard and effectively at reaching the masses, the response of the rank and file may make the Washington conference not the end of a campaign but the beginning of a new upsurge of Negro and labor militancy.

#### ideas have been sketched only in development of the country. not pro-Communist. It is, rather, that rare creation - an objective so far as it was necessary for an "This was veiled for a certain book. . ." Whether or not the understanding of the chief time by the fact that the Soviet economy was occupied for two. book is genuinely objective, its character." Deutscher is a Polish journalist decades with transplanting and complex character was certainly

who broke with Stalinism in 1932 assimilating the technology and confirmed by the conflicting reorganization of production in adviews it received from the difbecause he favored a united front vanced capitalist countries. The with the Social Democrats against ferent political schools.

the Nazis; it is said that for a period of borrowing and imitation The N. Y. Times reviewer, while he was sympathetic to Trot- still could, for better or for worse, generally reflecting the sentiskyism. At the beginning of the be accommodated to bureaucratic ments of the capitalist press, automatism, i.e., the suffocation war, however, he came to Engthinks it will serve as "the classic land, and served as a Russian of all initiative and all creative biography and reference book" expert on the editorial staff of urge. But the higher the econon Stalin until such time as the historians get access to the The Economist and for the BBC. omy rose, the more complex its He is well acquainted with the requirements became, all the archives in the Soviet Union. But more unbearable became the e refuses to offer a "final judgfactual and documentary mament" on this volume until he terials available on his subject bureaucratic regime. The conhas had a chance to study and handles them scrupulously on stantly sharpening contradiction the whole, although in general between them leads to uninter-Deutscher's next two books, dealing with Lenin and Trotsky, his method is to question all rupted political convulsions, to presumably so that he can get a charges or testimony adverse to systematic annihilation of the Stalin that cannot be verified most outstanding creative elelearer idea of Deutscher's attibeyond question, and to give him, ments in all spheres of activity. ude to Lenin and Leninism. In short, Stalin, far from lead-The Social Democratic New the benefit of the doubt in most ing any revolution, "second" or Leader issued a pre-publication such cases. It is this method, plus otherwise, clamped a bureaucratic memorandum warning all reviewthe curiously detached manner in which it is written, that has grip on the Soviet economy. The ers that it is "the most adroit earned the book its reputation for viability of the economic foundaapology for Soviet domestic and ticns laid by the 1917 revolution foreign policy to be published in objectivity in some quarters. He also has the irritating habit, enabled the economy to develop many years." Its own review despite the bureaueracy, whose disparages Deutscher for "his after detailing one of Stalin's crimes against the revolution, of caste interests and police methods evident ideological bias in favor engaging in entirely uncalled-for conflict with the needs of socialist of the broad aims of the Leninspeculation about possible justi- development. Whatever achieve-Trotsky-Stalin experiment."

fications for his acts which Stalin ments Stalinism can claim in the technological progress of Soviet may have had in his mind. Thus, after reporting the Moscow Trials economy are a thousand times from Marxism, Trotskyism and and showing them to be monstrous outweighed by the bureaucratic frameups, he adds: "It is not chains in which it shackles the necessary to assume that he economy, by its exclusion of the spurious facade of balanced his- [Stalin] acted from sheer cruelty workers from the planning process and by the heavy toll its parasitor lust for power. He may be bias and an unscrupulous use of given the dubious credit of the ism exacts from the national income. The facts show that Stal-

**SWP** on Radio

WNEW

1130 on your dial

give a fairly complete picture of Stalin's crimes, and the portrait | teract the flood of volumes depictof Stalin that emerges coincides on the whole with that drawn by Trotsky (from whose writings Deutscher has borrowed much). It shows Stalin's development nto a professional revolutionary, whose grasp of Marxism was never more than superficial and events are wholly negated by the who gravitated in the direction interpretation Deutscher gives to of Menshevism in every crisis. It describes his rise to dictatorial power after Lenin's death as the representative of a bureaucratic can it play a progressive role caste which leaned on the more in the struggle for socialism. backward elements in Soviet despite the reactionary methods society and was strengthened by it employs? Is Stalin's position the defeats of the world revolution. It explains why and how he to that of Cromwell and Robesinvented the anti-Marxist theory f "socialism in one country." It discloses how he suppressed democracy in the Bolshevik Party, transformed the world communist novement into frontier guards workers, even if it contains acfor Soviet foreign policy, wiped out the Old Guard in the Moscow details. Deutscher gives the wrong Trials. The later chapters, deal- answers. How they are wrong, ing with World War II, also tell and how they differ from those of his pact with Hitler, his later made by the Trotskyists, will be relations with his Allied imperial- the subject of an article next ist partners, and the empirical, week.

Nevertheless, Deutscher does

Visit your local headquarters of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON Box 1342. BOSTON-Workers Educational Center 0 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

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Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every

class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m. SAN FRANCISCO-1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FT 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m. ST. LOUIS --- "For information, phone PR 5305." SEATTLE-Maynard Bidg., 1st Ave., R. 201, So. & Washington, Tel. Main 9278. Mon, through Sat., 12-5, p.m., Brand meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, book-store.

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

#### **DETROIT BANQUET HONORS KUTCHER** radio station. Most union papers auspices of the Student League

(Continued from Page 1)

pledges was contributed to the

defense fund, including \$100 from

the Amalgamated Clothing Work-

ers Joint Board, \$50 from UAW

Hudson Local 154, and \$50 from

The banquet chairman, Al Bar-

Wayne County CIO, announced

that space taken to date in the

amounted to \$1.750. Most of the

large CIO unions and numerous

read.

printed accounts of his visit. The for Industrial Democracy was a Kutcher's persecutors for violatdynamic CIO movement here ac- victory for free speech at Wayne ing freedom of conscience.

corded Kutcher wholehearted sup- since faculty officials had tried to In response to an appeal by port. George Novack, national secre-

tary of the Kutcher Civil Rights NEGRO COMMUNITY Committee, \$450 in cash and

Baptist

with academic freedom. On Negro, citizens likewise reco-Thursday Kutcher spoke at the gnized the importance of his case University of Michigan under the in their own struggle for civil sponsorship of the American Vetrights. Rev. Robert Bradby, presierans Committee.

dent of the Detroit NAACP. stated that the Kutcher Civil the New Calvary Baptist Church. Rights Committee "will have our the Detroit labor movement. In full and complete support." After bour, secretary-treasurer of the hearing Kutcher's story, the contrast to other cities the CP followers here not only evidenced Ministers Conference no opposition to Kutcher's camvoted to take an offering for him paign but in several places came

that his case had no connection

banquet souvenir program at their churches. On Wednesday afternoon 300 forward as supporters and defenders of his fight, seeking to students and faculty members at AFL locals were on the list he Wayne University came to hear hook up their own cases with his. the legless veteran and other

During the past two weeks prominent people talk on the day the Detroit comrades of the thousands of Detroit workers "loyalty" program in the largest Socialist Workers Party presentheard Kutcher tell his story. He meeting of its type on that ed Jimmy with a handsome often spoke to as many as six or campus in years. Other speakers travelling bag in which to carry stallment of a biographical trilogy But, as Trotsky pointed out ten seven meetings a day. On Thurs- were Dr. William J. Goode, Dr. the suits given him by the Amal- to be continued and completed

At a welcome social last Sun-

block the meeting on the pretext the capitalists . . . bristling with

inist myth.' Deutscher himself says: "This scope and immediate effect on book is intended as the first in- the masses.

years ago, the source of economic day he was interviewed over Sta- Russell Ackoff and Al Barbour. gamated Clothing Workers and with a Life of Lenin and a study progress in the USSR was the tion WDET, the official UAW Kutcher's appearance under the Labor Cooperative Clothing Store. of Trotsky in Exile. The main revolution of 1917, which led to

every slander and lie which has sincere conviction that what he ever been utilized against Stalin did served the interests of the inism, far from playing a proand the Soviet Union . . . a revolution and that he alone inthe attitude of the Stalinists in pyramid of lies . . . the same old terpreted those interests aright." There is much in this book that

smelly package." The Shachtmanite Labor Action no Marxist can accept. One of the finds it an "impressive achieveworst is Deutscher's evaluation ment . . . written from a gen- of the period of industrialization erally Marxist point of view," but and collectivization beginning marred by "a very poor final with the first Five-Year Plan in chapter" in which "Deutscher 1929 as Soviet Russia's "second succumbs to a variety of 'Can- revolution, which was directed nonism' - actually, that is, to a solely and exclusively by Stalin" critical acceptance of the Stal- and "was 'even more sweeping

and radical than the first" in its

at 10:35 PM MONDAY, OCTOBER 31 WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2 WNBC

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

WPIX 7:30 PM

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6

### **Marcantonio's Juggling Act**

#### By Ruth Johnson

What Is A 'Cospiracy'?

By Art Preis

In a non-stop juggling act that promises to break all-time records, Vito Marcantonio, the American Labor Party candidate for Mayor of New York, enters the fourth week of his specialty: keeping his views on civil rights for Trotskyists high in the air.

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

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

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

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

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

The Foley Square prosecution was in the most

strict and literal sense a thought-control trial.

The main charge was a ten-count indictment that

the defendants "did conspire with each other and

with diverse other persons to the Grand Jurors

unknown" to "advocate" the violent overthrow of

the government by organizing the Communist

Party, holding certain conventions and confer-

ences and disseminating certain literature "ad-

Judge Medina devoted nearly half of his lengthy

vocating the principles of Marxism-Leninism."

charge to the jury to this charge of "conspiracy."

It was like the movie gunman's injunction: "Don't

move! I got ya covered!" Nothing the defendants

might have adduced as evidence against the

charge of "conspiracy" would have made the

slightest difference. Medina had them "covered"

with his double-barreled interpretation of "crim-

A "conspiracy," said Judge Medina, is not

something to say or do. It is something you merely

agree with others to say or do. It is what you in-

tend. You don't even have to put the intention in

words. It may be merely an "understanding." It

may be just something in your mind. But you know

the other fellow has the same thing in his mind,

and he knows you know. And if what you both

have in your minds is the "intention" to "advo-

cate the overthrow of the government by force

and violence" - that's criminal conspiracy and

you can get five years in the pen and a \$10,000

the crime charged is conspiracy. The crime charg-

ed is not that these defendants personally advo-

cated or taught the duty or necessity of over-

throwing and destroying the Government of the

United States by force and violence; nor is the

"Let me repeat," Medina told the jury, "that

fine. The 11 Stalinists di

inal conspiracy."

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

Marcantonio evaded. "Does that mean the Trotskyists too?" the

student persisted. "They have my answer," Marcantonio lied desstudents turned out to hear them. Two candidates were absent - O'Dwyer, who never appears at forums where the audience is allowed to ask questions, and Marcantonio, who sent a substi-

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

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

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

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

# **M.** Stein Speaks

**VOLUME XIII** 

**In Los Angeles** LOS ANGELES, Oct. 22-Three timulating meetings and a number of conferences were held here last week by the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party during the four-day visit of Morris Stein, national organization sec-

retary of the party. At a public lecture Sunday hight Stein discussed "The Stalin-T to Conflict and the Crisis of World Stalinism" for an audience of 120 persons. An appeal by Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman for contributions to the current national SWP fund drive brought a collection of \$250 in cash and pledges.

Stein reported on the world situation and the Trotskyist

movement to a well-attended membership meeting Tuesday come to a mutual understanding to accomplish night, and Wednesday night on the condition of the party

Shows Enthusiasm

SEATTLE, Oct. 25 - An en-

meeting at the Workmen's Circle

zation and the significance of th current national strikes.

The interesting lecture and re cution to prove that all of the means set out in ports by Stein in this first of the the indictment were, in fact, agreed upon to series of tours by national speak carry out the conspiracy, or that all of them were ers projected for the fall and actually used or put into operation." It is only winter months has whetted the necessary for the jury to find "that one or more appetite of local SWPers and

The jury need only pick and choose until it finds

bit be? "However the indictment does refer to co-conspirators unknown to the Grand Jury. . . you may consider the acts and statements of coconspirators, engaged in the same enterprise, and done or said in furtherance of the conspiracy thusiastic audience of 40 people, and in the time specified in the indictment, just as though such statements and acts were said Center tonight, heard Morris

In short, all that is needed is for an "unknown flict and the reasons why the co-conspirator" - say an FBI provocateur inside American workers should support the accused party — to make such statements the Yugoslav struggle for inand commit such acts as may be alleged to be dependence from the Kremlin. part of a "conspiracy." This may be cited as The audience of workers and "proof" against any or all other members of the students, including a number of party. Croatian descent, then expressed

group of defendants were brought If a

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1949

NUMBER 44

# **Reutherite Defense of Ford** perately, scurrying away. "I sent them a letter." But he dared not repeat the lie or face Bartell. All mayoralty candidates were invited to speak the following day at Hunter College, where 1,700 students turned out to hear them. Two candidates

Nationalists Quit Canton



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

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

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 - The most intensive week of the Socialist Workers Party campaign for its ticket in the New York elections reached a high point on Tuesday

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

that was heard by millions of On Oct. 21 Bartell debated his opponents before 1,700 Hunter Harold Robbins ripped into College students assembled

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

radio listeners.

#### elected because the ALP had DEBATE IN HARLEM made a deal with Tammany."

"We candidates of the Socialist On Oct. 23 Bartell debated Workers Party," he concluded, candidates of the other parties be-"are opposed to anyone who ties fore an audience of 200 at a the workers' movement to the Harlem meeting sponsored by the you to represent us." capitalist parties or the Kremlin. New York NAACP Youth Coun-

**By Emmett Moore** 

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

settlement. The resolution initia-ted last week by Chevrolet Local Why Bosses Like 659 was adopted after stormy debate.. This action was a repudia-tion of the international's attempt to ram its position down The employers like the Fordthe auto workers' throats. Top Reuther pension contract for the officials sent in to line up Flint

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

-

1

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

ng tide of opposition backfired. "Ford pension charges may From the beginning the memeventually be even less than 8-3/4 bers indicated their burning discents an hour. That sum is excontent with the plans of the pected to give an employee with speakers when chairman Chap-30 years service \$100 a month at man announced that only officers the age of 65, including his Social could take the floor. A Chevro- Security benefits. If the Governlet worker was roundly applaudment increases SS payments, ed when he insisted that anyone worker still gets only \$100 a paying a buck and a half dues in month. But Ford contributions to the UAW was entitled to speak. its pension plan will be correspondingly reduced.

MAZEY'S SPEECH

in

the

the floor.

"Ford management won a nice Mazey sorely tried the patience deal on wage too. No wage inof the body with a rambling hour crease now; contract runs for two and fifteen minute speech during and one-half years until April 1, which he was repeatedly asked to 1952. And the union can't reopen cut it short and discuss the issues. When he attempted the fa- to ask for pay hike until January 1, 1951. vorite trick of Reuther-to inject

"Further proof that Ford negothe poison of redbaiting by pointing to settlements in UE. FE. tiators did a good job: Last July at its convention the UAW-CIO West Coast Longshoremen instructed its bargaining teams and other Stalinist-led unions to grant no more company-secuthe ranks cut him short with sharp rebukes. rity clauses. But Ford has such

a provision in its new contract. In answer to his claims that the UAW couldn't do any better in Clause gives company the right negotiations at Ford and that it to discipline union members who was ridiculous to expect the participate in wildcast strikes." company to grant a pension after

20 years of service or at the age participate in wildcat strikes." of 55 because it would cost 30c omy of the country is on the an hour, he received the telling downgrade with millions already answer from the floor, "That's unemployed. He refuted Mazey's the bosses' worry. We are paying charge that Flint leaders were using the pension issue as a poli-After Mazey's speech, which

tical football.

It is "sufficient," he said. "if two or more persons, in any manner, or through any contrivance.

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

He said: "It is not incumbent upon the proseof the means described in the indictment was friends for those to follow. ågreed upon.

"one" bit that looks good. And what might that Seattle Audience

and done by the defendant or defendants. . . "

Stein analyze the Stalin-Tito contheir agreement with the position

charge that the Communist party as such advocates or teaches such violent overthrow and destruction."

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

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

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

any judge on a charge of "conspiracy" to "adpresented by Stein by contributvocate" the robbing of a bank, the judge would ing \$30 in the collection. throw the case out of court and reprimand the prosecuting attorney. But it's different, accord- inist were recruited to the SWP ing to Medina, when it comes to a political witch- at this meeting. Clara Kaye acted BUSY SCHEDULE hunt against an unpopular minority party ac-as chairman. cused of "conspiracy" to "advocate" the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

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

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

One student and a former Stal-

The schedule of Stein's tour lecture follows: St. Paul-Minneapolis

Oct. 29-Nov. 1 Milwaukee Nov. 2 Nov. 3-5 Chicago Detroit-Flint Nov. 6-10 Toledo Nov. 11 Philadelphia Nov. 13 Newark Nov. 18

The workers of New York need a cil. He proved that the Demovance their interests."

an election forum in the Stuy- politicians in office. vesant Town area sponsored by the League of Womens Voters. The next day Harry Ring, SWP Mayor, was heard by an audience Kremlin. . . The Socialist Workof 500 at a forum sponsored by ers Party supported that strugthe American Veterans Committee. His speech, along with those

genuinely independent labor party crats and Republicans were Walker asked for special priviand a workers government to ad- equally responsible for maintainparties of Marcantonio, Guinier

and Ben Davis had connived to "The Stalinists and their allies sound very radical this particular season," Bartell declared. "But candidate for Comptroller, spoke how radical were they a few at a large open air noon-day elec- short years ago? Where were tion rally in the heart of the they during the great March-onseeming needle trades district. Washington Movement that won That same night, Michael FEPC? They were sabotaging Bartell, SWP candidate for that struggle on orders from the

> gle wholeheartedly. is the only party that has con- aroused the ire of the workers. sistently championed every single

struggle of labor and the oppressed minorities, because we

ploited and persecuted peoples

On the night of Oct. 24 thousands of pieces of literature and have such autonomy on matters a special leaflet were distributed of economic demands. Evidently to an election rally of the ALP CIO policy only applies to the at Madison Square Garden. The Marshall Plan, aid to Europe,

leaflet was an open letter to PAC and so on. I will not go on

any further, else I be considered the. Selander amendment was repudiate his running mates Paul a spiritual citizen of a foreign shouted down. The whole con- Ross, ALP candidate for Comp- land," Genske's sarcasm was against the wishes of the leaders ference broke into circles of troller, and Benjamin Davis, heartily greeted by the audience. Larry Jones of Chevrolet dem-Labor. I attended this conference to all that although the witch- Stalinist hacks had publicly proonstrated that the Ford Contract against the wishes of the leaders hunt has got worse since the claimed their refusal to defend closed the door on the fight for of the NAACP in Cleveland. I national conference in July and the civil rights of Trotskyists. a 30-hour week for five years.

ended in a maze of heckling, The climax of the meeting came when Mark Reid of Chevrolet inlege to answer. With consummate troduced a motion to support the ing the hated ghetto and that the gall the chairman refused to rec- Chevrclet resolution which called ognize him and called on John- for rejection of the pension and stone, who was prepared to fili- the convoking of a national auto On Oct. 19 Robbins addressed keep these Jim Crow capitalist buster for another hour. Walker, conference in Detroit. The bureaurefusing to yield, declared amid crats went into a huddle and then cheers, "This meeting will not refused to recognize the motion continue until I am given a chance and the subsequent appeal of the to speak." After 20 minutes of chair's decision.

pandemonium, the chairman had Amid this hubbub Walker took to back down and give Walker the floor and announced he would conduct the vote on the resolution

and adjourn the meeting. Need-Johnstone followed Walker and tried to frighten the workers. He less to say, the militants supportclaimed that GM workers would ed him, passed the resolution and sing another tune when they were demonstrated their contempt for faced with a strike. Both Mazey the dictators by adjourning the and Johnstone harped constantly meeting.

These heartening developments on the dreadful consequences of "The Socialist Workers Party a strike in Ford. This further are omens of greater fights to come. For the first time the Reuther machine was overwhelming-

4th ROUND FIGHT ly defeated in its bureaucratic at-Bill Genske, financial secretary tempt to make GM workers swalowe no allegiance either to the of the Fisher Body local, ham- low their "beautiful programs." Wall Street Jim Crow rulers or mered home the need for a uni- The ex-Reutherites found that opthe cynical Kremlin despots. Our fied CIO strategy. He accused the position to the Ford agreement top leaders of messing up the meant opposition all the way up fourth-round wage fight. Genske and down the line. In the course brought down the house with his of the meeting they found themattack on lack of CIO policy. He selves voicing antipathy to raids said, "I am surprised to learn on CIO unions, redbaiting and from Mazey that CIO affiliates machine rule.

> **New York Election Wind-Up** Party Dancing - Refreshments -Music SAT., NOV. 5 - 9 PM HARLEM HEADQUARTERS 103 West 110th Street Admission 35c

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

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

soon as they were indicted, LIBERALS PROTEST despite our fundamental differences with them.

"This amendment is an acid test for this conference. You will never enlist support from the progressive sections of the labor movement and the liberals unless you prove here today that you will | cluded fascists as well.) defend all victims of the witchhunt regardless of their political beliefs."

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

Then came a whole batch of emotional, almost hvsterical skyists are fascists, fifth columnists, disrupters, splitters, pro-

In contrast, we came out in during the war, not only ships second count, based on the Smith virulent Stalinist speeches. Finally conference for that, then you are only allegiance is to the exbut even lifeboats."

er, a liberal took the floor to say statement by Prof. Thomas I. that he had understood that this Emerson, the noted authority on of the AFL Building Service cratic rights, and I thought that conference was going to defend the "loyalty" purge.

the civil rights of everybody "Mr. O. John Rogge, who spoke under attack. (Most of them took here last night so fervently on the civil-libertarian view that in- the need for a united front in the civil liberties fight, supports Fred Neubauer, Cleveland Col- this case and agreed to let us lege AVC delegate, said that he quote him to that effect here at

had attended the national Bill of this conference," Braverman said. **Rights Conference in New York** "You are right when you say last July where this same situ- that the conviction of the 11 CP ation arose. He said that he and leaders is only the precursor of a many other liberals couldn't go widespread attack on civil liberalong with the action taken in ties and democratic rights," Brav-New York of turning down erman concluded. "Just remember defense of the Trotskyists, or Italy and Germany, that's the way anyone else for that matter. He the fascists began - first the ended by saying, "Don't ape At- radicals and minorities and then torney General Clark by estab- the entire labor movement. Can lishing your own blacklist here you be so factionally blind as not at this conference for civil to see that the conviction of the rights."

Midway in the debate, Harry led to Foley Square? At this conattacks to the effect that the Trot Braverman took the floor. He ference we are being blacklisted refuted the Stalinist lawyers by arbitrarily without any evidence. moters of strikes during the war, had thrown out the first count of oath to Stalinism here at this con+ ference. You say these people Cleveland (from Oct. 28 to Nov. and so on. One person hailing the indictment charging "con- ference?" He also pointed out promoted strikes during the war? 11) should act as a stimulus and from the West Coast even said, spiracy to overthrow the govern- that the SWP does not support I don't know anything about that rallying center for such united ers, Negro and white, who had break up "mixed" meetings of "The Trotskyists and their kind ment by force and violence" and free speech for fascists.

Gag Act, of advocating the ideas Lee Morgan, who had just been going to exclude A. Philip Ranof Marxism. Then he read Henry elected to the executive commit- dolph too, because he organized of America and the entire Wallace's letter of Sept. 21, 1948 tee of the Ohio Bill of Rights the March-on-Washington Move- world." But after every Stalinist speak- supporting the 18, and a similar organization, rose and took the ment during the war. I believe in floor. Morgan is business agent fighting for everybody's demo-Union (although he did not rep. was what we are holding this resent it at this conference) and conference for."

a Negro leader with a fine reputation for supporting progressive causes in Cleveland for many ycars. He said:

"I attended this conference may lose my job tomorrow morning as a consequence of my attending this conference. I un- in the meantime, the Stalinists derstood that this conference was still prefer to wreck united front going to defend everybody against action rather than permit any the though-control witch-hunt. "I have known Ted Selander

for many, many years, I have 18 was the first thin wedge that known Arnold Johnson for about

but I do know that if you are front activity.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 - purpose of aiding another victim, Charges against Fred Simpson, of Jim Crow justice, Bayard gratifying, the fact is that his It is necessary now to awaken Negro worker indicted on the Jenkins, framed up and convicted dismissal does not stop the police the labor movement to the need trumped-up accusation that he of murder. The others were re- practice of breaking into homes was running a "disorderly house," leased the next morning, but of Negroes and subjecting workexclude Ted Selander from this all witch-hunt victims, including were dismissed by Judge Lewis Simpson was held on \$500 bail. At the first hearing, Magistrate of arbitrary arrest. he belongs in the organization sabotage it with all their strength. judge also reprimanded the police Daly showed the bias which had relating how the Minneapolis jury Do you want us to take a loyalty that should come out of this con- James Kutcher's coming visit to for being "too enthusiastic" in motivated the police in breaking making arrests. ' into Simpson's home. He flatly

Simpson was arrested last admitted that it was his aim to March along with 38 other workgathered at his home for the Negroes and whites.

While Simpson's release is ers to the indignity and injury

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

WHAT IT SHOWED

When the question was called, Marcantonio, challenging him to

although the 11 defendants at Foley Square have been convicted

ponents.

support for their political op-

as long - I see no reason to for united action in behalf of conference. He belongs here, and the Stalinists, even though they E. Leventhal last Monday. The

# of the Cleveland Federation of heated discussions. It had shown candidate for City Council. These