

THE ATOMIC BOMB AND OUR FUTURE

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Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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Rubber Workers Board Suspends L. S. Buckmaster

AKRON, June 1 — L. S. Buckmaster, elected President of the CIO United Rubber Workers at the union's last convention by a slim two-vote margin, was suspended from office on May 24 by the General Executive Board.

The most important charge upon which Buckmaster's suspension was based accused the former president of "a general plan to deprive a local union of its rights and democratic privileges within the International Union and that the defendant [Buckmaster] had been guilty of acts violating the constitution and constituting malfeasance in office."

The trial grew out of a dispute between Buckmaster and Local 336 and its officers at Pottstown, Penn. Buckmaster had attempted to remove the local union officers on grounds which the International Executive Board found to be flimsy and based upon an attempt to deprive local unions of their autonomy.

Buckmaster's feud with this local dates back to the time of the last convention, when Buckmaster and his supporters on the credentials committee deprived the local union of its right to vote at the convention. The local votes would have defeated Buckmaster.

While Buckmaster has the right under the union's constitution to appeal his case to the union's

convention in September, he and his supporters, notably Akron Firestone Local 7 President I. H. Watson, immediately took their case to the public, and called upon Congress to investigate the URWA.

HOLLER COPPER

The Congressional Labor Committee which Buckmaster-Watson have called upon to investigate the union, it was pointed out by George R. Bass, Akron Goodrich Local 5 president, "includes such anti-labor Congressmen as Dixie-Cratt John S. Woods of Georgia." Bass, who has backed the International Board's suspension of Buckmaster, condemned the Buckmaster-Watson minority group for calling upon outside anti-labor forces to smear the union.

The Buckmaster-Watson minority has announced publicly the setting up of a national caucus, which plans to collect funds to finance tours of locals, and publication of propaganda.

The new URW President, H. R. Lloyd, and Vice President Dickinson, have stated that the board's action was strictly within the rules of the union constitution, and that Buckmaster can be assured of every democratic right within the union, including his appeal to a convention if he wishes.

The union is thus in the throes of an intense internal struggle for control. Election of delegates to the coming convention will take

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L. S. BUCKMASTER

KUTCHER SPEAKS FRIDAY JUNE 10 IN MINNEAPOLIS

James Kutcher will leave New York City by plane on Sunday June 5 for the Twin Cities, the first stop on his Western speaking tour. He will tell his own story at a public meeting under the auspices of the Minnesota section of the Kutcher

Civil Rights Committee scheduled for Friday evening, June 10 at the CIO Hall, 8th Street and Fourth Ave. S., in Minneapolis.

Among other featured speakers are Robert Wishart, President of the Hennepin County CIO Council, which passed a motion on May 25 urging all its affiliates to support the meeting; Milton Siegel, Field Representative of the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union; and Arthur Sternberg of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Plans for Kutcher's visit to the Twin Cities include radio interviews and appearances before union organizations.

The legless veteran will go to Seattle, San Francisco and Los Angeles after his week's stay in Minnesota.

NAACP VOTES SUPPORT

Support of the campaign to win justice for the victimized veteran has been unanimously voted by the Minneapolis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Negro people have been aroused by the fact that the loyalty purge in various government branches is being used by Dixiecrat-minded Federal officials as another instrument of racial discrimination and persecution. This has been especially true in the Postoffice Department where large numbers of Negro workers are employed.

The Executive Board of the CIO Council in Los Angeles, California, unanimously endorsed a

resolution at its recent meeting to back Kutcher's fight for reinstatement. This is the ninth CIO City Council to support the veteran's case. Councils in Youngstown, Philadelphia, Newark, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Hudson County, N. J. and Allentown, Pa. have already taken similar action.

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Bitter laments and protests are pouring forth these days from labor and liberal leaders who six months ago were unrestrainedly hailing the election victory of the Democratic Party and Truman's promised "Fair Deal." Now the most frequent word on their lips is "betrayal." And we even hear—once more—hints and mutterings about a "new party," "third party" or "labor party."

Last week in Washington, the American for Democratic Action, among whose leaders are Senator Hubert Humphrey and Walter Reuther, let loose an angry squawk against the Truman administration's moves to abandon almost all its promised social reform program in this session of Congress and to adjourn the legislature by July 31. The ADA termed this "more than a flag of surrender, a flat betrayal of the Democratic Party platform."

Ford Workers Forced Back To Same Speedup Conditions

Atom Scientist Urey Leads Attack On Clark Blacklist

The government's "loyalty purge" was sharply attacked in a series of hearings and debates held in the past two weeks, with Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner and director of the U. S. War Research Atomic Bomb Project taking the lead in repudiating the witch-hunts.

Dr. Urey and four other professors of the University of Chicago testified before the Broyles Commission at Springfield, Illinois. The state red-hunting committee is investigating "alleged subversive activities" at the University.

All of the professors defended their right to belong to "organizations concerned with peace, academic freedom, free speech, and other issues." Dr. Urey declared that "The designation of organizations by the attorney general as subversive is one of the most dangerous things in American life."

He has been in the forefront of the fight against the purges as the sponsor of a statement signed recently by 105 University of Chicago faculty members in support of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee. They demanded full freedom of association and freedom of thought for the legless veteran, and a full public hearing of his case.

POLICE STATE DEVICE

In a conference on "Our Civil Rights in a Postwar World" held by the New York County Lawyers' Association on May 26, Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale Law School called the Loyalty Review Board a "police state device." With Arthur Garfield Hays, general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, he advocated its complete abolition.

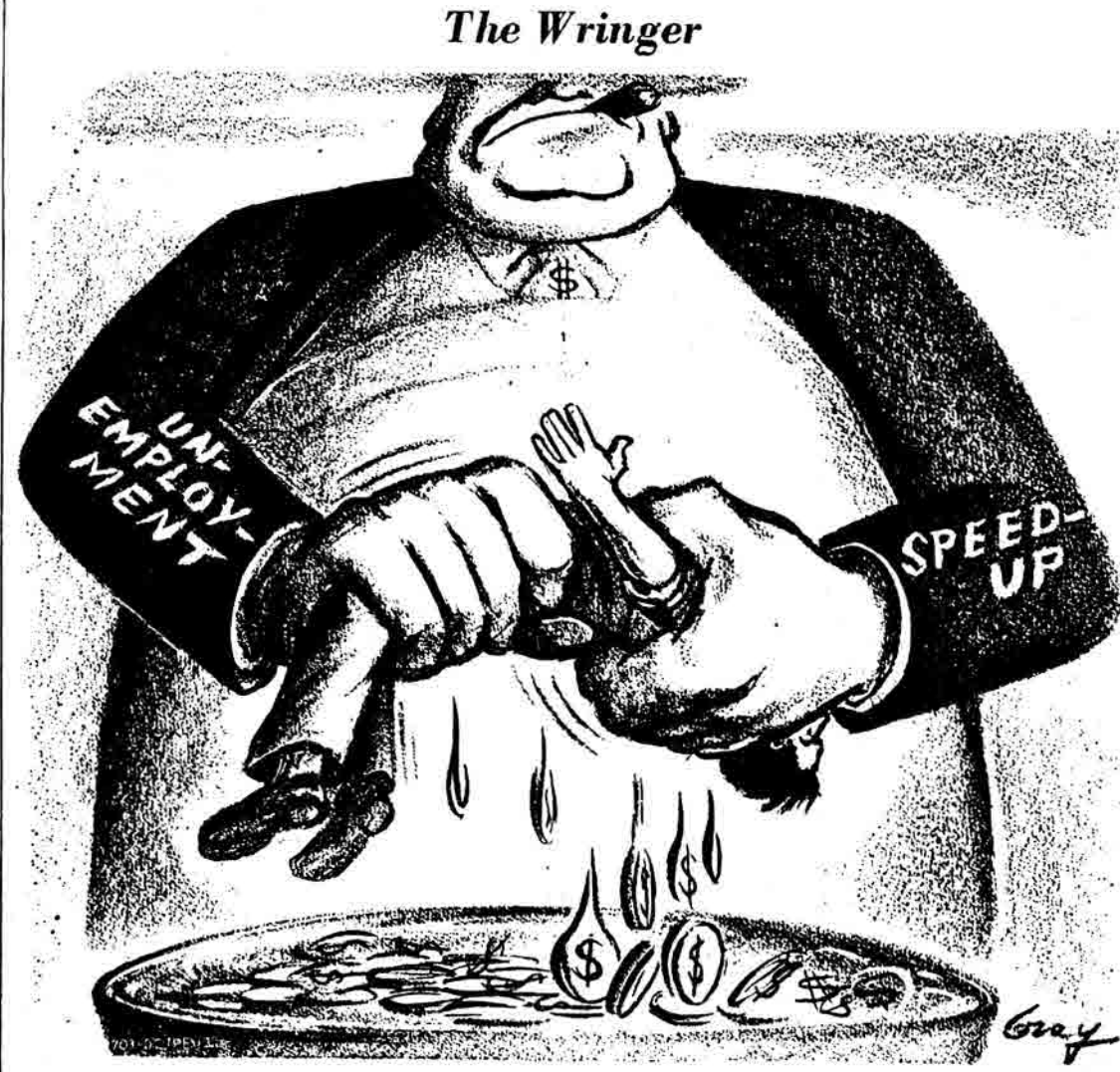
The "loyalty program" was called "one of the most startling developments in Anglo-Saxon law," at a Senior Forum on Loyalty, Security and Democracy held at Columbia College the following night. Paul Porter, Washington Attorney and former head of the OPA, told 350 students that under this program "nearly every tenet of our law as developed since the 17th century is violated."

Porter called the purge "a travesty upon anything like equal justice," a "thing born of political expediency and fear of Russia" and "a colossal waste of money."

Such unqualified opposition by a former member of the government is only a reflection of the growing recognition that the "loyalty program" threatens the rights of all Americans.

So flagrant is this betrayal, in fact, that even a hide-bound conservative like George Meany, AFL Secretary-Treasurer, unbosomed himself of some strange words at the fifth annual dinner of the Liberal Party in New York. Meany went so far as to assert that he did not consider the two-party system any longer vital to the welfare of this country, and indeed, it would be "no catastrophe" if the two-party system were "weakened" by a "third party." The present situation in Congress, he said, "to my mind is an indictment against the two-party system."

The complaints of the ADA, Liberal Party and Meany find echo in almost all sections of the labor press. The May 15 Advance, published by the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, devotes its entire front page to an editorial bawling the fate of the Democratic party's promises in the 81st Congress. This



Bolivia Strikes Spread After Miners Massacre

Heroic tin miners of Bolivia, striking since May 28 against the arrest and deportation of their union and political leaders, are rallying support throughout the country. All government attempts to crush the strike have been futile. The massacre of scores of workers, the jailing of

have all served only to tighten the workers' ranks. Sympathy strikes have paralyzed railroad transportation. In the capital city of La Paz, 8,000 workers walked out on June 1, shutting down textile mills, glass and furniture factories and breweries. The Associated Press admits that "there is a chance that the industrial strikes would spread to other cities."

Capitalist press reports call the miners' strike "revolutionary." They compare the drastic government action to those of a regime in the throes of "civil war." A government spokesman is quoted as saying the "disorders" were "promoted by the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the Revolutionary Workers Party."

Tan Malakka was one of the founders of revolutionary socialism in Indonesia. He was an opponent of Stalinism, and has frequently been called a Trotskyist.

TROTSKYIST ROLE

There can be no doubt the Workers Revolutionary Party (Trotskyist) is playing an honorable role in defense of the miners. An RWP leader, Guillermo

editorial plaintively asks: "Who Won the Election?"

TOBIN GIVES FORTH

Daniel J. Tobin, Czar-President of the AFL Teamsters, unbosoms himself in the May International Teamster. "Quit soft-soaping our enemies, Democratic leaders, and get down to business," he thunders, "or else you will destroy the party that has so continuously broken its campaign pledges and promises..."

The New Leader, mouthpiece for the Social Democratic choir boys of the U.S. State Department, in a May 14 front-page editorial makes so bold as to shake a threatening finger under Truman's chin: "Not since the pre-Civil War period have so many Americans been ready to consider overhauling either the party system or the Constitution itself. Those who sabotage small reforms run the danger of opening the door to larger ones—

if you know the New Leader.

Now all this indignant, angry language might be very impressive, almost persuasive, if we hadn't heard it before, from the same or similar people, and in almost the identical words. Every couple of years since before the war, at each new betrayal of Democratic Party promises, the pro-Democratic union leaders and liberals have raised a howl.

WOUND UP WITH TRUMAN

David Dubinsky, king-pin of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers, spoke of the need for a labor party during the high-tide of Truman's strike-breaking in 1946. A. F. Whitney, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, threatened to send the union's whole treasury to defeat Truman after the breaking of the railroad strike in 1946. CIO Auto Workers President Reuther made eloquent "third party" gestures daily in

Lora, was among those deported on May 30. The party has deep roots among the workers; Lora was elected to Parliament in January, 1947, on the Proletarian United Front slate that included RWP and independent miners' candidates.

Two other Members of Parliament elected on the Proletarian United Front ticket, have also been exiled. They are Juan Lechin, head of the National Federation of Mine Workers, one of the first to be victimized; and Mario Torres, also a miners' representative, deported with Lora.

It is extremely unlikely, however, that the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), a middle class tendency of government employees and lower officers, is participating in the struggle on behalf of the miners. Previous reports from Bolivia have described the MNR as fascist in program.

The strike is thoroughly working class in its aims. Capitalist press reports admit that "trouble has been brewing" for some time; the deportations were a deliberate provocation by the government, to remove the workers' leaders

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Arbitration Deal by Reuther Plays into Company's Hands

DETROIT, May 29 — Under the pressure of a negotiating committee headed by CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther, a hastily-called and poorly-attended meeting of Ford workers here tonight reluctantly voted 2,743 to 377 to return to work under the same speedup conditions against which 62,000 Ford unionists went on strike 24 days ago.

With only a small fraction of the strikers represented, the meeting voted to let the crucial speedup issue be settled by "impartial" arbitration. No agreement has yet been reached between the company and union negotiators on who the "impartial" arbiter is to be.

Lacking a real opposition leadership and program, the bulk of the Ford workers showed their disgust with the capitulatory agreement engineered by Reuther and the procedure for putting it over, by demonstratively staying away from the ratification meeting.

Contrasted to the little more than 3,000 at the meeting tonight, more than 14,000 at a mass meeting May 19 had voted unanimously not to go back to work until both the speedup issue and the general contract demands were settled.

REUTHER "EXPLAINS"

Not even Reuther dared pose the strike settlement as a victory. Nevertheless, he tried to misrepresent it as bringing the Ford workers a "little nearer" to the "mountain peak" by exaggerating the importance of six minor points on which agreement was reached.

On the revealing question of what would happen if arbitration ruled against the union on the basic issue of speedup, Reuther "explained" that the union would be in the midst of contract negotiations and would seek to reverse the ruling in the terms of the new contract.

But it is clear that if the company remained so adamant on just one aspect of the speedup in the face of the three-week shutdown of the Ford empire, it is not likely to yield readily after



WALTER REUTHER

the workers already have expended their energy in a prolonged strike which their top leaders settled on the most miserable terms.

If the Reuther leadership could make no real gains with the men on strike, united and ready to face a long fight, how much will this leadership be able to achieve with the men back to work, disgusted and demoralized by the actions of their leaders and the outcome of their strike.

THE REAL ISSUE

Moreover, the Reuther leadership does not intend to challenge the company on the real issue — "the prerogative of management to control speed on the line." To truly challenge the speedup demands direct, on-the-job intervention by the workers in the sphere of production control. But Reuther agrees with the corporations that "increased production" is the answer to all problems, and this, in itself, means he will put up no real struggle on the speed-up issue.

The capitulation of the Reuther leadership on the immediate issue of this strike — (Continued on page 2)

ATTACK ON V. REUTHER DEALS BLOW TO LABOR

DETROIT, May 31 — Local and state police so far have failed to uncover a single substantial clue to the identity of the would-be assassin or assassins who on the night of May 24 shot and seriously wounded Victor Reuther, CIO United Auto Workers Educational Director and brother

of the union's president, Walter Reuther.

Police headquarters announced today that their investigations are turning toward racketeer elements alleged to have been connected with gambling inside Detroit auto plants, which the UAW has opposed. A round-up of gambling dens and hoodlum hangouts was reported under way today.

Victor Reuther was struck down by a shot-gun blast from the dark through the window of his living-room where he was sitting with his wife. The charge struck him in the face. He was rushed to the hospital where his right eye was removed. His condition is still serious.

WITCH HUNT

The cowardly assassination attempt against Victor Reuther parallels the attempted murder of Walter Reuther on the night of April 20, 1948. The UAW president was also struck by a shot-gun blast, fired from outside his kitchen window by a hidden assailant or assailants, whose identity has never been established. A charge of assault with attempt to kill was placed against Carl Bolton, a former small-time UAW official, who is now serving a sentence for burglary in the state prison at Lansing. Police say, however, the evidence against Bolton is "slim." The shooting of Walter

Reuther last year was used by the Detroit police as the pretext for a fishing expedition inside the UAW, with hundreds of union members known to be in opposition to Reuther's policies hauled in and ruthlessly questioned. Most of the police activities then centered on a witch-hunt of so-called "subversives."

These atrocious murder attempts against the Reuther brothers bear the earmarks of racketeers, fascists or hirelings of the employers. Such acts of terrorism are a deadly threat to the labor movement and will embolden labor's enemies to use physical terrorism against other labor leaders and union militants. Every union member should cooperate to the fullest with the UAW to uncover the perpetrators of these assassinations attempts and bring them to justice.

**IRVING ABRAMSON,
HIGH CIO OFFICIAL,
EXPOSES STALINISTS
ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

Text of Letter
"Daily Worker" Feared
To Publish

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The Atomic Bomb and Our Future

"No Place to Hide"—What Really Happened at Bikini

NO PLACE TO HIDE by David Bradley, Bantam Books, 1949, 148 pp., 25c.

By John G. Wright

This book consists of extracts from a diary kept by one of the eyewitnesses and participants of the 1946 atom-bomb "experiments" at Bikini. The diarist is a doctor, trained to serve as a "radiological monitor," one of those specialists whose job was to help study and safeguard against the radiological effects of the Bikini bomb blasts.

The importance of this book lies not so much in what it says as in what it implies or leaves unsaid. Almost three years have elapsed since the Bikini "tests" and yet the shroud of secrecy still remains impenetrable. On the pretext of military security, all pertinent scientific information relating to Bikini has been completely suppressed. A reader who seeks for any new information in this book will be disappointed. The mailed fist of military censorship is obviously present here as well.

Bradley, like all other atomic scientists, is not permitted to tell what he really knows or thinks. Like so many others he must confine himself by and large to hints, but even these have sufficed to create a sensation around this book. What Bradley's hints amount to is that while militarily the Bikini bomb did not live up to the expectations of the brass hats, its after-effects, within blast range, make it, in Bradley's words, "an ideal weapon for use on civilian populations."

FEAR AT BIKINI

Like so many scientists, Bradley is a badly frightened man. One may gather from his diary that fear was rather prevalent at Bikini, from the top brass down to the ranks, especially after the "shallow water" blast. Perhaps it was because of this that the previously scheduled third and "deep-water" blast was soon abruptly cancelled.

Bradley implies that there is a

Rubber Workers Board Suspends L. S. Buckmaster

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place beginning in the middle of July.

Although hints of charges of "communism" against the present top officers and the majority of the International board have appeared in statements from the Buckmaster-Watson group, it is generally recognized that the rubber union does not have a strong Communist (Stalinist) Party faction within it.

The struggle is rather between Buckmaster, who represents a very conservative right wing policy, and unionists who seek to follow a more aggressive program, and to prevent one-man control which Buckmaster is charged with attempting to develop.

gering . . . We were in a position similar (though infinitely better probably) to that of a city bombed out with atomic weapons. No such rigmarole as rubber boots and gloves and oxygen rebreathing masks could conceivably be used if San Francisco were atomized. . . ."

BOOBY TRAPS

Every atomized area will be another and much deadlier booby trap than Bikini—that is the conclusion which Bradley obviously wishes to convey to his readers. He does not say but repeatedly implies that our great cities which border on bodies of water, either coastal or inland, are more vulnerable to atomic attack than land-locked urban centers in a country like the Soviet Union.

Likewise implicit in his terse comments is that the atom blast itself is not so deadly to civilian populations as maybe its after-effects. This also means that other atomic weapons, such as radioactive clouds, for example, can be widely employed.

One does not have to be an atomic scientist to understand that such clouds can be made independently of atomic blasts. It is a far simpler matter and cheaper to make radio dusts, sprays or gasses than to make atom-bombs. Any atomic pile would alone suffice for the mass production of these. Churchill in his memoirs let slip that during the last war the Allies feared that the Germans were already equipped for radio-logical warfare, and tried to "safeguard" against it. The next war will inescapably begin where the last one ended—with radiological warfare, in which the atom bomb will be only one of the many possible weapons, most of them "ideal" for use not against rival military formations but against civilian populations, in particular, the great cities.

In this sense Bradley's book is truly a book for every civilian to read and ponder over. Left in the hands of its present masters—the militarists and the war-minded capitalist politicians—atomic "progress" does indeed spell out one of the lessons of Bikini conveyed by Bradley's best-seller, namely: in the next war, for inhabitants of atomized areas there will be no defense whatever—"No Place to Hide".

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The American Association of University Professors, which investigates complaints of violations of tenure and academic freedom, has announced that it is "swamped" with a record number of complaints of dismissals and other forms of victimization of college and university professors and instructors for their political, economic or social views.

NO PEACE IN SIGHT

Gen. Lucius D. Clay, former military governor of Germany, told the Alumni Federation of Columbia University last week that the "ideological struggle" between the Kremlin and Washington "is the unending struggle that will face us for years to come."



Bolivian Strikes Spread Following Miners Massacre

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before wage demands could be presented.

BLOODY BATTLE

The strike began at the "20th Century" mine of the Patino Company, scene of the bloody battle when armed troops attacked the union headquarters. The death toll is listed in conflicting reports as anywhere from 35 to 150 dead, hundreds injured. At least two of the American mining executives alleged to have been taken hostage by the strikers, were killed.

Hatred of the American imperialists and their agents is deep and justified. The Morgan-Rockefeller interests and British capitalists together dominate the economic and political life of Bolivia, condemning the native workers to miserable poverty, sickness and early death.

Bolivia is virtually a one-product country—tin, produced by the huge Patino, Hochschilds, and Aramayo companies. Ninety per cent of Bolivia's national income is derived from its mineral wealth, especially the tin controlled by these three monsters. The mining population numbers some 200,000 men, women and children, exploited with equal ruthlessness.

Regardless of age, sex or strength, these workers toil underground in mines 10,000 to 13,000 feet above sea level. Their exhausting labor in the high altitudes, their meager diet limited to the corn and beans their poor pay can buy, their squalid homes, all make the miners easy victims of tuberculosis and other ravages of poverty.

These are the factors that "promoted" the strike. These are the conditions that every Bolivian worker knows about. The inspiring solidarity of the city workers with their brothers and sisters in the mines, is a demonstration against the imperialist exploiters and their Bolivian henchmen who hold the reins of government.

"Fear, War and the Bomb"—Humanity is Not Yet Lost

FEAR, WAR, AND THE BOMB, Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy. By P. M. S. Blackett. 244 pp. McGraw-Hill Book Co. \$3.50.

By Joseph Hansen

Blind fear of atomic energy is self-defeating. We must approach the problem of controlling this new mighty source of power in a rational way, that is

This approach is impressively developed in *Fear, War, and the Bomb* by the distinguished British scientist and winner of the 1948 Nobel prize for physics, P. M. S. Blackett.

With a mass of facts so solidly fitted together that no critic of the book has yet succeeded in presenting a convincing refutation, Blackett shows how cold-bloodedly American imperialism has utilized its monopoly of atomic energy to drive for conquest of the world.

For example, he demonstrates that the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not motivated by the desire to "save lives" or other humanitarian purposes. The real reason was to beat the Soviet Union to the punch and compel the Japanese government to surrender to the United States alone.

A-BOMB AND COLD WAR

That is why "the two bombs"—the only two existing—were whisked across the Pacific to be dropped on two crowded civilian centers. Hiroshima was bombed precisely two days before the expected Soviet attack on Japan. "So we may conclude that the dropping of the atomic bombs was no so much the last military act of the second World War, as the first major operation of the cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress."

Similarly in the United Nations discussions on control of atomic energy, Blackett points out that the U. S. proposals were not nearly so altruistic as pictured in the press. A commission dominated by the United States would have been given ownership and control of the entire atomic energy industry of such countries as the Soviet Union.

This would include related industries—those making the needed equipment. Even prospecting for atomic ores would come under the supervision of this commission. It is not necessary to go into all the ramifications; they can be summed up in a phrase: it would have meant breaking state ownership of property in the USSR, one of the aims of U. S. imperialism since 1917.

On top of this, the U. S. would have retained the right to preserve what atomic "secrets" it wished. Finally, exercising its prerogative to determine "violations," the commission could provide a legal cover to launch the next World War.

The main emphasis of *Fear, War, and the Bomb* is upon the projected use of atomic weapons in a new conflict. Those preparing another slaughter have

FORD WORKERS FORCED BACK TO SAME SPEEDUP

(Continued from page 1)

whether the company has the right to force the men to work above the established work standards in any given period of time — makes precarious the position of the whole UAW, as well as the Ford workers, in the forthcoming negotiations covering a series of basic contract demands, including "fourth-round" wage increases, speedup and health and welfare funds.

And there can be little doubt that employers in other industries, who have viewed the Ford struggle as the spearhead of the CIO's wage drive, will now be encouraged to hold out against other CIO unions.

WORKERS KNEW SCORE

It is certain that billionaire Henry Ford II had this in mind when he forced the Ford workers to strike over the speedup issue. And the Ford workers quickly recognized this when their big mass meeting on May 19 voted unanimously to stay out until all the basic issues were settled. That is why they voted for immediate negotiation and settlement of the pension and wage demands, the elimination of the company-security clause and other contract questions.

Tommy Thompson, President of striking Ford Local 600, in the May 28 issue of *Ford Facts*, had posed the issue as follows: "I say to you that, as a union, we have no business going back into that Rouge plant until we have settled this speedup problem and have the terms of the settlement in writing." Although he subsequently reiterated his opposition to settlement on the basis of

The Kremlin and Anti-Semitism

By Paul G. Stevens

There can be no doubt that in recent months Stalinist Russia has given vent to the most patent and outspoken expression of anti-Semitism yet witnessed there. Ever since last January the controlled press, from *Pravda* through the *Literary Gazette* down to the lesser provincial organs, has been railing

against "homeless cosmopolitans" and "passportless wanderers"—old anti-Semitic euphemisms for Jews. These attacks have been underscored with the equally well-known trick of adding the original Jewish name in parenthesis to the assumed Russian name of each of their subjects.

Thus, the critics "Melnikov (Mehlman) . . . Yakovlev (Holzman)" etc., are denounced in the literary paper on February 12 as "homeless cosmopolitans"; the sport writers "Yasny (Pinkelstein), Victoroff (Zlochevsky), Svetloff (Scheidlin)," etc., are condemned in *Komsomolska Pravda* on March 6 as "passportless wanderers" and so on. The Jewish publishing house Emes in Moscow has been closed down; the central daily paper *Enigkheit*, as well as that in the Ukraine, *Der Stern*, suspended. All these, for "serious manifestations of Jewish bourgeois nationalism."

Way back in 1923, Leon Trotsky noted the underhanded use of anti-Semitism by the Stalinist apparatus in its struggle to crush the Left Opposition of the Bolshevik Party. He pointed to it as still another sign of the reactionary character of Stalinism, along with its theory of "socialism in one country" and its practice of "Great Russian" nationalism. And he warned that this malignant seed would spread and bear its bitter fruit in frightful abundance, unless Stalinist reaction was defeated.

NAZI BESTIALITY

The wave of Nazi bestiality in Germany, and the persecutions in Poland and in the rest of Eastern and Central Europe, served to overshadow the trend in Russia, where "at least" anti-Semitism remained formally illegal, as decreed by an early act of the revolutionary Soviets in 1917.

The Stalin-Hitler Pact that paved the way to World War II did, for a brief spell, arouse wide attention to the problem. But this attention served only to feed the general flurry of anti-Soviet agitation in the Western World that was cut short by Hitler's "double-cross" and the invasion of Russia in 1941.

During the war, which saw the extermination of nearly six million European Jews by the Hitlerite butchers, Stalin's Russia was the "loyal ally" of Western capitalism and the fate of the Jews in the USSR — no worse than that of all of the population under the totalitarian regime — was considered particularly bright by contrast with the rest of the darkened continent.

In the ensuing struggle to "win the peace," Stalinist diplomacy found it expedient to back the creation of a new Jewish state in Palestine as a strategic move against its erstwhile British ally in the Middle East. This move was accompanied by a veritable conversion of the "Communist" Parties (especially in Palestine itself and in Jewish-language organs abroad) to Jewish nationalism — naturally under Kremlin orders.

STALINIST BARBARISM

The actual establishment of the new state of Israel and its obvious economic dependence upon U. S. bounty have changed this whole past Moscow course. The Stalinist press throughout the world has begun to attack the leaders of the new state as vassals of Wall Street and to denounce Jewish nationalism once more as reactionary.

Stalinist reaction in its anti-Semitic form, as in all other forms, cannot be combatted successfully by alliance with capitalist reaction in any way whatsoever; either that of the State Department or of its reformist agencies, with whom the leadership of Israel is closely allied. It must be fought as part of the general struggle against world reaction, upon which it feeds and of which it is a part. Stalinist anti-Semitism, like barbarism in all its manifestations, can be defeated only by consistent struggle for the revolutionary emancipation of the working class in a Socialist world.

THE MILITANT ARMY

When the historians of the future study the development of the political movement that was destined to lead America out of capitalist barbarism into socialism, one of the curiosities that will possibly attract their attention is what we call the "summer slump."

Maybe it's the heat. Perhaps the reaction to strenuous winter activity. No doubt in some areas the automobile enables many workers to escape on week ends to a beach, the woods or open countryside. The desire to take it easy at this particular season seems to hit even those whose main determination in life is to do what they can to help leave this planet in better shape

than it was when they first really took a look at it.

The month of May, for example, shows a decided slump in subscriptions to *The Militant*. Branches that should be high in the running are way below par. Branches that just don't deserve to let it happen are in the zero column.

Minneapolis tops the list with 15 subs. Milwaukee comes second with 13 subs. Los Angeles is third with 11 subs.

Trailing these three top-ranking branches are New York with 9 subs, St. Paul with 5 and Detroit with 4.

A score of two each goes to Morgantown, New Haven, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco and Seattle.

Then comes those credit with one sub each: Buffalo, Chicago, Flint, Newark, Reading and Toledo.

Can U. S. Capitalism Avoid Looming Crisis?

Can American capitalism do anything to avoid the impending economic crisis? What about the proposals of Truman's economic advisors? Can they prevent another depression? What is the basic cause of the "bust" now facing the economic system in the United States?

Every worker concerned about ending the threat of unemployment will want to read the June issue of *Fourth International*, the only authentic Marxist monthly magazine in America. A scientific answer is given to the question haunting millions of people — can another depression be staved off?

"Welfare State" and Depression

An illuminating analysis by John G. Wright of the nostrums peddled by the economic witch-doctors of the Keynes school. The Marxist reply to the "reasonings" of Truman's Economic Council, the "sure-fire" remedies of Chester Bowles, Walter Reuther, David Dubinsky, the economics professors and other self-anointed, would-be saviours of the capitalist system. Wright demonstrates why they can't eliminate the "bust" from the "boom and bust" cycle.

Capitalist Choice: War or Crisis

Depression or another world war — that is the alternative facing the capitalist class. Louis T. Gordon shows why the capitalists fear depression — why they consider a mounting arms budget a way out. He draws a deadly parallel between the development of American capitalism and that of Germany in Hitler's time.

Road Ahead in Negro Struggle

J. Meyer continues his Marxist study of the problem of leadership in the struggle for Negro equality. If you enjoyed "The Talented Tenth" in the April issue, you'll appreciate this authoritative summary of the machinations of the Democratic Party and recent political trends affecting the NAACP, the

Urban League, the Negro middle class and the broad mass of colored people.

The Fall of Shanghai

The editors discuss the onward sweep of the Chinese peasant armies and the role of Stalinism. Has Stalinism changed its counter-revolutionary character? What does Chiang Kai-shek's defeat reveal about the strength of Chinese capitalism and the grip of Anglo-American imperialism in the Far East? Takes you behind the news in the headlines to the basic class forces involved in the civil war in China.

Epitaph to the Workers Party

George Clarke recapitulates the origin and decline of the Workers Party. Draws the basic political lessons and shows why this petty bourgeois grouping has no perspective but to bleed to death slowly. You'll enjoy the lively style of this epitaph!

In addition: "A Study in French Centrism" by Pierre Frank, "A Farmer Looks at Parity" by Gilbert Nelson and book reviews by Joseph Hansen and F. Forest.

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Vol. XIII - No. 23

Monday, June 6, 1949



TROTSKY

Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

— Leon Trotsky, Interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 1940.



LENIN

Halt the Lynchers!

On this Memorial Day weekend, as is our nature custom, countless men and women sought to enjoy their holiday as best they could, with taverns, roadhouses and other restful places among the favored spots. Calif Hill Jr., age 28, found himself in a roadhouse on May 30.

There was some sort of rumpus and the sheriff came. He took young Hill off to a cell, the "best cell" on the premises, the sheriff later said. Few know and fewer care how many similar incidents there were during this particular holiday when such things are part of the routine. But Hill's case proved different. He lived in Georgia, where the slogan is "A Good Negro is a Dead Negro," and where the color of his skin marked Hill for mob violence.

After locking his prisoner in the cell, the sheriff left the keys, just as deliberately, on a table. Then Hill's executioners came. They dragged him out of the jail, not forgetting to leave the keys behind. It was not until the next morning that Hill's body was found in the woods, beside a creek, on the outskirts of Irwinton, Ga.

His corpse bore the marks of boots and heels. And doubtless to render the meaning of what happened complete and obvious to all Negroes in the vicinity, the lynchers decided to add a special emphasis. One bullet punctuated the head just above the left ear; another punctured his body close to the heart.

The press services hastened to assure the country that this, after all, was "only" the first lynching of the 1949 season.

Nor is it surprising that reactionary Republicans and Dixiecrats and other Southern Bourbons dismiss such atrocities as "normal."

But what about the liberals, the Truman Democrats — and Truman himself? Are they so blameless for Hill's inhuman death? Not at all. This young Georgia Negro paid with his life for their policy of "realism." He paid for their way of dealing with the crucial problems of our day — the problem of civil rights, and of racial discrimination, in particular.

While these temporizers, deceivers and cowards make one contemptible deal after another with the Jim Crowers, the lynchers and all their defenders and promoters in the 81st Congress, millions of Negroes and other persecuted minorities continue to suffer.

To all honest men and women, Hill's fate is a warning signal. If the mass of the people are not aroused, there will be other Hills as surely as there will be other "realistic" horse-trades on this burning issue in Congress.

The Detroit CIO Council and the New York NAACP, have demanded a special session of Congress this summer to pass effective civil rights legislation, first and foremost, a Federal Anti-Lynch Law with real fangs in it.

We support this demand that Republicans and Democrats alike be forced to fulfill pledges they both made in the 1948 Presidential Platforms.

We urge every labor and Negro and liberal organization to back this just demand to the hilt. Let there be no more Calif Hills.

Why We Defend Harry Bridges

For the third time in the last ten years, the federal authorities are conniving to deport Harry Bridges, head of CIO's west coast longshoremen's union (ILWU).

After nine-weeks' hearings in the summer of 1939, the first case against Bridges was thrown out by the trial examiner. Then followed a ten-week tussle in 1941, where another trial judge ruled Bridges deportable. This opinion was overruled by the Immigration Appeals Board, which was, in its turn, overruled by the then Attorney General Biddle, throwing the case into the Supreme Court. This body ruled on June 18, 1945 that the nefarious practice of guilt by association — the only grounds ever adduced by the government — was in violation of constitutional rights.

Later that same year, Bridges was granted his final citizenship papers. In a sense, this was still another legal hearing on his status in this country.

Now, some four years later, Bridges finds himself in jeopardy again, for the third time. In addition to a Federal Grand Jury indictment on charges of "conspiracy and perjury," a civil suit has been filed in the courts to cancel Bridges' citizenship.

The outrageous record of this case is more than enough to show to what lengths the highest authorities are prepared to go in

dealing with a union leader today. One does not have to be a prophet to foresee that, on the morrow, the same fascist-like procedure can and will be extended to other union leaders and other unions, once a precedent is set by the Bridges case.

But in this instance, it is unnecessary to await developments to grasp fully the anti-labor nature of the persecution of ILWU leaders. The Big Four of Hawaii have their filthy snouts deep in this business. This is proved both by the timing of the Bridges indictment and the inclusion in his case of J. R. Robertson, first vice-president of ILWU, and of Henry Schmidt in charge of the ILWU strike in Hawaii. They are out to break this strike.

At the same time, these anti-labor plotters hope by means of the Bridges case to deepen the witch-hunt and intensify the intimidation and terror inside the labor movement.

That Bridges is a wretched Stalinist stooge, is a public secret. We also know better than many others what a sell-out artist he is. But involved here are vital issues of labor's own interests and of defense of civil rights.

That is why we defend Bridges, just as we defended him on each of the two previous occasions. That is why we urge organized labor to defend Bridges.

Get Out of Germany

The Big Four are at it again. The foreign ministers of Washington, London and Paris, on the one side, and of the Kremlin, on the other, are snapping, snarling and trafficking with one another behind hermetically sealed doors. The world's peoples are permitted to know only what those in the seats of power in each country wish them to know. And what this boils down to is, one side's trying to pin the blame for lack of agreement on the other side.

Millions are now anxiously awaiting the outcome of this newest diplomatic conclave, which, like its predecessors since Potsdam, has followed in the vilest traditions of secret diplomacy. The world's peoples sense that really at stake is the all-important issue of peace or war.

Central to this same issue is what happens to Germany over whose fate both sides are haggling today in Paris. Each wants Germany so prostrated as to remain nothing but a helpless pawn in their game of power politics. Each has even less regard for the interests or wishes of the tortured German populace than they have for their own oppressed people at home.

Whatever may be the outcome of the current negotiations in Paris, the German people stand to gain exactly nothing. Agreements, if any, will be arrived at exclusively at their expense and on their backs and bones. What is more, agreements, if any, on Germany will settle little basically, and least of all provide any assurance of peace.

The people of Germany cannot even begin to solve their problems so long as the heels of conquerors are on their neck. The problem of Germany can and will be fully solved only by the German people themselves when they establish socialism there.

The first condition for any lasting and stable solution of the German problem is the withdrawal of ALL occupying troops, not from any single zone, but from both the Eastern and Western zones.

The occupying armies of Washington, along with those of London, Paris and Moscow must be immediately removed from German soil and the German people permitted to establish a government of their own free choice.

Let all these occupiers get out and stay out!

Where the SWP Stands on Conscription

2 CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS CRITICIZE PARTY'S POSITION

(We are publishing here a discussion between Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, and two of our readers who sent letters defending the policy of the conscientious objectors as against the position stated by Comrade Dobbs in his article in the April 4 Militant. The letters from our readers are below; Dobbs' reply in the right-hand columns.)

Editor:

Your article in the Militant of April 4th, 1949, "Persecution of Conscientious Objectors," was wonderful and there should be more publicity given to the evils of Military Conscription which is the most vicious kind of human slavery.

However, I want you to know that I cannot concur in what you say in the last four paragraphs of said article excepting the very last paragraph.

If we oppose capitalist wars and drafts then how can we collaborate with them by registering for military service. "Know ye not, that to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?" Rom. 6-16.

This procedure is as inconsistent as the religious faker who prays for peace (good) and works for war (evil). The word "exemption" as used in any military draft is only a trap to fool the draftees and they should not "claim exemption" but keep it by not registering for military service. If any man does not want to be a soldier he is not required by our "Constitution" to conjure up some excuse.

Moreover, if the Workers of the World permit a capitalist government or regime "to rule over them and plunge them into war" whereby they could and do order said workers to kill and destroy each other, that is no valid reason why I or any other, class conscious worker should fall for this racket and it is my candid opinion that the workers should suffer death rather than help prolong or maintain the evils of capitalism. Karl Marx told us a truth when he

said, "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and the whole world to gain." He would neither collaborate nor compromise and that is why he is remembered by the World Workers.

The last two world wars have cost the workers of the world about fifty millions lives (50,000,000) and about a million billion dollars (how much is that?) not counting the misery and heartache of millions of mothers, sisters and sweet-hearts — and the result? Zero or below zero, for the world is in a worse mess now than ever, which reminds me of another verse in the Bible "Can a man do evil (war) that good (peace) may result? God forbade." The "huke warm" "Socialists" in all countries have collaborated with these two world wars and we as supposed socialists condemn them as inconsistent for so doing. However, we must not make the same mistakes or sins. It is also written in the Bible that, "Because thou art neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of mine mouth."

In my opinion, when a man does wrong, he does it either by mistake or design and in this case I honestly think you have made a mistake which is perfectly human. I hope that I have helped you in your sincere efforts to hasten the day when the "evils" of capitalism will be "overcome" by the "good" of real Socialism.

Sincerely

W. D. Minn.

Editor:

Although my brother and I are not members of your party we



FARRELL DOBBS

appreciate your well documented news survey. Our major difference of opinion is: although you as a labor defender know that it is the workers in every country who are compelled to do the fighting for the capitalists of their respective countries — how can you, as a champion of the workers, countenance Socialists killing workers of other countries and often Socialists?

You seem to go even farther by justifying socialists participating in the armed forces!

We are conscientious objectors, my brother and I. We can trust the C.O.'s in other countries not to annihilate the C.O.'s of this country and vice versa. Where can you find a more noble expression of brotherhood than this?

If it is brotherhood we all seek let us start right and back it up with something stronger than mere words!

Your past conduct on this one point is most bewildering if not disgusting. Remember I am harping on this one point, to me a vital point, otherwise your literature is "tops."

Harold M. Sherwen
Buckeye Route
Redding, Calif.

Seattle Boilermakers Regain Local Autonomy

By Daniel Roberto

SEATTLE, May 21 — The militants of Local 104 of the Boilermakers Union have won a signal victory in their long battle for union democracy. They have retrieved the autonomy of the local after two years of receivership dictation at the hands of the International Executive Board of the Boilermakers Union.

Last month, the Washington State Supreme Court issued a decision in favor of the democratic rights of the Local, and the final court order returning Local 104 to the membership was issued May 19. Today the membership held its first official meeting in two years, and new union elections are scheduled for the near future.

Local 104 has been a traditionally militant local in the Northwest and inside the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers. Its delegates to Metal Trades and Shipyard wage conferences had always been in the forefront in pushing for aggressive demands. The local prided itself on its internal democracy and its delegates at International conventions battled consistently for the democratization of the structure of the International union.

As a last means of defense, these militant leaders appealed to the courts for restraining action. The courts held up the expulsions, and froze the local's treasury of \$600,000; but for the rest allowed the administrative board to govern the union, pending final decision.

SUPPORTED CRDC

Local 104 was the only local in Seattle to support the Civil Rights Defense Committee in its drive to win a presidential pardon for the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case, and the local took the lead in denouncing the goon squad assaults of the Stalinists upon the Quakers in Seattle during the Stalinists' war-time frenzy of patriotism.

With this record of over-all militancy and devotion to the principles of democratic unionism, it was inevitable that Local 104 should collide with the bureaucratic officialdom of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers headed by President McGowan — and officialdom whose record is second only to that of the Teamsters International officers for the number of locals placed under receivership.

The immediate issues that brought the assault of McGowan and Co. upon the autonomy of Local 104 were as follows: 1) the local voted to maintain its tradition of yearly local elections, despite a change in the International constitution which provides for elections to be held only every four years; and 2) the local had voted to reduce the salaries of its paid officials.

For these offenses against the security of a dictatorial official-

the courts, the militants organized themselves as the Local 104 Committee for Union Democracy and Local Autonomy, and kept the agitation for democratic unionism alive in the ranks of the local's membership and throughout the labor movement in the city.

GUARDED OFFICE

The Committee kept possession of the local's offices in the Labor Temple and kept a constant guard over the records. They issued the 104 Reporter from time to time, and held regular meetings. They raised money to maintain Joe Clancy and Bill Miller at their post of guarding the office on a full time basis.

The leading members of the committee meanwhile suffered joblessness because of discrimination by the Administrative Board's dispatcher. Despite the hardships of maintaining the protracted struggle, these militants never retreated from their positions.

The victory of Local 104 over the officers of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers comes as good news to all militant unionists in Seattle. It is a crack in the hard AFL bureaucratic crust that encases the labor movement of the city, whose most notorious representative is Dave Beck, czar of the Teamsters.

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A REPLY BY FARRELL DOBBS TO LETTERS FROM 2 CO'S

Editor:

My article, "Persecution of the Conscientious Objectors," in the April 4 Militant was intended solely to report the brutal treatment of CO's under the peacetime draft and to support their democratic right to act according to their beliefs. Consequently, I mentioned only briefly the Socialist Workers Party's position on the draft, primarily to indicate that our support of the CO's does not at all imply agreement with their policies.

Since then readers in Minnesota and California have sent letters objecting to SWP policy on the draft, which they seem to think implies a compromise, if not collaboration, with the capitalists. To clear up these misunderstandings, I wish to state our position more fully.

The Socialist Workers Party firmly opposes wars fought by the capitalist government, because they are imperialist wars waged to conquer foreign markets, sources of raw materials and spheres of influence in order to swell the profits of the ruling capitalist class. Imperialist wars bring to the workers only economic hardship, violations of their democratic rights, grief over the loss of loved ones, physical suffering and death.

We equally oppose capitalist draft laws, military budgets and all other war measures. In war as in peace, we stand politically opposed to the capitalist government. We reject the fraudulent slogan of "national unity" and call for continuation of the workers' struggle in defense of their rights and interests. As demonstrated by the 18 leaders of the SWP who were imprisoned for their opposition to the last war, we never compromise with capitalism. We fight all the time in war as in peace, for socialism.

To carry on the struggle against the warmakers and for socialism, it is necessary at all times to be in direct contact with the great mass of the working people, and it is precisely on this point that we disagree sharply with the CO's. We admire the courage and integrity of the

CO's, but we think their policy of refusing to accept conscription is wrong, because it results in isolation from the masses who are going to decide the great social issues of our time. Such a policy unwittingly plays into the hands of the ruling class, leaving politically uneducated workers to the tender mercies of capitalist propagandists.

We go with the rest of our generation, through all their experiences, never voluntarily losing touch with them, even when the present will or apathy of the majority thereby requires us to submit to capitalist military conscription. But this doesn't mean we abandon our political opposition to the capitalist government.

Always acting in a responsible manner so that our fellow soldiers will have confidence in us, we help to defend the interests of the workers in uniform. We support the rights of the rank and file soldiers to organize committees of representation, to elect their own officers, to petition Congress for redress of grievances and to express their opinions on all political questions.

We discuss with the workers in uniform the great social issues of the day, interpreting events in the light of Marxist theory and program. We point out the need for world working-class unity to replace the outlived capitalist system of war, depression and fascism with a world socialist society in which all mankind, regardless of race, color or creed, can live together in peace, freedom and security.

We believe this is a far more effective way of fighting against capitalist war than a policy of abstention and we hope to convince many conscientious objectors of the correctness of our views.

FARRELL DOBBS
National Chairman, SWP.

Workers Forum

Favors SWP Stand On Atlantic Pact

Editor:

The testimony of Farrell Dobbs on behalf of the SWP against the North Atlantic Pact before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is the finest analysis of that infamous product of the Wall Street War Party I have seen yet.

Here, in language even the most reactionary enemies of our class can plainly understand, is set forth the vigorous affirmative Socialist answer to the plotters against humanity. It should serve as the battle cry of all Socialists who seek to set mankind free from the chains of both capitalist and Stalinist slavery.

I could not help but compare your courageous stand with the cowardly inaction of the Socialist Party, as evidenced in the testimony of Norman Thomas. It is a comparison, I think, that more of us who supported Mr. Thomas last year and have generally associated ourselves with the Socialist Party must face up to.

The Militant is better with each issue and truly a marvelous relief from the lies of the capitalist press. In particular, I am impressed with your strong sup-

port of all civil liberties cases, regardless of whether the individuals involved are on your side or opposed to it.

This is in keeping with the great tradition of the foremost leader of our movement—Eugene Victor Debs—in whose footsteps James Kutcher fights on against the tyranny of the capitalist oppressors today.

For a Socialist America in a Socialist World.

George R. Stryker
Bayport, New York

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No Comedy at Ford's

By R. Norton

One of the most famous films of Charlie Chaplin, *Modern Times*, had a factory scene with the worker driven faster, faster, faster, by the monster of the assembly line. The boss still wasn't satisfied. He cut the lunch hour. He cut it some more. Finally he cut it out altogether, and poor Charlie chewed away at a whirling cob of corn, while he went on tightening nuts and bolts.

That wouldn't look so funny right now to the Ford workers. It's too much like life. They plug away, turning out what even the Ford Company admits is a "100 per cent" rate of production. How much more can you do than 100 per cent?

The Ford Company figures it can speed up the lines some more. Last December it had 116,000 wage workers turning out 88,141 trucks and cars. In March the company issued a new order to its supervisors. "The Company has the right to set any line speed it desires as long as (a) the all-day output does not require more than 100% of anyone, and (b) when a faster speed is necessary at times, no one is required to work too far above 100% nor for too long at a stretch."

Who was to say what was "too far" and "too long"? The speedup raised the number of trucks and cars to 92,800 during March and April.

Still not enough for the company! It scheduled 109,000 units for June, and with a working force reduced by ten thousand men, at that!

The workers, though, aren't just so many hapless Chaplins in a comedy. They walked out, to fight for the right to work at a reasonable pace consistent with human health and strength. Although they have been pushed into arbitration by their leaders, the workers have raised a slogan that sums up a real, a lasting answer to the bosses:

"A steward for every foreman."

That's the key to the only program that will make the assembly line a rational organization of work instead of a man-killing race-course. It's a step toward demanding workers' control over production, which will go beyond ending the speed-up. Once the workers assert their right to control their working conditions, they will go further.

If they can set the pace on the assembly line, why shouldn't they go into other phases of production, and see the job through from beginning to end? Why should they keep the parasites who operate the factories only for profit? The workers can reorganize the entire productive system without the bosses, and run it for the welfare of all who want to work.

"A steward for every foreman" is a fine slogan for the Ford workers and a fruitful idea for all other workers, too.

Two Trials at Foley Sq.

By Ruth Johnson

Contrasting two court cases going on before the same judge, columnist I. F. Stone last week gave a "real life" picture of how the judicial system cracks down on working class groups and smiles upon the Wall Street trusts.

Stone has been covering both trials in Foley Square. In one, the 11 Stalinist leaders are harangued, threatened, and bulldozed by Judge Harold R. Medina, who demands that they stop wasting his time with their defense. The Stalinists are falsely accused of teaching Marxism, whose precepts they abandoned long ago, and advocating the overthrow of the government by "force and violence." With them the judge is tough, hostile, sarcastic and impatient.

The second is the case of the government versus the 17 greatest banking corporations in the United States, accused of having monopolized the control of credit. The charge states that "by their control of the securities business" these powerful banks, operating as a combine, "have been able to substitute banker direction of industry and business for industrial business management, with the result that industrial initiative and enterprise have been discouraged and new business developments retarded."

In the process of their financial manipulations, the banks pocket, Stone says, 280 million dollars in profit on 14 billion dollars worth of business — money drained from "insurance policy holders, railroad users, and consumers generally." This gives an idea of the size of the monopoly,

but of course the profit-taking is not a subject of the indictment.

Stone's article in the New York Daily Compass, May 24, tells of the gloomy, forbidding atmosphere of the courtroom in the Stalinist trial, where the judge "held forth with grave and often tart severity."

In contrast, he describes the scene of the bankers' trial, "crowded with senior and junior members of the distinguished corporation law firms."

"The appearance of the room and the atmosphere within it was that of a board of directors meeting. Judge Medina, who looked like a morose Adolph Menjou in the morning, unbent to show himself something of a wit, and counsel did not fail to appreciate the judge's humor."

"In this gemütlich atmosphere, while disposing of technical motions designed for harassment and counter-harassment, the judge spoke as among friends of that dreadful trial downstairs, and mentioned several times in a melancholy way that he would not be long for this world unless he had a good rest after it was over. He indicated that it might be a year and a half before the banker case, in which there have been 18 months of pre-trial depositions, might come before him for trial.

"Thus the prosecution of the Communists not only serves to distract the attention of press and public" from the crimes of the bankers, Stone concludes, "but keeps the trial judge occupied for many months while the banker trial is delayed."

Still a Matter of Taste

By George Clarke

In the midst of the Four Power Conference meeting in Paris to decide the fate of Germany, Walter Ulbricht, leader of the Socialist Unity Party in the Soviet-dominated eastern zone, made it plain as a pikestaff that Stalinism is no more concerned with the interests and fate of the German working class than its Western imperialist rival.

"We cannot," he wrote in the *Taegliche Rundschau*, Russian army newspaper on May 27th, "ask every German first whether he is a good democrat, or whether he is a bourgeois, or was a member of the Nazi party. The only question must be: Is he in favor of a just peace treaty and the evacuation of occupation troops?" (The last condition is for the birds. Vyshinsky never mentioned "evacuation" in his proposals at the Paris Conference.)

Ulbricht's appeal for a "National Front" of all "patriotic Germans" was made even more explicit by the editors of the newspaper who extended the invitation for membership to "even representatives of Ruhr capitalism, even the church. All that we ask is that they are loyal Germans and not traitors to the unity of the Fatherland."

There is nothing new in this cynical disregard of the most elementary interests of the workers' movement and the readiness of Stalinism to unite even with fascists to protect the ill-gotten privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy. It runs like a red thread through their policies for over two decades.

Notes from the News

NOT MERGING YET — A motion for immediate unity between the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Party was defeated by a small margin at the SDF National Convention in Newark on May 21. However, the convention voted to "cooperate with the Socialist Party in establishing a Socialist Bureau" and "to instruct the new National Executive Committee to confer with the Socialist Party on the feasibility of a merger," the New Leader reported.

BUFFER ZONE — The Birmingham, Alabama, City Commission has set up a "buffer" zone between Negro and white residential areas, the Associated Press says. The no-man's land will be a 50-foot strip, six blocks long, in the area where three unoccupied houses bought by Negroes were dynamited last March.

CHEER UP, WORSE TO COME — Telling June graduates that job prospects will be "less favorable in many fields than in any year since the beginning of the war," Commissioner of Labor Statistics Ewan Clague added some consoling thoughts. "In the long run," he guessed, conditions in professional and executive occupations "might be better than during the next few years."

LINGUISTS EXPENDABLE — A new "electric brain" under construction at the U. S. Bureau of Standards Laboratory in California can translate three foreign languages with a 60,000-word English vocabulary and their equivalents lined up in a mechanical "memory." Besides replacing translators, it can double in the book-

keepers' and statisticians' jobs in its spare time, since it can also do complex mathematical problems.

AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE — A recent Treasury Department report shows that nearly 50% of those making income tax returns earned incomes of less than \$1750 for 1947, or \$33 a week without taking out for income tax or social security. Only 4.23% of the 62,600,000 who filed returns showed incomes of over \$6,000 before taxes and other deductions.

FEAR OUTBREAK OF PEACE — Leading United States purchasing agents, concluding a special seminar at the Columbia University School of Business, on May 7 expressed the belief that the two ways in which a depression will develop is if "Russia ends the cold war" or we "talk ourselves" into an economic crisis.

WAR AND DISEASE — Speaking on a bill to set up a national institute to study and treat multiple sclerosis, similar to the disease that killed Lou Gehrig, Senator Tobey of New Hampshire said: "If we can spend \$5 billion for European recovery, if we can spend \$12 billion every month to fight a war — well, we can't sit back and say we can't afford to fight multiple sclerosis."

BOON TO LANDLORDS — Since adoption of the Truman-sponsored so-called rent control bill, more than 250,000 rental units have been completely decontrolled and rent increases have been allowed on another 275,000 units by order of Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods.

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THE MILITANT

Abramson, High CIO Official, Exposes CP on Civil Rights

(We print below the full text of the May 16 letter by Irving Abramson, eastern regional representative of the CIO, sent to George Morris, labor editor of the *Daily Worker*. The May 31 *Daily Worker* published a lengthy reply by Morris, but did not publish Abramson's letter. An answer to Morris, by William Warde, appears on the bottom of this page.)

Dear Mr. Morris:

I make reference to your recent column entitled "Why is the CIO silent about the trial of the '12'?"

I hold a CIO card and I shall speak for myself.

You contend that civil rights and democracy are involved in the trial of the "12" and you conclude your column with the following statement: "there are some labor leaders who are just vindictive, hate communists and would just as soon see them in jail. But there are still many in America who see the bigger issue at stake."

So you think that there are many in America who see the bigger issue at stake? The twelve Communist leaders were indicted and are being tried under the Smith Act. I think the Smith Act, insofar as it purports to suppress the political rights of minority parties and the exercise of free speech is unconstitutional and ought to be fought. I said so in 1941 and I believe it now. That doesn't mean that the Smith Act is unconstitutional as against the Communist Party but is a model piece of sound legislation when used to jail its enemies. Incredible as it may sound, this is, nevertheless, the recorded position of the Communist Party.

There is nothing so dramatic as the story of the part the Communist Party played under the Smith Act to demonstrate the proposition that the Communist Party does not believe in civil liberties and used them only for the purpose of destroying the liberty of others. I intend to spread the proof of that on the record here as a reply to your question "Why is the CIO silent on the trial of the '12'?" and challenge you to print the full text of this reply in your paper.

NOT THE FIRST

You know that the "12" are not the first to be indicted under the Smith Act. You should know because you had something to say about the "18" members of another political party who were tried and convicted with the help of yourself and those on trial now. These "18" were members of the Socialist Workers Party, commonly referred to as Trotskyites. Most of them were members and officers of a union.

I have, as you know, fought the Trotskyites as hard as I have fought the Communists when their position conflicted with the policy of the CIO. I am not taking up the cause of the "18" Trotskyites. They have already served their sentence in jail. I want to take up your dishonest shibboleth that "there are still some in

America who see the bigger issues at stake."

In the summer of 1941 the "18" were arrested on the same charges for which the "12" are now being tried. The "18" were tried in the months of October and November of 1941. They were convicted and sentenced on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 1941, to various terms of imprisonment. Their appeal reached the Supreme Court on three occasions, the last of which was in December of 1943. They began serving their prison sentences in the early part of 1944. In August of 1944 Pres. Roosevelt turned down their petition for a pardon.

Is it a fair presumption that the civil liberties of the "18" were no less important than the civil liberties of the "12"? Would it be related for me to ask just what did you do—what did the Communist Party do about the "18" during the three years that these men and "many in America who saw the bigger issue at stake" were fighting the Smith Act? Were you and the "12" silent about the "18"?

HANGMAN'S WORK

The answer, of course, is that neither the "12" nor you, nor the Communist Party was silent. That would have been too much to ask for by those "in America who saw the bigger issue at stake." You were "vindictive." You hated the Trotskyites more than you loved civil liberties. Yes, you were not even decent enough to be "silent."

You saw the opportunity to get rid of hated political enemies.

Your rule was that the ends always justify the means and you coldly proceeded to help the hangman do his work on the "18" even if your scaffold was the Smith Act.

I was the president of the New Jersey State CIO Council when in the year 1941 I presided over the state convention in the city of Camden. The "18" were already tried and convicted and a resolution was introduced to get the convention on record for the support of their fight to the Supreme Court. The resolution was introduced on the very day the "18" were sentenced to prison terms, December 7, 1941—Pearl Harbor Day.

The resolution in part said: "This law is a dangerous weapon against labor and the democratic right of the American people, as shown by its use against the



IRVING ABRAMSON

Minneapolis teamsters and it is essential that its constitutionality be tested; therefore be it resolved, that we call upon all our affiliates to give moral and financial support in this case, to aid in the appeal of this case to the Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the Smith Act and to free the 18 defendants."

"NO CONSIDERATION"

Here is what was said by delegates identified with the Communist Party in fighting against adoption of the resolution. I quote from the proceedings:

"We have had this outfit coming around to our local unions asking for contributions and we investigated it and we haven't given it much consideration. The fact that the government, the FBI, has arrested these fellows from this organization for carrying on subversive activity in the army and armed forces, we felt should not give them consideration."

Here is what you said in your same paper, the *Daily Worker*, when those who saw "the bigger issues at stake" were fighting for the "18":

"Those informed of what the Trotskyites are doing would no more associate their names with their defense than they would go on behalf of the seditionists now on trial in Washington. Why are Baldrani and the rest lending their names in support of these snakes in the service of the enemy? Labor has complained only because more of their kind... were not put behind bars." (*Daily Worker*, June 6, 1944 — "Trotskyites Build a Sucker List.")

In August, 1944 you wrote in the publication, *Communist*, that "Trotskyites are on a par with enemy spies and saboteurs and should be treated as such."

On June 10th, the *Daily Worker* repeated its line to tie up the case of the "18" to the trial of the fascists in Washington: "the

hope of the 18 imprisoned Minneapolis Trotskyites is bound up with the defense of the seditionists in Washington."

On June 12, 1944 the *Daily Worker*, in an editorial, had the following to say about labor leaders who appeared at a meeting called for the support of the "18": "Any labor leader who defends them ought to be made to answer to his membership. By defending Trotskyites, like defending the accused seditionists still out of jail, such a labor leader abuses and misrepresents his membership. It is time to put a swift stop to that sort of thing."

JUST "SEDITION"

Complaining that the Trotskyites have actually had the effrontery to make the claim that "free speech" was the issue, the West Coast edition of the *Daily Worker*, the *People's World*, insisted that the Smith Act of 1940 deals with "sedition," and had the following to say:

"A campaign by a noisy handful of individuals in the San Francisco Bay area has been under way for several months to reverse a decision against the Minneapolis members of the Socialist Workers Party who were tried and convicted on a federal indictment under the Smith Act of 1940, which deals with sedition."

"Trotskyite agents are busy elsewhere, too, on the same case. They are bidding for sympathetic action by unions and other organizations, declaring that what actually is the issue in the case is not sedition or treason or anti-war actions but 'free speech' and the Smith-Connally Act."

On January 25, 1946 you wrote a column in the *Daily Worker* entitled, "A Closer View of the Trotskyites," complaining that "During the war some union locals were too myopic to see their fifth column role and even adopted resolutions asking for release of Trotskyite leaders convicted for anti-war sabotage. Our warnings . . . were often unheeded."

The incredible lengths to which the Communist Party went in attaining their objectives of handing their political enemies over to the hangman is reflected in the "Weinstock letters."

I am not going to quote the letters in full but the record should set forth a reference to the irony of this situation. Louis Weinstock, then a member of the National Executive Board of the Communist Party and an officer of the AFL Painter's Union, wrote three letters regarding the "18" in an effort to make the conviction stick. All these letters were written on May 11, 1944 to secure information and evidence that would stop the Painters Council from adopting a resolution of support for the "18."

The first letter was to Daniel Tobin who had a good deal to do with the government decision to prosecute the "18". In his letter, Weinstock bitterly complained that the Painters Council of delegates "were almost ready to give these people a helping hand," and asked for information that would help to prevent aid being given to them.

HELP WANTED

The second letter was to Sidney Hillman complaining that the "18" were "everything but supporters to our president."

The third letter was really something. That one was written to the Attorney General of the United States, Francis Biddle. Weinstock wrote Biddle that he was anxious to get information demonstrating that the "18" were convicted for "sedition" rather than "activities on behalf of the labor movement."

The reply came from the then assistant attorney general, Tom Clark, who assured Weinstock "that the basis of the prosecution in this case had nothing to do with activities on behalf of the labor movement."

Weinstock went so far in his attempt to see that the conviction under the Smith Act would stick that he even wrote to the prosecuting attorney of the "18", Victor E. Anderson, asking for help to "satisfy some of these doubting Thomases we have around here."

THE RECORD

There is the record. You sabotaged the efforts by those who saw "the bigger issues at stake," using means seldom resorted to by decent human beings. In view of this record, do you really feel that people can believe you when you say that in the trial of the "12" you are fighting for the civil liberties of everyone?

Before you attempt to rally others around the cry of freedom and civil liberties, you must stand for civil liberties yourself. You must demonstrate that the civil rights of your political enemy are no less important than your own. You must demonstrate that you don't want civil rights for the purpose of taking them away from others.

While you torpedo the civil liberties of men, you cannot complain that they do not hear you cry out for help. What is most bewildering is that such an articulate and intellectual group as the authors of Marxian dialectics could not see what even a political suckling babe understands: that when one minority group helps the hangman of civil rights place a rope around the neck of another minority, the former must inevitably climb the same scaffold.

Sincerely yours,
Irving Abramson
National Representative—
Eastern Area CIO

CP Fears to Print Abramson Reply

By William F. Warde

For the information of our readers we are printing in full the letter by Irving Abramson, eastern region representative of the National CIO and chairman of the National CIO Community Services Committee, to George Morris, labor editor of the *Daily Worker*. Abramson's

letter giving his attitude toward the defense of the 12 communist Party leaders was written in reply to a column by Morris on April 26 asking "Why is the CIO silent on the trial of the '12'?"

This letter by a prominent CIO leader well-known for his efforts in defense of civil liberties deserves attentive reading for two reasons. First, it is a devastating review of the despicable conduct of the American Stalinists in the Minneapolis Labor Case which demonstrates by their own words and deeds how they knifed the cause of civil rights.

Second, despite Abramson's explicit challenge, the *Daily Worker* did not publish any part of his answer, although devoting five columns of space to Morris's rebuttal in its May 31 issue. The Stalinists feared to print Abramson's account of their collaboration with the federal prosecutors because it exposes the Stalinist lie that the 12 on trial are the first union and political victims of the Smith Act.

SCATHING CRITICISM

The Stalinists fully deserve Abramson's scathing criticism and condemnation; however, we believe he and other CIO officials are wrong in refusing to defend the 12 CP leaders. We Trotskyites would have greater justification than any one else in refusing such

claims that it is "mechanical, false, ridiculous" to compare the case of the 18 Trotskyists with the case of the 12 Stalinists because "the 18 were on the side of fascism. The 12 were and are the most valiant fighters against fascism." In fact, one of the charges against the 18 defendants was their initiation of a union guard to drive the fascist Silver Shirts from Minneapolis.

As for the Stalinists, far from being "the most valiant fighters against fascism," they were allied with Hitler early in 1941. When they changed into super-patriots during the Nazi-Soviet war, the American Stalinists worked with the most reactionary Big Business elements. Their leader, Earl Browder, held out the hand of friendship to J. P. Morgan.

ENEMIES OF LABOR

The Stalinists have shown time and again their readiness to make deals with all kinds of dictators on the foreign field and the worst enemies of labor in this country whenever their master in Moscow finds such a policy useful. The Stalinists reserve their unrelenting hostility for those who refuse to go along with their sell-outs. Above all, they hate the Trotskyites who represent genuine socialism in labor's ranks and whose principled positions stand out in such sharp contrast to the twists and turns of the Stalinists.

Morris knowingly falsifies the SWP position on World War II. The Trotskyists supported both

the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany and China against Japan because these were just wars. By the same token we opposed the wars directed by the capitalist governments of the United States and Great Britain and by the Hitler regime of Germany because these were waged for purely imperialist purposes.

Morris does not hesitate to repeat the lie of the federal frame-up that our political opposition to the war of American imperialism involved advocating sabotage. He neglects to cite the whole record of both parties during the war, particularly here at home.

The Trotskyists continued throughout the war, as in peace-time, to support every move of the workers to defend their interests against the bosses. We supported the striking miners; led the fight against the no-strike pledge which hogtied labor while the profiteers coined billions; we backed the Negroes in their struggles against discrimination in civil life and within the armed forces.

STALINIST FINGERMEN

Meanwhile the Stalinists pushed for the speedup; acted as finger-men for the bosses and FBI against militants in the shops. They slandered the striking miners as "helpers of Hitler" and called upon the Negroes to lay aside their fight for equality and suffer discrimination passively "for the duration."

Morris cynically defends the abandonment of the struggle for civil rights which was part of the

Stalinist wartime sellout. He writes that, although the CP opposed the Smith Act, "action against the saboteurs in that critical period was certainly not to be limited by the fear that at some future day the law, in the hands of those who today defile Roosevelt, might be turned against the best anti-fascist fighters."

The truth is that, far from "defiling Roosevelt," Truman and Clark are carrying forward in the case of the CP in 1949 the precedent laid down by Roosevelt and Biddle. Tom Clark himself communicated with the CP leader Weinstock about the trial of the 18, as Abramson points out.

Although world political relations have changed considerably in the past eight years, all the political parties involved have remained true to themselves. The capitalist politicians of the Democratic administration extend the anti-democratic thought-control prosecutions. The Trotskyists remain both irreconcilable opponents of Stalinism and the most consistent defenders of civil liberties.

The Stalinists are no less treacherous than ever. Even under persecution they continue their criminal policy of demanding civil rights for themselves alone and none for their political opponents. They sabotage support for the victimized veteran James Kutchner as they did in the case of the 18. No wonder they have earned the hatred of every decent and fair-minded defender of civil liberties.