

# 81st Congress Breaks Every 1948 Promise

By Farrell Dobbs

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

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 depression substitutes unemployment for the high cost of living.

The offensive against the labor movement will grow in scope and fury, I emphasized, and the Congressional witch-hunters will continue their assault on the precious democratic rights of all the American people.

A year has passed since I made these predictions; the Democratic-controlled 81st Congress has just concluded its 290-day first session, after filling the record with 15,000 pages of oratory; and Big Business has been the winner and the working people the losers on every issue.

Truman and his Fair-Deal Congress have given lavish aid to the bankers and industrial barons in their preparations for a war of world conquest. An unprecedented military alliance has been forged through the Atlantic Pact with the Dutch and French-imperialist butchers of the Indonesian and Indo-Chinese peoples.

Included in this holy alliance against the human race is the totalitarian Salazar regime in Portugal. Congressmen are busy whitewashing the fascist beast, Franco, as a "lovely character," who should be a member. Another candidate for the Atlantic military conspiracy is the capitalist government carved out of Western Germany and well-staffed by Nazis.

Over \$20 billion have been appropriated in 1949 for the American military machine, the foreign arms program and the Marshall

Plan — all part of the preparations for war. Fat profits have been reaped by the monopoly corporations from these billions for war. In fact, Truman has staffed his administration with bankers, corporation agents and brass hats who are running the whole show.

Toward the working people, on the other hand, the Fair Deal Congress has pursued a nickel-nursing, belly-robber policy. Price-gouging still goes unchecked, while millions are unemployed and additional millions have only part-time jobs.

Yet Congress did nothing more than amend the minimum wage law to provide increases of a nickel to a dime an hour covering, like Volstead's formula, "one-half of one percent by volume" of the workers. At the same time over a million workers formerly covered by the law were cut off by the amendments. Nothing whatever was done for the unemployed.

The housing bill passed by Congress provides for only a million housing units when even the most conservative housing engineers say that at least ten million new units are needed. These million units are to be built at a snail's pace over a 7-year period, during which time more than a million marginal dwellings will deteriorate into slums.

Millions of tenants have been placed at the mercy of the rent sharks through the "local option" rent decontrol law with its "fair net operating income" gimmick enacted by the 81st Congress.

Despite the many campaign promises of the Fair Dealers they did absolutely nothing to provide economic security for the working people during periods of disability and in their old age. Nor

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## NATIONAL SUB CAMPAIGN OPENS FOR "MILITANT"

On Nov. 1 the Socialist Workers Party will open a national subscription campaign for **The Militant**. To facilitate bringing America's leading socialist weekly to new readers, **The Militant** is offering a special three-month introductory subscription at 50c.

The campaign will be for one month, closing Nov. 30. Its main objective is to give a good send-off to the fall and winter work of building the circulation of the Trotskyist press.

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

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

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

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

you obtain will go to the SWP branch in your area. A renewal of your own subscription will likewise be counted.

The subscription goals announced by the various branches are as follows:

Branch	Goal
New York	300
Los Angeles	250
Buffalo	100
Minneapolis	75
Philadelphia	75
Chicago	60
Detroit	50
Flint	50
Newark	50
St. Paul	35
San Francisco	35
Oakland	30
Akron	25
Milwaukee	25
Pittsburgh	25
Toledo	25
Worcester	20
Youngstown	20
Boston	15
Cleveland	15
New Haven	15
Seattle	15
Allentown	10
Morgantown	10
New Britain	10
St. Louis	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,350</b>

## Labor, Liberals Honor Kutcher at Detroit Banquet

DETROIT, Oct. 24 — James Kutcher's two weeks of intense activity in the auto center was climaxed by the impressive civil rights banquet given in his honor by the Detroit Kutcher Committee at the Central Methodist Church last Saturday night. Over 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 remarked, "must be voluntary, not coerced; it must be deserved and earned, not commanded and extorted."

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 defense in the battle for civil rights in our country. Our job now is to win back what we have lost. The case of this legless veteran is preeminently one around which all of us can rally."

He observed that the Veterans of Foreign Wars had recently pressured the Detroit Common Council into taking a loyalty pledge of its own manufacture. "There was no legal basis for this. How far will this loyalty business go? Will the American Legion, the Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce now compete with one another to see which can get the Council to take the toughest oath?"

In a rousing talk Michigan CIO President August Scholle reminded the audience that "as the Boston Tea Party showed, many people became revolutionary in order to establish democracy in this country." He said that the Socialist Workers Party to which Kutcher belongs does not take orders from any foreign government but is an American revolutionary party, with every right to advocate its own ideas.

"Reactionaries are introducing the thought-control practices of Hitler and Mussolini," Scholle declared. "Organized capital has complete control of propaganda and the press; in Michigan, for example, every big newspaper is owned by Republican supporters of Big Business." He concluded by pledging that, although the CIO does not agree with Kutcher's views, "we'll fight to the last ditch until his cause is won."

Rabbi Joshua Sperka of Congregation B'nai David reproved (Continued on page 3)

### Next Week:

#### THE CIO CONVENTION

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

# Strikers Need Backing By Congress of Labor

Who Will Be Next?



Shown at the top on their way to prison prison, victims of the same thought-control the 18 Trotskyists convicted in Minneapolis in 1941.

Who will be next? The whole labor movement faces similar repressions unless it realizes that the Smith Act menaces the Communist Party. They cheered the rights of all workers and comes to conviction of the Trotskyists and saboteurs the defense of all the witch-hunt victims, tagged their defense. Now they too are in regardless of their political views.

## FEARS GROW THAT FOLEY SQUARE CONVICTIONS ARE THREAT TO ALL

Attorney General J. Howard McGrath declared in a speech on Oct. 20 that the conviction of the 11 Stalinists in New York does not mean that the Communist Party has been outlawed. He also said that the government has no plans for similar prosecutions "at the present time."

These assurances are part of the Truman administration's attempts to allay apprehensions about the threat to democratic rights involved in the CP trial and the application of the Smith Act. Fears of this kind have been expressed in many conservative as well as liberal papers.

But the worthlessness of McGrath's "liberal" assurances was bare two days later at Foley Square when his subordinate, U. S. Attorney McGohey, demanded that Judge Medina impose the maximum sentence of the Smith Act's original penal clause — ten years in prison and \$10,000 fine for each of the 11 CP defendants — and that bail be denied to them.

In a display of judicial vindictiveness, 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, three years for the eleventh, and \$10,000 fine for each. He expressed regret for the change in the law, saying he would have set longer prison terms but for that.

In addition, Medina denied the defendants' plea to be released on bail pending their appeal to higher courts. In this way the government achieves the jailing of the defendants without having to wait for a Supreme Court decision on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. This is a distinct departure from the traditional practices of the American courts, which generally allow bail for defendants convicted under a law

whose constitutionality is open to question.

The capitalist press on the whole hailed the convictions, but at the same time a number of editors voiced a certain uneasiness about the implications of this thought-control trial. The day after the verdict, the N. Y. Times cautiously observed in an editorial: "We do not know that the Smith Act . . . is an ideal piece of legislation."

The Madison Capital Times spoke more clearly on Oct. 17: "A lot of Americans will be disturbed by the import of this case. . . [In this case America] is imposing new and perhaps very drastic restrictions on the free political choice of the individual."

But even the most liberal papers have no proposal other than — wait until the Supreme Court gets the case. This ignores the fact that the Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal of the 18 Trotskyists convicted under the Smith Act in Minneapolis, that it turned its back while they went to jail. There is no more reason to rely for justice on the Supreme Court today than there was in the Minneapolis case.

The real need, emphasized by the CP trial, is united action by the labor and liberal movements to strike at the source of the witch-hunt, to force the revocation of the "subversive" lists, to win the repeal of the Smith Act, the release of its latest victims and the restoration of civil rights for the Minneapolis 18.

## 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 intervene in the strikes within the week if there is no settlement. Irving S. Olds, chairman of U. S. Steel, has demanded that Murray "get off his high horse" and said he "will have no objections" if Truman gets an 80-day Taft-Hartley injunction against the strikers.

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

### THE LEWIS PROPOSAL

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

The best way to concretize the Lewis proposal, and advance beyond it, would be for Lewis and Murray to take the initiative in summoning a national Congress of Labor, composed of all sections of the union movement to meet in Washington and work out a program of action to bring victory to the embattled steel and coal workers.

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

### REVIVE FOURTH-ROUND

Such a conference should make a declaration of independence from Taft-Hartleyism and rebel against compulsory arbitration imposed under the guise of so-called "fact-finding" boards. It should put forward the original wage demands of the workers in addition to a decent pension and welfare program. This would not only strengthen the morale of the strikers with new incentives but would revive the whole fourth-round wage drive and enlist the enthusiastic backing of the workers in other industries.

Move that, however, the delegates to a Congress of Labor would be confronted with the need to work out a program to meet the ever-recurring problem of lengthy strikes forced on the workers by the corporations — long sieges through which they

seek to weaken the labor movement and starve the workers back to the plants on the corporations' terms.

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

## Bell Strike Ends, Main Issues Sent To 'Fact-Finders'

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

All strikers were to return to work with the exception of a "small group" whose "employability" is to be decided by the board. This "small group," said to be about 22, includes some of the most outstanding militants in the Bell union as well as officers of the local, bargaining committee-men and others.

One of the company's principal demands had been the discharge of these active unionists. Practically all of them had participated in the mass demonstrations which were responsible for turning the tide in favor of the strikers and arousing the support of the organized labor movement. The agreement reached behind closed doors was negotiated solely between the management and top union officials from the international. The local's top bargaining committee did not participate in the negotiations but their agreement was obtained later.

The "small group of unemployables" is divided into three groups: 1. The so-called "subversive" elements; 2. A group suspected of being "subversive"; 3. A group charged with "violence" arising out of the mass demonstrations.

The agreement to submit the fate of these militants into the hands of a corporation-minded "fact-finding" board set up under the direction of Governor Dewey who openly showed his bias against the strikers, is regarded by all progressives in the Buffalo labor movement as one of the (Continued on page 2)

## CP Torpedoes Ohio Rights Parley

CLEVELAND, Oct. 16 — A two-day Ohio Conference on the Bill of Rights, assembled to organize a broad united front to fight the witch-hunt, was torpedoed by the Communist Party in the closing hours of its sessions today. When the resolution to defend the convicted CP leaders was introduced, the Stalinists launched a one-hour factional barrage and shouted down an amendment by Ted Selander, Ohio secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to support the unconditional pardon and restoration of civil rights for the 18 Trotskyist leaders, the first victims of the Smith Act.

Despite the verdict at Foley Square and the CP's desperate need to organize a broad movement of defense, the Stalinists have again demonstrated in action that any civil rights movement which defends the liberties of Trotskyists will receive only sabotage and disruptive opposition from them even though such action soaps the rope for the CP's own neck.

About 200 delegates attended this Ohio conference, chiefly from Stalinist-dominated unions, fraternal organizations and cultural groups, with a small number of liberal teachers, ministers and church groups. Russell N. Chase, Cleveland lawyer, served as chairman.

### ROGGE'S SPEECH

The most prominent speaker, O. John Rogge, received the greatest attention and response from the conference. Obviously stunned by the Foley Square verdict, Rogge said that "the American people were taking this thought-control witch-hunt lying down and that words alone were not sufficient to arouse them." He repeated over and over again that what is needed is a "united front to fight this attack upon our civil liberties."

The conference set up an Ohio Bill of Rights organization and elected its officers and executive committee. Finally, the Resolutions Committee reported out its last three resolutions. On a gen-

eral resolution protesting the "loyalty" purge, Harry Braverman, Youngstown SWP organizer, took the floor and told the facts in the James Kutcher case.

"Kutcher," he pointed out, "is touring the country right now, speaking to hundreds of organizations not only in defense of his own case but of all the victims of the thought-control purge — the 11 CP leaders, Harry Bridges, all victims regardless of political belief or affiliation." Braverman added that Kutcher would be in Ohio soon and he urged all delegates present to help him speak before their organizations and assist this courageous fighter for civil liberties in every way they could.

The chairman of the Resolutions Committee replied that they had so many "loyalty" cases that it would be impractical to write separate resolutions for each case and therefore they had decided to handle it with a general resolution. Braverman accepted that. Then after a one paragraph resolution against the Smith Act,

the resolution on defense of the 11 was placed before the body as the final and high point of the two-day conference. Arnold Johnson, former chairman of the Ohio CP and now national legislative chairman, tried to arouse the delegates to the central task of this conference, the defense of the 11.

### SELANDER'S AMENDMENT

The chairman, who was scrupulously fair during this debate, then recognized Ted Selander who made an amendment calling for support of the 18 Trotskyist leaders. Selander pointed out that 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 the precedent for Foley Square.

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# Flint Sets Fine Example In Party Building Fund

By Reba Aubrey

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

## SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 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	0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12,000</b>	<b>2,068</b>	<b>17</b>

meager old-age pension. Talk about sacrifices!"

Anne Chester of San Francisco informs us: "The pledges made by the members of the Bay Area Local are quite satisfactory. We feel confident that we will fulfill our quota on time."

Comrade Max of Philadelphia says, "From the pledges made so far plus the proceeds of a social or two, it looks like you can count on Philly making its quota."

Seattle Branch accepted their \$100 quota and added: "We will in all likelihood up this quota to \$150 or \$175."

A letter from Ernie Kennedy speaks for the Detroit Branch: "After careful consideration of the quotas proposed for the various branches in the Party Building Fund campaign and our ability to pay, the Detroit membership and Executive Board have rejected the assignment of \$800. We are convinced that the quota suggested represents discrimination in favor of the Detroit Branch — discrimination which we no longer need or are entitled to."

As a demonstration of our intent to assume more fully our obligations, please revise our quota to \$1,100. We are convinced that we will not only raise this sum but unless we fall victims to some unexpected catastrophe, we shall go over the top."

"Barring any unforeseen circumstances," Boston Branch hopes "to go over the top" with their quota. Comrade Dennis adds: "May there be no goose-eggs on the scoreboard at the drive's end!"

We'd like to end this column with a thought expressed by the Los Angeles Local in a letter to all its members: "The entire fall campaign of the party nationally, we must remember, is based around this Party Building Fund campaign. The whole propaganda campaign, the national tours, maximum hitting power for the party press, and a widening influence of the party is based on the collection of this fund. The fund is not just money — it is money raised to political significance."

## 81st CONGRESS BREAKS ALL 1948 'FAIR DEAL' PROMISES

(Continued from page 1)

was a single effective step taken to provide national health protection. When Cardinal Spellman insolently and arrogantly denounced the Barden bill for aid to education, the capitalist politicians backed away from it like cubs from a porcupine.

**STATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS**  
The Fair Deal, ballyhoo about action to protect civil rights for all proved to be so much hot air. Nothing whatever has been done to safeguard the Negro people from lynch murder, or to abolish Jim Crow discrimination, or to guarantee to them their right to vote.

Pleanty has been done, however, by Truman and Congress to whip up hysteria and add new victims in the thought-control witch-hunt now being waged against the democratic rights of the American people.

After promising to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, the Fair-Deal Congress has gone home with

this slave labor law still on the statute books, and at the very time when almost a million coal miners and steel workers are on the picket lines resisting the union-busting offensive of the monopoly corporations.

On the day Congress adjourned, Truman sent letters to the House and Senate hailing the results of the 290-day session as "well worthwhile," and wishing his Fair Deal colleagues success in their political fence-mending back home.

Their fence-mending will consist of slick alibis for the broken old promises and new promises to do something for the good and welfare of the working people in 1950. The same routine will be repeated again next year, and the next, and the next.

It will be repeated year after year after year, until the working people break with all the capitalist politicians, form their own independent mass political party, based on a socialist program, and take the reins of government into their own hands.

## BELL STRIKE ENDED IN BUFFALO

(Continued from Page 1)  
worst deeds ever committed by the labor bureaucracy in the history of the Niagara frontier. Its very announcement shocked thousands of workers who had looked forward to the Bell settlement as an example to the whole labor movement.

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

### ONE-THIRD OPPOSED

Nevertheless, the progressives in the union, with barely 24 hours left to gather their forces, organized a drive to override that portion of the agreement which called for submitting the cases of the 22 unionists to arbitration. Joining in the struggle of the opposition were some of the staunchest supporters of the Reuther group, including a number of Gray's closest collaborators in the local. Out of the 1,000 who voted at the ratification mem-

bership meeting, 373 voted with the opposition.

The opposition vote constituted by far the very bulk of all those who had really participated in the strike, daily picketing and mass actions.

The agreement by no means ends the company's efforts to break the back of the union. Hanging over the heads of many of the militants and local leaders are a multitude of criminal prosecutions including assault, rioting, conspiracy, disorderly conduct as well as criminal and civil contempt of court arising out of the company's effort to enforce a sweeping injunction to limit picketing. Right now the Niagara County Supreme Court is trying 23 of the defendants on the contempt charge. Apparently in the greatest haste to secure convictions, the court even resorted to night sessions.

As yet, the union has not set up machinery to involve the mass labor movement to defend the civil rights of the defendants. Only the greatest amount of mass pressure from the whole labor movement can free the militant victims of Wall Street's, union-busting drive at Bell Aircraft.

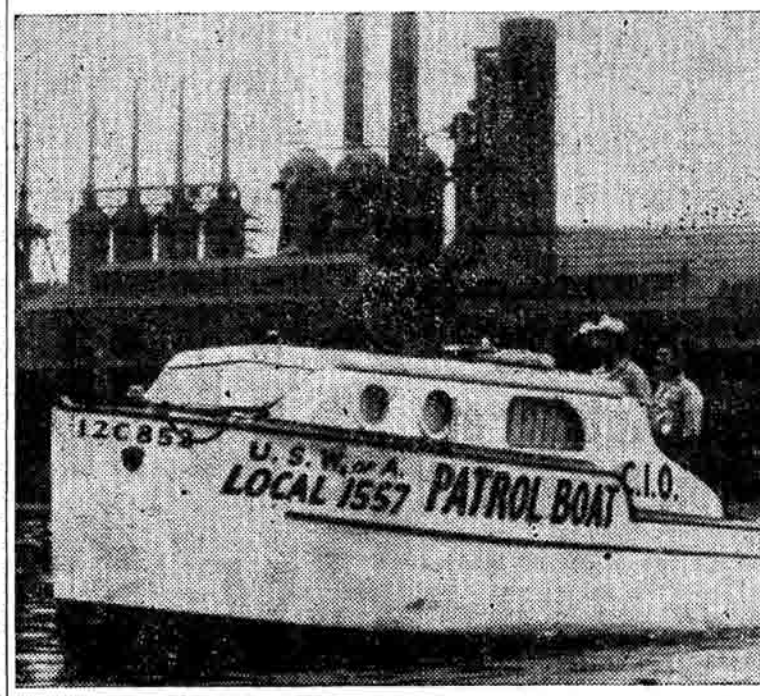
## Harlem Tenants Fight Evictions

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 their determination to stand united behind the Tenants League. They passed a resolution condemning the "brutal and vicious plans of the Authority" and chose a delegation to meet with Mr. Lapidus, director of the Housing office at the Foster site.

## Steel Workers Navy



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

# Yugoslavs Try to Parry War Moves by Kremlin

By John G. Wright

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

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."

### BORDER RAIDS?

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

Columnist Drew Pearson reported on Oct. 23 that the "chief reason why all American ambassadors from the Iron Curtain countries have been summoned to meet in London" is that the U. S. government has information from the Balkans indicating that the Kremlin "plans to infiltrate Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian troops into Yugoslavia to start a revolution against Tito. Moscow would then trumpet this to the world as a revolution by Yugoslav patriots and would march across the border."

Belgrade has officially denied any violations of its borders by guerrillas, while making public and denouncing Soviet troop movements and other warlike measures of the Kremlin and its satellites.

Meanwhile the political preparations for such incursions and similar attacks are being carefully carried out. Highly significant in this connection are inspired reports of mass uprisings

in Yugoslavia. On Oct. 25 the Daily Worker featured a dispatch from Sofia to the effect that Yugoslav workers have allegedly been engaging in strikes and a "mass boycott" as part of a rising tide of "popular resistance" against the Tito regime. We may expect a barrage of similar reports in the next period.

The exact timing and manner in which Stalin will attempt to 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 in the UN, clearly shows.

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

### MANEUVERS NOT ENOUGH

But no maneuvers, no matter how skillful, can save Yugoslavia. Her fate will be ultimately settled neither on the diplomatic nor military arenas but on the field of the international class struggle. Failure to clearly delineate in advance the limits of each and every maneuver can therefore prove disastrous.

It is a dangerous concession not alone to imperialism but also to Stalinism to paint up the UN as "an indispensable instrument for peace and international collaboration." This is almost word for word what the Stalinists say; this is what all the imperialists

have been claiming. Yet this has also been the keynote of the speeches of Kardelj and other 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, Feyitch took the floor in order to praise the "contributions" of Britain, France and other colonial enslavers to the "progress of the colonies" under their administration. This plays into the hands of the imperialists and emboldens them to press for further and bigger "acknowledgments."

This also plays into the hands of the Kremlin and its campaign to depict the Yugoslavs as "imperialist agents."

### REINFORCES ILLUSIONS

Worst of all, this tends to reinforce still another illusion — that of a lasting collaboration and peaceful coexistence of Yugoslavia with the imperialist world.

The imperialists would not hesitate for a moment to leave Yugoslavia at the mercy of Stalin, provided he met their price, say, elsewhere in Eastern Europe, or in the Far East. They await only a favorable opportunity to rape Yugoslavia themselves.

Unfortunately, the absolute confidence the Yugoslavs mistakenly place in the UN and their illusion of peaceful collaboration with the capitalist world are not at all accidental or tactical errors. They flow from and are part of a very definite set of ideas, the keystone of which is Stalin's pernicious theory of "socialism in one country." It is this theory that Belgrade must irrevocably break with in order to untie its hands for a successful struggle both against the Kremlin and the imperialists.

# World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

## Times Correspondent Shuns Truth on Ceylon Situation

A certain Robert Trumbull has recently written a series of dispatches from Colombo, Ceylon to the N. Y. Times. It could hardly be said that he lives up to that paper's motto, "All the news that's fit to print." For there are obvious indications that he missed up on well-known and simple facts. But he makes up for that shortcoming by filling a real need for the rulers of the United States, and consequently also the publishers of the Times. That is, to try and find some bright spot in the Far East situation, which undoubtedly looks as dark as never before from the roosts in Wall Street.

There is, to be sure, a grain of consolation for them in Ceylon. In contrast with the debris of their hopes in China, the uncertainty in the newly independent India and the irrepressible civil wars in Indo-China, Indonesia and Burma, Ceylon does indeed present a somewhat more stable picture. The national bourgeoisie there was able, against the protest of the masses, to put over a back-door deal giving the British vital military bases in exchange for its recent "independence." With this guarantee, the General Tire & Rubber Co. of Akron has moved in to try exploitation of the native rubber. Other American business concerns are planning to take similar advantage with native glass, rolled steel and ceramics. But, whether these enterprises will meet with success is far from settled.

Mr. Trumbull speaks of the Ceylonese being well fed, only to mention in passing that the legal minimum wage (read: average wage) is 60 cents a day and that prices are high. He reveals that workers have a maximum 8-hour workday with time-and-a-half for overtime and double time for Sunday work, and that before an employee can be discharged the employer must produce proof of dereliction, for which he can be sued if it is incorrect. But he fails to mention that these conditions were obtained by a trade union movement which has led several general strikes since the end of the war.

He also makes a big point of the weakness of the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which is true, and dismisses as negligible the influence of the "divided" Lanka Sama Samaja and the Bolshevik Sama Samaja Parties, which he says "are Trotskyist and anti-Soviet." This whole account is summed up by a headline the Times gives to one of his articles: "Well-fed Ceylon Shuns Marxism." Here is where Mr. Trumbull shuns the truth most.

The Trotskyist parties, which are not anti-Soviet but of course thoroughly anti-Stalinist, although differing in the past or important questions, are discussing unification at the present time as a result of common activity in both the trade union and the parliamentary fields. Together they have led the great strike

struggles that have forced unprecedented trade union concessions from the government. Together they polled over a million votes in the last elections out of a total population of 6 1/2 million inhabitants, and elected 15 members to the Parliament of slightly over 100 members.

If the Ceylon Stalinists are weak, if the government of Ceylon is forced to enact progressive labor laws and even to talk of nationalizing the island industries, then that is due to the fact that the masses there have given far greater support to Marxism, represented by the Trotskyists, than anywhere else in the world.

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

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

Among other instruments in the "cold war," U. S. labor "statesmen" some two years ago created a so-called Inter-American Labor Confederation. Its main purpose has been to rally support for Yankee imperialism under the cover of trade union organization. A large part of the organized labor movement there had previously been under Stalinist domination for many years. But Washington policy south of the Rio Grande is so odious that the new instrument has not been living up to the expectations of its sponsors.

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

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

The real sentiment in Latin America, as seen even through the distorted mirror of this congress, was summed up in a dispatch by Louis Stark to the N. Y. Times:

"... it was noticeable in several committees that the Laborites in Latin American nations appeared more incensed against United States policies than when the first Congress of the Labor Confederation met 20 months ago in Lima."

Wall Street's own Iron Curtain in Latin America appears to have been punctured somewhat.

# Slanders About the Bolivian Trotskyists

By J. Gomez

The Sept. 19 Labor Action, weekly publication of Shachtman's "Independent Socialist League," carried a slanderous attack by J. Rey on Bolivian Trotskyists 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 (Revolutionary Workers Party); Bolivian section of the Fourth International, was guilty of "open betrayal of the proletarian cause" because it issued a manifesto which among other things proposed a united front to the MNR and the PIR (Party of the Revolutionary Left), a Stalinist-dominated organization.

2. That the POR "refrained from attacking Stalinism and Peronism" and "placed itself frankly in the camp of the totalitarian and reactionary opposition, proposing a Nazi-Stalinist 'anti-imperialist pact.'"

3. That the "issuance" of the manifesto "reveals the complicity of some leaders of the POR (Lora) in the Nazi-military plot." Let us first dispose of Rey's crude attempt to defame Guillermo Lora. Lora, an elected member of the Chamber of Deputies, was exiled from Bolivia by the government together with other

leaders of the POR and trade unionists who backed the miners' strike which was crushed in blood at the end of last May.

How can a manifesto issued by the POR Central Committee while Lora is in exile make him guilty of "complicity" in an armed struggle involving one of the political parties to which the manifesto was addressed?

It appears that Rey is not only trying to tell the government that Lora should also be charged with "complicity" in the recent uprising, but also helping to smear him with a Bolivian version of the main frame-up charge in the Moscow Trials — namely that the Trotskyists work in league with "Nazis."

### UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL

From the standpoint of militant socialist anti-imperialist politics, the POR is absolutely justified in including the MNR in a united front proposal. The MNR is not a "Nazi" party, as Rey claims, but a bourgeois nationalistic force with roots in the trade unions, particularly in the Miners Federation headed by Juan Lechin.

In a semi-colonial country a trade union leader like Juan Lechin performs a much more progressive role than a Walter Reuther before whom Labor Action grovels. That the MNR contains dictatorial elements or that it behaved dictatorially when itself in power does not alter the fact that it is a bourgeois nationalistic force in a semi-colonial country. In the

political life of Latin America such dictatorial elements are a common feature of all nationalistic bourgeois and petty-bourgeois movements. For example, they are to be found in the ranks of Romulo Betancourt's "Accion Democratica" party of Venezuela, which has been defended by Labor Action.

The POR was also justified in including in its united front proposal the Stalinist-controlled PIR. This party enjoys considerable influence among the middle-class radicals and has some roots in the trade unions. In brief, both the MNR and PIR contain the forces which the Bolivian Trotskyists are trying to rally for an effective defense against the offensive of the incumbent reactionary Bolivian government.

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

### WHAT THE POR WROTE

Rey's contention that the Bolivian Trotskyists "refrained from attacking Stalinism and Peronism," is a malicious falsehood. "We know," continues the manifesto, "that the nationalistic bourgeoisie (MNR) is incapable of expropriating imperialism and the 'rosca' but its relative position is such that it acquires importance in this hour of triumphant reaction. [The term "rosca"

refers to the ruling oligarchy, the feudalistic-bourgeoisie.]

"Similarly Stalinism, which internationally is the gravedigger of the proletarian revolution, has made a 'shift to the left' in accordance with the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet bureaucracy, and is conducting an anti-imperialist opposition in order to put pressure on the U. S. It is a question of involving these forces in concrete tasks against the advance of dictatorship. We do not intend to put the interests of the revolutionary proletariat at the tail of either bourgeois nationalism or Stalinism."

The POR reserves the full right of criticism and of advocating its own program in the proposed united front and then concludes: "Finally, it is not a question of trying to find in the nationalistic bourgeoisie and the Stalinists virtues they do not have. We repeat, our sole aim is to forge a united front for the defense of the interests of the people and the nation which will serve as the point of departure for the

complete liberation of the country from the yoke of imperialism and the feudalistic-bourgeoisie."

These passages by no means exhaust the sharp criticism of the MNR and PIR contained in the manifesto but they suffice to show what a smear artist Rey is.

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

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TROTSKY

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

— Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.



LENIN

## 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 Minneapolis case of the 18 Trotskyists.

In the second place, and more fundamentally, the courts are an integral part of the government machinery for maintaining the rule of the capitalist class. Here or there we may find a few judges who believe that there already are enough laws on the books to take care of critics of the capitalist system; or that the best way to deal with such critics is through administrative measures like the executive order Truman 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 all-out witch-hunters would like, and on occasion may even exercise a restraining influence on the thought-control 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.

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

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 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.

## DETROIT BANQUET HONORS KUTCHER

(Continued from Page 1)

Kutcher's persecutors for violating freedom of conscience.

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

During the past two weeks thousands of Detroit workers heard Kutcher tell his story. He often spoke to as many as six or seven meetings a day. On Thursday he was interviewed over Station WDET, the official UAW

radio station. Most union papers printed accounts of his visit. The dynamic CIO movement here accorded Kutcher wholehearted support.

### NEGRO COMMUNITY

Negro citizens likewise recognized the importance of his case in their own struggle for civil rights. Rev. Robert Bradley, president of the Detroit NAACP, stated that the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee "will have our full and complete support." After hearing Kutcher's story, the Baptist Ministers Conference voted to take an offering for him at their churches.

On Wednesday afternoon 300 students and faculty members at Wayne University came to hear the legless veteran and other prominent people talk on the "loyalty" program in the largest meeting of its type on that campus in years. Other speakers were Dr. William J. Goode, Dr. Russell Ackoff and Al Barbour. Kutcher's appearance under the

auspices of the Student League for Industrial Democracy was a victory for free speech at Wayne since faculty officials had tried to block the meeting on the pretext that his case had no connection with academic freedom. On Thursday Kutcher spoke at the University of Michigan under the sponsorship of the American Veterans Committee.

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

At a welcome social last Sunday the Detroit comrades of the Socialist Workers Party presented Jimmy with a handsome travelling bag in which to carry the suits given him by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Labor Cooperative Clothing Store.

# The Theory of American 'Exceptionalism'

By Farrell Dobbs

The Stalinists are like the crook who shouted "Stop thief." Their favorite trick is to attribute their own crimes to others; the purpose being to conceal their own duplicity and at the same time discredit an opponent.

Stalin set the main example by slandering Trotsky as an "agent of fascism" to divert attention from his own maneuvers for a pact with Hitler. Similarly, he has accused Tito of conspiring against Hungary to mask his own efforts to smash the Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

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

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 everywhere."

"Exceptionalism," he continued, manifests itself "in tendencies to overestimate the strength of American capitalism" and "a lack of faith in the revolutionary power of the working class and its allies."

### FOSTER'S QUOTATIONS

The arch-"exceptionalist," of course, is James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Cannon got that way, Foster alleged, "by an acceptance of Trotskyism." Trotsky in turn proved himself an "exceptionalist" by a sentence he wrote in 1925 in *Whither England*.

That sentence, torn from its context by Foster after the fashion of the Foley Square prosecutor, reads: "Relinquishing their world rule, the diplomats and magnates of England are recommending their former clients to deal with the new masters of the world."

Foster called this proof that Trotsky "conceded offhand to American imperialism its dearest ambition, one that it has not been able to fulfill yet, 24 years later, and never will — namely, the mastery of the world."

With that claim, plus the usual slanders, Foster rested his case against Trotsky and Cannon. Before we look around to see what Foster is really up to, let us set the record straight on Trotsky's actual opinion about the strength — and weaknesses — of American capitalism.

### WHAT TROTSKY WROTE

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

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

"This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the beginning." (The Militant, June 1, 1929.)

In his introduction to *The Living Thoughts of Marx*, written in 1939, Trotsky predicted the dawn of a new epoch of independent class action by the workers. In this too, he said, "America will in a few jumps catch up with Europe and outdistance it. . . The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers."

These statements clearly show that Trotsky understood the fatal weaknesses of American capitalism and that he had complete confidence in the ability of the American workers to play a leading role in the fight for world socialism.

## Lawyers Cited for Contempt



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

As we shall see, these views of Trotsky's are fully shared by Cannon. But let us first examine Foster's deposition at the Foley Square trial. There we shall find the duplicity he tried to conceal by shouting "Stop thief" at the Trotskyists.

"The fact of the matter is," Foster said in his deposition, "that the United States today is dominating the capitalist world." Here he repeated, in effect, the very remark of Trotsky's on which he based his charge that Trotsky was an "American exceptionalist." However, Trotsky and Foster are poles apart in their program to combat American imperialism.

In Trotsky's opinion, the contradictions of world capitalism may well cause a social crisis in the United States "a good deal sooner than many think." That means, he said, "It is necessary to prepare," to orient the workers toward the struggle for socialism.

Foster, on the other hand, draws the opposite conclusion. He stated in his deposition that "in all probability the United States will either be the last great power or one of the very last to go

socialist." He would raise the question of socialism only in a "propaganda sense."

The fundamental position of the Stalinists, he said, is "to advocate the collaboration of the United States and other capitalist countries with the Soviet Union." Foster would have the workers make a political alliance with "progressive" capitalists to form a government "operating upon the basis of the capitalist system."

Thus we find that the "American exceptionalism," of which Foster falsely accused the Trotskyists in *Political Affairs*, actually appears in its crudest form in his deposition at Foley Square; and that Foster's "exceptionalism" expresses itself in a cynical scheme to use the workers as tools to force the capitalists into a deal with Stalin; a deal that would be made at the expense of the workers.

In opposition to the false line of the Stalinists, the Trotskyists have consistently advocated a genuine revolutionary socialist program. This socialist perspective is clearly stated in the "Theses on the American Revolution," written by James P. Cannon and adopted at the 1946

convention of the Socialist Workers Party. These, together with Cannon's report to the convention, will be found in the Pioneer pamphlet, *The Coming American Revolution*.

### SWP POSITION

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

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

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

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

### AMERICAN WORKERS

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

They will "learn politics as they learned trade unionism — from an abridged dictionary." They will take the road of independent political action with hurricane speed and power.

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

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

opportunistic policy he pursued throughout in his conduct of the war.

More books recounting Stalin's crimes against socialism are certainly needed to help educate the new generations and to counteract the flood of volumes depicting 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 events are wholly negated by the interpretation Deutscher gives to the role of Stalinism as a whole.

Is Stalinism revolutionary or counter-revolutionary? Does it, can it play a progressive role in the struggle for socialism, despite the reactionary methods it employs? Is Stalin's position, in the modern scene comparable to that of Cromwell and Robespierre 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 workers, even if it contains accurate information on historical details. Deutscher gives the wrong answers. How they are wrong, and how they differ from those made by the Trotskyists, will be the subject of an article next week.

## Deutscher's Biography of Stalin

By George Breitman

STALIN: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford University Press, 1949, 600 pp., \$5.

The publishers of this biography say, "It is not pro-Stalin; it is not pro-Communist. It is, rather, that rare creation — an objective book. . . Whether or not the book is genuinely objective, its complex character was certainly confirmed by the conflicting reviews it received from the different political schools."

The N. Y. Times reviewer, generally reflecting the sentiments of the capitalist press, thinks it will serve as "the classic biography and reference book" on Stalin until such time as the historians get access to the archives in the Soviet Union. But he refuses to offer a "final judgment" on this volume until he has had a chance to study Deutscher's next two books, dealing with Lenin and Trotsky, presumably so that he can get a clearer idea of Deutscher's attitude to Lenin and Leninism.

The Social Democratic New Leader issued a pre-publication memorandum warning all reviewers that it is "the most adroit apology for Soviet domestic and foreign policy to be published in many years." Its own review disparages Deutscher for "his evident ideological bias in favor of the broad aims of the Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin experiment."

For the Stalinist Daily Worker it is "a grotesque amalgam of concepts and phrases borrowed from Marxism, Trotskyism and the capitalists . . . bristling with garbled quotations . . . this spurious facade of balanced historiography . . . veils a savage bias and an unscrupulous use of every slander and lie which has ever been utilized against Stalin and the Soviet Union . . . a pyramid of lies . . . the same old smelly package."

The Shachtmanite Labor Action finds it an "impressive achievement . . . written from a generally Marxist point of view," but marred by "a very poor final chapter" in which "Deutscher succumbs to a variety of 'Cannonism' — actually, that is, to a critical acceptance of the Stalinist myth."

Deutscher himself says: "This book is intended as the first installment of a biographical trilogy to be continued and completed with a Life of Lenin and a study of Trotsky in Exile. The main

study of pre-1917 Bolshevism and the history of such ideas as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviets, the 'proletarian vanguard,' and so on, must have their place in the biography of Lenin. In the present volume the growth and evolution of these ideas have been sketched only in so far as it was necessary for an understanding of the chief character."

Deutscher is a Polish journalist who broke with Stalinism in 1932 because he favored a united front with the Social Democrats against the Nazis; it is said that for a while he was sympathetic to Trotskyism. At the beginning of the war, however, he came to England, and served as a Russian expert on the editorial staff of *The Economist* and for the BBC.

He is well acquainted with the factual and documentary materials available on his subject and handles them scrupulously on the whole, although in general his method is to question all charges or testimony adverse to Stalin that cannot be verified beyond question, and to give him the benefit of the doubt in most such cases. It is this method, plus the curiously detached manner in which it is written, that has earned the book its reputation for objectivity in some quarters.

He also has the irritating habit, after detailing one of Stalin's crimes against the revolution, of engaging in entirely uncalled-for speculation about possible justifications for his acts which Stalin may have had in his mind. Thus, after reporting the Moscow Trials and showing them to be monstrous frameups, he adds: "It is not necessary to assume that he [Stalin] acted from sheer cruelty or lust for power. He may be given the dubious credit of the sincere conviction that what he did served the interests of the revolution and that he alone interpreted those interests aright."

There is much in this book that no Marxist can accept. One of the worst is Deutscher's evaluation of the period of industrialization and collectivization beginning with the first Five-Year Plan in 1929 as Soviet Russia's "second revolution, which was directed solely and exclusively by Stalin" and "was even more sweeping and radical than the first" in its scope and immediate effect on the masses.

But, as Trotsky pointed out ten years ago, the source of economic progress in the USSR was the revolution of 1917, which led to

"the nationalization of the means of production and the planned beginnings, and by no means the fact that the bureaucracy usurped command over the economy. On the contrary, bureaucratism, as a system, became the worst brake on the technical and cultural development of the country."

"This was veiled for a certain time by the fact that the Soviet economy was occupied for two decades with transplanting and assimilating the technology and organization of production in advanced capitalist countries. The period of borrowing and imitation still could, for better or for worse, be accommodated to bureaucratic automatism, i.e., the suffocation of all initiative and all creative urge. But the higher the economy rose, the more complex its requirements became, all the more unbearable became the bureaucratic regime. The constantly sharpening contradiction between them leads to uninterrupted political convulsions, to systematic annihilation of the most outstanding creative elements in all spheres of activity."

In short, Stalin, far from leading any revolution, "second" or otherwise, clamped a bureaucratic grip on the Soviet economy. The viability of the economic foundations laid by the 1917 revolution enabled the economy to develop despite the bureaucracy, whose caste interests and police methods conflict with the needs of socialist development. Whatever achievements Stalinism can claim in the technological progress of Soviet economy are a thousand times outweighed by the bureaucratic chains in which it shackles the economy, by its exclusion of the workers from the planning process and by the heavy toll its parasitism exacts from the national income. The facts show that Stalinism, far from playing a pro-

gressive role in the economy, functions as the biggest internal obstacle to the Soviet Union's harmonious economic development.

### RECORDS HIS CRIMES

Nevertheless, Deutscher does give a fairly complete picture of Stalin's crimes, and the portrait of Stalin that emerges coincides on the whole with that drawn by Trotsky (from whose writings Deutscher has borrowed much). It shows Stalin's development into a professional revolutionary, whose grasp of Marxism was never more than superficial and who gravitated in the direction of Menshevism in every crisis. It describes his rise to dictatorial power after Lenin's death as the representative of a bureaucratic caste which leaned on the more backward elements in Soviet society and was strengthened by the defeats of the world revolution. It explains why and how he invented the anti-Marxist theory of "socialism in one country."

It discloses how he suppressed democracy in the Bolshevik Party, transformed the world communist movement into frontier guards for Soviet foreign policy, wiped out the Old Guard in the Moscow Trials. The later chapters, dealing with World War II, also tell of his pact with Hitler, his later relations with his Allied imperialist partners, and the empirical,

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WNEW  
1130 on your dial  
at 10:35 PM  
MONDAY, OCTOBER 31  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2  
WNBC  
660 on your dial  
at 8:30 AM  
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2  
TELEVISION  
WPXI  
7:30 PM  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6



## Marcantonio's Juggling Act

By Ruth Johnson

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.

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

"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 desperately, scurrying away. "I sent them a letter."

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

It was City College all over again. To the question on civil rights for the Trotskyists, Daniel 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, liberals and students sincerely interested in fighting for civil liberties.

# THE MILITANT

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## Reutherite Defense of Ford Pension Is Rejected in Flint

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 initiated last week by Chevrolet Local 659 was adopted after stormy debate. This action was a repudiation of the international's attempt to ram its position down the auto workers' throats. Top officials sent in to line up Flint were Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey, national GM director Art Johnstone, Jack Conway, assistant to Reuther, and regional director Don Chapman.

The militants repeatedly rejected the insolent dictatorial actions of the chairman and Reuther's top henchmen. Sparking the fight were Coburn Walker, president of Chevrolet, and a large delegation of officers and committeemen. The decision of this meeting follows the passage of the Chevrolet resolution by Buick, Fisher Body 2 and the Flint CIO Council meetings. Reuther's attempt to squelch the rising tide of opposition backfired.

From the beginning the members indicated their burning discontent with the plans of the speakers when chairman Chapman announced that only officers could take the floor. A Chevrolet worker was roundly applauded when he insisted that anyone paying a buck and a half dues in the UAW was entitled to speak.

### MAZEY'S SPEECH

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

In answer to his claims that the UAW couldn't do any better in negotiations at Ford and that it was ridiculous to expect the company to grant a pension after 20 years of service or at the age of 55 because it would cost 30c an hour, he received the telling answer from the floor, "That's the bosses' worry. We are paying you to represent us."

After Mazey's speech, which ended in a maze of heckling, Walker asked for special privilege to answer. With consummate gall the chairman refused to recognize him and called on Johnstone, who was prepared to filibuster for another hour. Walker, refusing to yield, declared amid cheers, "This meeting will not continue until I am given a chance to speak." After 20 minutes of pandemonium, the chairman had to back down and give Walker the floor.

Johnstone followed Walker and tried to frighten the workers. He claimed that GM workers would sing another tune when they were faced with a strike. Both Mazey and Johnstone harped constantly on the dreadful consequences of a strike in Ford. This further aroused the ire of the workers.

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### 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.

### M. Stein Speaks At 3 Meetings In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 22—Three stimulating 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 secretary of the party.

At a public lecture Sunday night Stein discussed "The Stalin-T to Conflict and the Crisis of World Stalinism" for an audience of 120 persons. An appeal by Myra Tanner Weiss, chairman, for contributions to the current national SWP fund drive brought 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 night, and Wednesday night on the condition of the party branches and the strike situations in the cities he had visited in his current national tour.

In addition, he conferred with National Committee members, with striking steelworkers and others on the work of the organization and the significance of the current national strikes.

The interesting lecture and reports by Stein in this first of the series of tours by national speakers projected for the fall and winter months has whetted the appetite of local SWPers and friends for those to follow.

### Seattle Audience Shows Enthusiasm

SEATTLE, Oct. 25 — An enthusiastic audience of 40 people, meeting at the Workmen's Circle Center tonight, heard Morris Stein analyze the Stalin-Tito conflict and the reasons why the American workers should support the Yugoslav struggle for independence from the Kremlin.

The audience of workers and students, including a number of Croatian descent, then expressed their agreement with the position presented by Stein by contributing \$30 in the collection.

One student and a former Stalinist were recruited to the SWP at this meeting. Clara Kaye acted as chairman.

The schedule of Stein's tour lecture follows:

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

### 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 candidate for Manhattan Borough President, participated in a five-way debate over station WNBC that was heard by millions of radio listeners.

Harold Robbins ripped into O'Dwyer's record of strikebreaking and indicted the misleaders of the New York labor movement for their support to the anti-labor Democratic and Republican candidates. Turning to Ewart Guinier, ALP candidate, he continued: "Mr. Guinier... has denounced the brutal beatings of strikers, Negroes and Puerto Ricans by O'Dwyer's cops. But Mr. Guinier, it seems, has forgotten that O'Dwyer only got elected because the ALP had made a deal with Tammany."

"We candidates of the Socialist Workers Party," he concluded, "are opposed to anyone who ties the workers' movement to the capitalist parties or the Kremlin. The workers of New York need a genuinely independent labor party and a workers government to advance their interests."

### RUSY SCHEDULE

On Oct. 19 Robbins addressed an election forum in the Stuyvesant Town area sponsored by the League of Women Voters. The next day Harry Ring, SWP candidate for Comptroller, spoke at a large open air noon-day election rally in the heart of the teeming needle trades district.

That same night, Michael Bartell, SWP candidate for Mayor, was heard by an audience of 500 at a forum sponsored by the American Veterans Committee. His speech, along with those

of other mayoralty candidates was broadcast over WFDR, the ILGWU radio station.

On Oct. 21 Bartell debated his opponents before 1,700 Hunter College students assembled in the main auditorium.

That evening Harold Robbins spoke to an audience of Negro workers in Harlem at a forum sponsored by a community organization. Meanwhile in Brownsville, a radicalized workers district in Brooklyn, Bartell, Ring and Gladys Barker, SWP candidate for President of the City Council, addressed several hundred workers at an impressive open air rally.

"The Stalinists and their allies sound very radical this particular season," Bartell declared. "But how radical were they a few short years ago? Where were they during the great March-on-Washington Movement that won FEPC? They were sabotaging that struggle on orders from the Kremlin... The Socialist Workers Party supported that struggle wholeheartedly."

"The Socialist Workers Party is the only party that has consistently championed every single struggle of labor and the oppressed minorities, because we owe no allegiance either to the Wall Street Jim Crow rulers or the cynical Kremlin despots. Our only allegiance is to the exploited and persecuted peoples of America and the entire world."

On the night of Oct. 24 thousands of pieces of literature and a special leaflet were distributed to an election rally of the ALP at Madison Square Garden. The leaflet was an open letter to Marcantonio, challenging him to repudiate his running mates Paul Ross, ALP candidate for Comptroller, and Benjamin Davis, candidate for City Council. These Stalinist hacks had publicly proclaimed their refusal to defend the civil rights of Trotskyists.

When the question was called, the Selander amendment was shouted down. The whole conference broke into circles of heated discussions. It had shown to all that although the witch-hunt has got worse since the national conference in July and although the 11 defendants at Foley Square have been convicted in the meantime, the Stalinists still prefer to wreck united front action rather than permit any support for their political opponents.

It is necessary now to awaken the labor movement to the need for united action in behalf of all witch-hunt victims, including the Stalinists, even though they sabotage it with all their strength. James Kutcher's coming visit to Cleveland (from Oct. 28 to Nov. 11) should act as a stimulus and rallying center for such united front activity.

## What Is A 'Conspiracy'?

By Art Preis

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is "sufficient," he said, "if two or more persons, in any manner, or through any contrivance, come to a mutual understanding to accomplish a common and unlawful design..."

Well, how do you prove a "mutual understanding" whose objects were not carried out and which is based on no tangible agreement? The prosecution, of course, offered the "evidence" of paid FBI stoop pigeons and of quotations torn from context from the writings of Marx and Lenin. But Medina told the jury they must find the defendants guilty even if the jury didn't believe all this "evidence."

He said: "It is not incumbent upon the prosecution to prove that all of the means set out in the indictment were, in fact, agreed upon to carry out the conspiracy, or that all of them were actually used or put into operation." It is only necessary for the jury to find "that one or more of the means described in the indictment was agreed upon..."

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

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

If a group of defendants were brought before any judge on a charge of "conspiracy" to "advocate" the robbing of a bank, the judge would throw the case out of court and reprimand the prosecuting attorney. But it's different, according to Medina, when it comes to a political witch-hunt against an unpopular minority party accused 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.

## CP Torpedoes Ohio Civil Rights Parley

(Continued from page 1)

In contrast, we came out in defense of the 11 CP leaders as soon as they were indicted, despite our fundamental differences with them.

"This amendment is an acid test for this conference. You will never enlist support from the progressive sections of the labor movement and the liberals unless you prove here today that you will defend all victims of the witch-hunt regardless of their political beliefs."

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

Then came a whole batch of emotional, almost hysterical attacks to the effect that the Trotskyists are fascists, fifth columnists, disrupters, splitters, promoters of strikes during the war, and so on. One person hailing from the West Coast even said, "The Trotskyists and their kind

torpedoed the ships I sailed on during the war, not only ships but even lifeboats."

### LIBERALS PROTEST

But after every Stalinist speaker, a liberal took the floor to say that he had understood that this conference was going to defend the civil rights of everybody under attack. (Most of them took the civil-libertarian view that included fascists as well.)

Fred Neubauer, Cleveland College AVC delegate, said that he had attended the national Bill of Rights Conference in New York last July where this same situation arose. He said that he and many other liberals couldn't go along with the action taken in New York of turning down defense of the Trotskyists, or anyone else for that matter. He ended by saying, "Don't ape Attorney General Clark by establishing your own blacklist here at this conference for civil rights."

Midway in the debate, Harry Braverman took the floor. He refuted the Stalinist lawyers by relating how the Minneapolis jury had thrown out the first count of the indictment charging "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence" and

convicted the 18 solely on the second count, based on the Smith Gag Act, of advocating the ideas of Marxism. Then he read Henry Wallace's letter of Sept. 21, 1948 supporting the 18, and a similar statement by Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, the noted authority on the "loyalty" purge.

"Mr. O. John Rogge, who spoke here last night so fervently on the need for a united front in the civil liberties fight, supports this case and agreed to let us quote him to that effect here at this conference," Braverman said.

"You are right when you say that the conviction of the 11 CP leaders is only the precursor of a widespread attack on civil liberties and democratic rights," Braverman concluded. "Just remember Italy and Germany, that's the way the fascists began—first the radicals and minorities and then the entire labor movement. Can you be so factually blind as not to see that the conviction of the 18 was the first thin wedge that led to Foley Square? At this conference we are being blacklisted arbitrarily without any evidence. Do you want us to take a loyalty oath to Stalinism here at this conference?" He also pointed out that the SWP does not support free speech for fascists.

That set off some of the most virulent Stalinist speeches. Finally Lee Morgan, who had just been elected to the executive committee of the Ohio Bill of Rights organization, rose and took the floor. Morgan is business agent of the AFL Building Service Union (although he did not represent it at this conference) and a Negro leader with a fine reputation for supporting progressive causes in Cleveland for many years. He said:

"I attended this conference against the wishes of the leaders of the Cleveland Federation of Labor. I attended this conference against the wishes of the leaders of the NAACP in Cleveland. I may lose my job tomorrow morning as a consequence of my attending this conference. I understood that this conference was going to defend everybody against the though-control witch-hunt."

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"I have known Ted Selander for many, many years, I have known Arnold Johnson for about as long—I see no reason to exclude Ted Selander from this conference. He belongs here, and he belongs in the organization that should come out of this conference. You say these people promoted strikes during the war? I don't know anything about that but I do know that if you are

going to exclude them from this conference for that, then you are going to exclude A. Philip Randolph too, because he organized the March-on-Washington Movement during the war. I believe in fighting for everybody's democratic rights, and I thought that was what we are holding this conference for."

### WHAT IT SHOWED

When the question was called, the Selander amendment was shouted down. The whole conference broke into circles of heated discussions. It had shown to all that although the witch-hunt has got worse since the national conference in July and although the 11 defendants at Foley Square have been convicted in the meantime, the Stalinists still prefer to wreck united front action rather than permit any support for their political opponents.

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### Why Bosses Like The Ford Contract

The employers like the Ford-Reuther pension contract for the same reasons so many auto workers dislike it. The Oct. 6 Employee Relations Bulletin, "an operating guide for executives" published by the National Foremen's Institute, wrote:

"Management didn't get the short end of the stick in the bargaining at Ford. For its 8-3/4 cents an hour contribution toward a pension plan, the company got union assurance that the pension issue is settled for at least five and one-half years. Plan cannot be reopened until March 1, 1955. The Union has agreed not to strike before that date to force through any changes."

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

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

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

participate in wildcat strikes." "Only of the country is on the downgrade with millions already unemployed. He refuted Mazey's charge that Flint leaders were using the pension issue as a political football."

The climax of the meeting came when Mark Reid of Chevrolet introduced a motion to support the Chevrolet resolution which called for rejection of the pension and the convoking of a national auto conference in Detroit. The bureaucrats went into a huddle and then refused to recognize the motion and the subsequent appeal of the chair's decision.

Amid this hubbub Walker took the floor and announced he would conduct the vote on the resolution and adjourn the meeting. Needless to say, the militants supported him, passed the resolution and demonstrated their contempt for the dictators by adjourning the meeting.

These heartening developments are omens of greater fights to come. For the first time the Reuther machine was overwhelmingly defeated in its bureaucratic attempt to make GM workers swallow their "beautiful programs." The ex-Reutherites found that opposition to the Ford agreement meant opposition all the way up and down the line. In the course of the meeting they found themselves voicing antipathy to raids on CIO unions, rebaiting and machine rule.

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

## FRED SIMPSON RELEASED IN PHILA

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 — Charges against Fred Simpson, Negro worker indicted on the trumped-up accusation that he was running a "disorderly house," were dismissed by Judge Lewis E. Leventhal last Monday. The judge also reprimanded the police for being "too enthusiastic" in making arrests.

Simpson was arrested last March along with 38 other workers, Negro and white, who had gathered at his home for the

purpose of aiding another victim of Jim Crow justice, Bayard Rustin, framed up and convicted of murder. The others were released the next morning, but Simpson was held on \$500 bail.

At the first hearing, Magistrate Daly showed the bias which had motivated the police in breaking into Simpson's home. He flatly admitted that it was his aim to break up "mixed" meetings of Negroes and whites.

While Simpson's release is gratifying, the fact is that his dismissal does not stop the police practice of breaking into homes of Negroes and subjecting workers to the indignity and injury of arbitrary arrest.

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.