

Bethlehem Pact Follows Pattern Of 'Fact-Finders'

Bethlehem Steel's acceptance of a version of the government's "fact-finding" board report marks an important turning point in the month-old steel strike and probably

augurs a settlement in the industry as a whole. A number of other steel corporations have resumed negotiations and U. S. Steel is apparently preparing to do the same.

In its broad, strategic meaning, the settlement with Bethlehem signifies a setback for the arrogant steel barons. For the third time since the end of the war, they were forced to retreat from their plan to provoke a showdown struggle with the unions and to cripple or weaken the workers' organizations after a long drawn-out strike.

Each time, a trifling difference separated the workers' demands from the company's offer. Each time it was obvious the corporations counted on the confusion created by such seemingly unimportant differences to undermine the morale and unity of the union. But in this case, as in others, the loyalty of the workers to their unions, and their sense of class solidarity, frustrated the designs of the monopolists and forced them to retreat.

But in no other sense can the settlement with Bethlehem be considered a victory for the workers. That possibility was eliminated in advance by the constant retreats of the CIO of-

New Contract Is Formally Accepted By Ford Workers

The new UAW-Ford contract has been approved by the membership. The vote at the Ford River Rouge plant was 32,392 for and 7,130 against. Of the 48 Ford locals, only two rejected the new agreement.

The Reuther leadership claims that these results constitute an "overwhelming" endorsement for its new "history making agreement." The actual vote simply reflects the success of the Reutherite leadership in intimidating the Ford rank and file with the threat of a "six-month" strike.

Far from constituting an all-out endorsement for the Reuther machine, the results of the Ford-UAW contract mark a turning point in the developments inside the auto union. The ferment and indignation against the Reutherite leadership among the GM workers and elsewhere throughout the industry is not being lulled by the formal vote of acceptance at Ford. On the contrary, the opposition will tend to grow as more and more militants recognize the conservative character of the Reuther leadership which has masqueraded so long as a "militant" and "progressive" force.

BERT COCHRAN TO MAKE NATIONAL TOUR FOR SWP

Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, will begin a national tour on Nov. 18 starting with St. Louis and covering all party branches and locals.

On this tour, Cochran will deliver public lectures dealing with the problems and prospects of the American labor movement and embracing such key issues as the emergence of a new labor bureaucracy; the decline of Stalinist influence; the Mohawk Formula in 1949; problems of modern strike strategy; the struggle for a new Left Wing and a Labor Party in this country.

To his discussion of these problems Cochran brings many years of experience in the trade union movement. He participated in the original CIO organizational drive; served as international representative of the UAW in Ohio, 1936-37 and as the head of the WPA Department of the UAW in Detroit in 1938-39.

PARTY DISCUSSIONS TOO

In addition to his public appearances, he will hold a number of internal party discussions with members in the localities, involving a general review of party affairs as well as the work and problems of the local party organizations.

This tour is the second in the planned series of national party tours which was launched on Oct. 1 with the coast-to-coast public lectures of Morris Stein on the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Kremlin.

Further details concerning the

officialdom and finally by their capitulation to Truman's "fact-finding" board. Whatever was gained in the slight concessions granted on pensions and social insurance is far outweighed by the surrender of fourth-round wage demands.

Murray and Co. not only sacrificed the struggle to raise the living standards of the entire labor movement. They yielded to the wage-freezing formula that can become the basis for wage cuts in marginal industries with weaker unions, and foregoes in advance a fifth-round wage increase for 1950.

CONTRACT DETAILS

Bethlehem, still rolling up record-breaking profits, could easily afford the pittance to elderly workers granted in its pension agreement. Furthermore, Murray's agreement to forego wage increases and not to reopen wage negotiations until Dec. 1, 1950 constitutes a tremendous saving for the company. In addition, the union may not make new pension demands for five years.

Although announced as a non-contributory pension plan, Bethlehem workers will actually pay a part of the pension because the total pension includes federal social security. Like the Ford pension, an increase in federal social security benefits will not increase the total Bethlehem pension, but will reduce Bethlehem's share of the payment and increase the amount of the workers' social security tax.

The pension plan itself is somewhat more liberal than that received by the Ford workers. It begins with \$100 but places no ceiling on benefits. It covers workers reaching the age of 65 with 25 years service in contrast to the Ford plan, which starts after 30 years of service and provides for the discharge of em-

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YOUNGSTOWN CANDIDATE



HARRY BRAVERMAN
(Story on Page 4)

'Titoist' Majority Expelled from Norway CP

The international crisis of Stalinism resulting from Yugoslavia's break with the Kremlin is growing in scope and intensity. Last week news came of a split in the Norwegian Stalinist party where, from many indications, a minority has expelled the dissident majority. Out of 15 members of the Central Committee, the titular leader of the Norwegian CP, Peder Furubotn, and seven other ranking members have been "dismissed."

Furubotn and his followers, up to now considered as unquestionably obedient to Stalin, have been openly charged with constituting a "Trotskyist bourgeois-nationalistic Titoist center," Furubotn was a prominent figure in the Norwegian wartime underground.

Expulsions of other prominent Norwegian Stalinists have likewise been reported and a large-scale purge in the ranks appears to be in progress. The Norwegian Stalinists suffered a crushing

setback in recent parliamentary elections when not a single one of their 11 deputies was reelected to office. The expelled Norwegian "Titoists" are being blamed for the defeat and the purgers acknowledge that the dissidents had conducted their activities for at least the last ten months.

The Norwegian split is a serious blow to the Kremlin. Similar developments are expected in Sweden where sympathies for the struggle of the Yugoslavs have likewise penetrated deeply into Stalinist ranks. Belgrade has consistently claimed considerable support both in Norway and Sweden.

OTHER PURGES

Meanwhile, the Kremlin is redoubling its "preventive" measures among its satellites in Eastern Europe. On Oct. 21 the Albanian government, which had been convulsed by a severe purge not so long ago, announced that it had "throttled an attempted revolt."

Reports continue of further purges in Bulgaria and Poland. The current purge in Czechoslovakia shows no signs of abatement and the name of Vladimir Clementis, Czech Foreign Minister now attending the UN sessions, keeps recurring as a possible scapegoat.

Belgrade is seeking to build up international support by inviting delegations from labor and liberal bodies. Italy and France are receiving special attention. A French delegation of more than two score party and trade union members (from the Stalinist-dominated General Confederation of Labor) is now touring Yugoslavia despite the French Politbureau's ban on such visits.

Soviet troop movements along Yugoslav borders have increased. Several new divisions have once again been sent into Rumania and Hungary. They may be there for a twofold purpose: (1) to keep up hostile pressure on Yugoslavia, and (2) to strengthen the

hand of the local Stalinists against any possible rising tide of opposition. At the same time border incidents are becoming more provocative. Belgrade has officially denounced an 8-hour bombardment of its frontier by Hungarian border patrols. This reportedly took place on a local scale and without any casualties.

Foreign chancelleries, especially the U. S., are following the developments very closely. American diplomats to the USSR and Eastern Europe have concluded in London a two-day session in which "information was exchanged" and the Tito-Stalin break figured quite prominently.

SPECULATION CONTINUES

A semi-official report of this diplomatic gathering was worded very cautiously and presumably discounted the chances for "another Tito" elsewhere in the Balkans. At the same time, speculations on repercussions

inside and outside Europe are becoming more outspoken in the American capitalist press. Thus Sulzberger, N. Y. Times foreign correspondent, cabled from Paris, Oct. 21, that the extension of the "ideological dispute" between the Yugoslav dissidents and the Kremlin is beginning to assume significant "international proportions."

Sulzberger hints that it may soon spread to the Far East, in particular China. According to Sulzberger, "the Yugoslavs themselves are regarding China with special interest," and he concludes that the split with Tito is politically "replete with dangers for Moscow that have not yet perhaps approached their full realization."

Stalin is quite aware of the disastrous implications of the unfolding internal crisis of his world machine. That is why he is so determined to crush the Yugoslav in blood.

Kutcher Wins New Supporters During Visit to Toledo

TOLEDO, Oct. 29 — Many new supporters for James Kutcher were made during his five-day visit to this city. Kutcher spoke before five union organizations and at a public meeting last Tuesday where he shared the platform with well-known local public figures.

The high point of his union appearances was at the CIO Industrial Union Council where he was very warmly received by 100 delegates. The executive board of that body will take up the question of financial support at their next meeting and top officers have indicated favorable action.

At the public meeting other speakers called for support of his case. City Councilman J. B. Simmons Jr., outstanding Negro leader, likened the persecution of Kutcher to that of the Negro people. He denounced those liberals who in private deplore what is going on in this country but "won't stick their necks out" in public. Simmons expressed great concern over the current wave of witch-hunting.

Walter C. Guntrup, 79-year-old editor of the AFL Toledo Union Leader and a member of organized labor for 63 years, called for a sustained fight to restore Kutcher to his job. He described how the government had tried to remove him from a mail carrier's job because of Social Democratic activities many years ago.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED

Rev. Gordon M. Jones made a stirring appeal not only for Kutcher's civil rights but for everyone's regardless of political affiliation. Prof. Willard A. Smith of Toledo University acted as chairman. The meeting adopted a resolution addressed to President Truman, asking for justice for Kutcher and a public hearing for the Socialist Workers Party at which it could answer the charges of "subversiveness." The audience responded generously to a plea for financial assistance.

Kutcher also spoke at meetings of the AFL Building Trades Council, Electrical Workers Local 245, Boilermakers Local 85 and MESA Local 4. What action these bodies took is not known yet.

At a social affair held in Jimmie's honor by the Toledo Branch of the Socialist Workers Party he was presented with a gold tie-clip and cuff-links engraved with his initials.

ONE YEAR OF THE 'FAIR DEAL'

Nov. 2, 1948



SWP Finishes Effective N.Y. Election Campaign

By Michael Bartell

NEW YORK, Nov. 2 — The SWP Candidate for Mayor, NEW YORK, Nov. 2 — The New York mayoralty campaign, now in its last week, has given the workers of this city an excellent opportunity to watch all the parties in action and see for themselves what they have to offer. It has been quite a spectacle.

CAPITALIST STRATEGY

All the contestants recognized the decisive role of the labor vote and made their bid for it. But the Socialist Workers Party ticket had little difficulty in sharply differentiating its working class program from all the others offered to the workers.

The original campaign strategy cooked up for O'Dwyer by Tammany Hall and his local "labor statesmen" was to avoid controversy with his opponents and confine himself to citing his own record.

This of course did not mean his real record of strikebreaking, which exposes him for what he is — an anti-labor stooge of Wall Street. It meant his trying to get by with a dreary repetition of

highly doctored figures relating to homes, schools, hospitals, etc., allegedly built under his administration. But during the final stages of the campaign his brain trust decided to switch over hastily to the familiar strategy of red-baiting.

Unable to differentiate himself from O'Dwyer on a single issue of real concern to labor, Newbold Morris, Republican and Liberal Party candidate, chose to wage a crusade against "corruption and sin." His "sensational" exposures, which are common knowledge to every local resident, resulted in a police dragnet that brought in six bedraggled bookies.

NO DIFFERENCE

Playing the subway fare issue to the hilt, Marcantonio, candidate of the ALP, laid down a smokescreen of demagogic promises, hoping in this way to duck the really vital issues. Fearful of losing the Catholic vote in his district, this "fearless fighter for principles" kept silent on the Burden bill, for weeks after the other candidates had taken a stand on it.

Finally, after I had publicly challenged him to declare himself, he mumbled that he had always been in favor of the separation of church and state. But despite challenge after challenge by myself and others, he has continued to dodge the issue of civil rights for Trotskyists and other opponents of the Stalinists.

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CLEAR-CUT CAMPAIGN

In sharp contrast to the mumbo-jumbo pretenses of the other candidates that they would represent "all of the people," the Socialist Workers Party candidates waged a clear-cut campaign around the slogan of putting a labor administration in City Hall.

Over the radio, on television, at large election forums, at street rallies and at union meetings, the SWP candidates carried their revolutionary socialist message and their principled fight for civil rights to tens of thousands of workers.

This was unquestionably one of the most effective campaigns ever conducted by the Trotskyists in this city. It proved in action that there is one party that can be depended on to carry on an uncompromising fight against Wall Street and its supporters.

CP Crimes Used to Obscure Real Causes for Split in CIO

BULLETIN

CLEVELAND, Nov. 2 — The CIO convention here, after an extended morning session and debate, today expelled the Stalinist-dominated United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, third largest CIO affiliate, and the Farm Equipment Workers, which merged with the UE against CIO decision. The UE leaders bolted the convention yesterday and announced they would cease paying per capita to the CIO, thus giving the Murray machine legal grounds for the expulsion. The expulsion followed adoption this morning of the last two of three constitutional amendments to bar Communist Party members and sympathizers from CIO office, to empower the CIO Executive Board to withdraw charters of its affiliates and to remove from the Board members who oppose Murray's policies. The Board was instructed "immediately to exercise power" under the new purge amendments "to take appropriate action" against ten other Stalinist-controlled CIO unions. The UE charter was turned over to a committee headed by James Carey.

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1 — The "cold war" split in the CIO became a reality today as the Murray machine set the stage for a ruthless purge of the Stalinist-controlled

unions by adopting the first of several constitutional amendments that would bar the minority opposition from holding CIO office and giving the CIO Executive Board exceptional powers to lift charters of international affiliates and expel them.

Instead of fighting on the convention floor here against these anti-democratic amendments, the Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Workers, largest union under Communist Party domination, pulled out of the convention and, in effect, proclaimed their withdrawal from the CIO.

Late this afternoon, just before adjournment of today's CIO convention session at Public Auditorium here, the mechanical majority commanded by CIO President Philip Murray overwhelmingly passed the first constitutional provisions in CIO history to fix discriminatory political qualifications and limitations on CIO members and unions.

The first amendment bars anyone from holding office in the national CIO or serving on the Executive Board.

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Kutcher Presents Case to Delegates At Cleveland Meet

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1 — The Case of the Legless Veteran, James Kutcher, is being presented to the CIO convention delegates here through a special display table placed prominently in the convention hall lobby among the various CIO exhibits.

Kutcher himself is in attendance at the display, handing out literature on his fight for civil rights and discussing his case with numerous delegates who show keen interest and sympathy. Kutcher was fired from his VA job, in Truman's "loyalty" purge, for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Arrangements for this Kutcher Civil Rights Committee display were made by Irving Abramson, CIO Eastern Regional Director who has been active in Kutcher's defense.

COURT REVERSES GOVT., FREES ELEVEN ON BAIL

NEW YORK, Nov. 3 — The 11 leaders of the Communist Party convicted at Foley Square were ordered released on bail today by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in a ruling that rejected the administration's request that they be kept in prison pending their appeal to the Supreme Court, or that their bail be fixed at a million dollars.

The Appeals Court set a figure of \$30,000 each for four of the defendants, and \$20,000 each for the other seven — a total of \$260,000. The money was furnished by the Civil Rights Congress.

Freedom on bail is allowed as a rule whenever a substantial question of law is involved in an appeal, as it is in the Stalinist case because they were convicted under the Smith Gag Act, whose constitutionality has never been ruled on by the Supreme Court.

The administration's efforts to keep the Stalinists in jail during their appeal were in such flagrant violation of this general practice that even a friendly court felt it could not comply with the administration's request.

The Appeals Court explained that it had granted bail because the prosecution attorneys had "conceded that the appeal herein raises a substantial question."

All through the trial, the Stalinists were embarrassed to find themselves confronted in the courtroom and in the press with the precedent set in the Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists under the same Smith

Act used against the CP now. They were embarrassed because they themselves had cheered the Roosevelt administration for persecuting and convicting the Trotskyists because of their political views.

Their criminal conduct toward the Minneapolis case arose to haunt them again in the Nov. 1 hearing on their plea for bail. When Department of Justice Attorney Shapiro argued against granting them bail, he cited "the Dunne case" as one of the precedents that the prosecution's "position is correct and that the rulings of the trial judge [McDonald] are correct on the constitutional question."

The prosecution evaded the fact that the 18 convicted Trotskyists had been allowed bail; apparently so did the Stalinist defense attorneys.

Having falsely claimed at the outset that the first application of the Smith Act against the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party had nothing in common with their own prosecution, the Stalinists are evidently determined to keep up with this pretense to the bitter end.

But at every stage events fly in the face of this fraudulent contention and play into the hands of the prosecutors.

21% of Quota Collected In Party Fund Campaign

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The three-month campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to raise a \$12,000 Party Building Fund has reached the one-third mark. But only six branches are on schedule. Other branches are slow in sending in payments; some still appear in the zero column. As a result, the national campaign is lagging 12%, with a total of \$25.49 paid to date.

Flint Branch still holds first place in the campaign with 62% of its \$200 quota.

New Britain held second place with 40% of its \$30 quota.

The other on-schedule or better branches are St. Paul-Minneapolis, Worcester, Buffalo, St. Louis.

EXEMPLARY BRANCHES

These exemplary branches accepted their quotas without being sure they could make them by the campaign deadline because of unemployment, the steel strike etc. But at the same time they accepted their quotas with determination to overcome these handicaps. And they didn't allow any grass to grow under their feet. They launched their local campaign and urged their comrades and friends to cooperate in helping the branch meet its weekly pledge on time. That's why they've reached 33% or better.

RUSH FUNDS

Myra Tanner Weiss, who is in charge of the campaign for Los Angeles Local, sent a telegram saying they are rushing \$275, which boosts this branch from the zero column to 18%.

Only six other branches were heard from since the last scoreboard was computed: Flint, Buffalo, Newark, San Francisco-Oakland, Toledo.

Comrade Kathy, Fund Director for New York Local, reports that \$65 of their total paid "represents contributions from party sympathizers." She adds that "the response of the New York Local to the urgent financial needs of the party warmly demonstrates the firmness of our ranks and the willingness to sacrifice at a time when the economic needs of our worker comrades are not rendered less acute by the adverse economic situation."

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 123	62
New Britain	30	12	40
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	335	39
Worcester	40	15	38
Buffalo	500	183	37
St. Louis	75	27	36
Cleveland	250	67	27
Boston	200	52	26
Newark	350	91	26
Pittsburgh	150	39	26
San Francisco-Oakland	800	207	26
New York	3,000	735	25
Toledo	75	18	24
Philadelphia	600	115	19
Detroit	1,100	198	18
Los Angeles	1,500	275	18
Chicago	400	30	8
Youngstown	400	20	5
Akron	100	0	0
Allentown	50	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
TOTAL through Nov. 1	\$12,000	2,549	21

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LASZLO RAJK

By Charles Hanley

Laszlo Rajk, former General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party and Hungarian Foreign Minister, was apparently aware in advance that he would be arrested

and accused and hanged as "Trotskyist-Titoist-imperialist spy." Several months before his trial he therefore wrote a short autobiography to prove that he had always been a loyal servant of the Kremlin. Rajk entrusted this document to a friend, another veteran of the Hungarian CP, who succeeded in escaping to Western Europe. Several Socialist newspapers there have published Rajk's autobiography.

It bears the internal evidence of authenticity and throws considerable light on a man, who like countless others, made himself a tool of Stalin and remained servilely obedient throughout his trial and up to the gallows.

ALL HIS LIFE

At the trial Rajk did everything he was told, abjectly confessing to deeds he never committed and accepting a death-sentence with expressions of gratitude. Chief among his confessions was that he was a "Trotskyist." His autobiography reveals that all his life he had been a professional anti-Trotskyist, a trained killer of Trotskyists and of other political opponents of Stalin.

The central revelation in Rajk's autobiography concerns his assignment to Spain as one of the Comintern agents during the Spanish Civil War. He tells why he was sent there: Not to help the Spanish workers and peasants to fight against Franco, but to secure for the Kremlin absolute control over the Spanish masses, in the first instance, by destroying the Trotskyists.

"The Trotskyists," wrote Rajk, "were even more dangerous than the Anarchists, driving a wedge between the masses and ourselves, the true communists. So it was our task to annihilate them, and indeed we were fairly successful in that respect. But then the Spanish Republic was finally crushed, and we had to seek refuge in France."

Rajk does not, of course, explain that it was the treacherous alliance of the Stalinists with the "liberal" capitalists that paved the way for Franco's victory. It was

Stalin's secret police and "true communists" of the Rajk stripe that worked behind the lines to destroy the workers and peasants committees and their military organizations, murdering the revolutionaries, paralyzing and drowning in blood the heroic resistance to the fascists.

While the Spanish workers and peasants were desperately fighting at the front, Rajk and his colleagues, under orders from Moscow, sabotaged their struggle and organized man-hunts against Trotskyists, Anarchists and other political opponents. The task of tasks, was, as Rajk says, to "annihilate them all," and if some escaped it was through no fault of the Kremlin's loyal killers.

Rajk is a model product of the monstrous Stalinist machine, the school of political gangsterism. Men like Rajk represent not "true communists" but those who voluntarily degraded themselves, extinguishing completely their consciences, their scruples, their ability and desire to reason and grew politically. They replaced revolutionary will and Marxist thought by a blind, cynical devotion to the "infallible, beloved Chief," who is actually a renegade from Communism and the constructor of a monstrous machine of oppression and deception. They replaced political principles with lies, and slander, treachery and murder.

IRREFUTABLE PROOF

Rajk, like so many others, were unable to foresee that one day they would themselves fall victims of Stalin's lie-and-murder machine they served and helped build up.

Perhaps Rajk thought that by his false confessions in the defendants' dock and his wretched death at the gallows he was also conducting himself as a "true communist."

In any case, Rajk's autobiography represents one of the most striking and irrefutable documentary proofs that his "treason" trial was a frame-up from beginning to end.

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ective Board "who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement" or who even "consistently pursues policies and activities" that might be alleged to aid in achieving the programs of such movements. This amendment could readily be interpreted to apply to anyone who dares to differ with Murray's policies on foreign affairs and domestic politics.

Two other amendments give Murray's Executive Board power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any Board member who is found to be "ineligible" under the ban and to revoke the charter or expel any affiliated union that does not carry out "the objectives and policies" of the CIO as laid down by the Murray bureaucracy. Specific action to expel at least some of the Stalinist-led unions at this convention will take place tomorrow.

CONVENTION DEBATE

Today's five-hour long debate on the key constitutional amendments revealed not only the tremendous hardening of the bureaucratic crust stifling union democracy in the CIO, but the miserable incapacity of the Stalinists, even faced with complete decimation, to put up any kind of effective and principled struggle. Their showing was truly pitiful.

With the exception of Murray himself, the entire attack on the Stalinists was waged by ex-radicals, Social Democrats and ex-

Stalinists. It was Reuther, Quill, Curran, Rieve, Potofski and Baldanzi who did the dirty chore of putting over the bureaucratic amendments. It must be said the Stalinists offered them an easy target.

The purgers did not have to resort principally to red-baiting — although they did their share of it. Rather they were able to ridicule the Stalinist pretensions about "democracy" and "militancy" by a devastating recital of the crimes the Stalinists have committed against the working class here and abroad.

UNDENIABLE FACTS

Baldanzi, secretary of the constitutional committee, declared that the amendments were designed "to implement" the anti-Communist "Declaration of Principles" passed in the Nov. 1946 convention with the unanimous endorsement of the Stalinists themselves. Curran, Reuther and Quill rubbed it in about the Stalinist proposal, made in 1945, for a five-year no-strike pledge after the war.

They recited case after case of ruthless Stalinist bureaucracy in unions under their control — and the facts could not be denied. Reuther, fresh from the miserable settlement he had just made with Ford, could even proclaim that the Stalinists are "not left-wingers, theirs is the phony left, the morally-degenerate left, they have destroyed every real concept of the left."

Ben Gold of the Fur Workers,

Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen and several other Stalinist leaders of CIO unions could make nice-sounding speeches in the abstract about trade union democracy, the rights of minorities, etc. But these sounded like obscenities coming from their lips. Everyone knew the record of Stalinist "democracy" in the unions they have dominated and could recite cases.

But it was equally hypocritical for the Reuthers and Murrays to speak of the Stalinist crimes against labor as the reason for the present expulsion campaign. They tolerated all these crimes so long as the Stalinist supported American imperialism and the State Department's foreign policy. They have committed the same kind of crimes themselves.

THE REAL REASON

In his speech which wound up the debate, Murray was a bit more frank than his lieutenants. He pointed out that the real reason why these two bureaucracies can no longer live in the same union house is because the Stalinists refuse to support Truman's foreign policy.

Scarcely a breath of the real problems of the CIO members has reached this convention — problems of wages, unemployment, discrimination, price and rent increases, destruction of civil rights. The keynote of this convention has been: Either support Wall Street's State Department or get out.

That was symbolized yesterday by the presence and speech of Secretary of State Acheson who was there to put Washington's stamp of approval on the course of the Murray machine. It will be further symbolized tomorrow when Chief of Staff Omar Bradley will speak to promote the militarist program of American imperialism and the Big Brass.

Murray himself, in his opening address yesterday, placed first emphasis on the CIO leadership's support of every phase of Truman's foreign policy. He devoted the last section of his talk on the steel situation to a pathetically defensive and apologetic explanation of why the steel workers struck. There was not a hint of fight in his words. For the rest, he wound up with a declaration about "cleansing" the "communists" from CIO.

"CIO POLICY"

In all the discussion so far about "CIO National Policy," what stands out is that this refers strictly to political support of Truman and the "cold war." No "CIO National Policy" is being laid down for protection of the workers from rotten contracts like Reuther concluded with Ford; no "CIO National Policy" was laid down in the 1947 convention when every union was allowed to do as it pleased about accepting or not accepting the Taft-Hartley yellow-dog oath.

But whatever happens here and in the future regarding expulsions or splits, it is clear that the Stalinists are a pitiful remnant and to follow them outside the mainstream of the industrial union movement would be an act of folly. The big job remains inside the CIO, to cleanse it of a conservative, bureaucratic leadership and to build a new fighting democratic leadership from the ranks. That is the lesson that strikes one forcibly as this CIO convention proceeds.

50 Organizations Invited to Parley Called By NAACP

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 — The CIO, the AFL, the United Mine Workers, the Americans for Democratic Action and the most influential Negro fraternal, social and professional groups were among the 50 national organizations invited to attend a conference here on Nov. 10 to elaborate further plans for the National Civil Rights Mobilization initiated by the NAACP.

In a letter to these organizations Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP secretary, asked them to join in sponsoring the drive for enactment of civil rights legislation early in the second session of the 81st Congress, to urge their local and state groups to cooperate with NAACP branches in local activities and meetings, and to send delegates to the national conference planned for Washington on Jan. 15-17.

Meanwhile, the local and state NAACP bodies are formulating plans for their activities during the National Civil Rights Mobilization Period, Nov. 15 to Jan. 17, and the NAACP national office is preparing literature and plans for coordination of the nationwide drive to obtain enactment of FEPC, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and other civil rights bills.

Worthless Pilots



Shown at the left is Georges Bidault, new premier of France, third appointee to the post since the downfall of the Queuille Cabinet several weeks ago. France, whose economy is wobbling, became engulfed in an acute political crisis following the devaluation of the pound by the Laborite regime headed by Premier Clement Attlee (shown at the right). Britain is likewise in the throes of an acute economic and political crisis.

HYPOCRITICAL AND TREACHEROUS 'SUPPORT'

The New York Local of the Shachtmanite Independent Socialist League has issued its annual advice to voters in the New York elections. Like the silk-stocking Citizen's

Union, it urges the electorate to choose between a number of rival candidates without itself making a choice. The Shachtmanites urge the readers of their paper "to cast their ballots for the candidates of any of the three socialist parties on the ballot: Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Party and Socialist Workers Party."

For themselves they refuse to make the choice because "none of these groups are genuine workers parties" and all of them are "small socialist propaganda sects." The SLP, they say, "abstains in principle from the real class struggle," the SP "inclines heavily towards the support of American imperialist policy," and the "SWP leans towards support of Russian imperialism."

The joint declaration are Social Democrats who have allied themselves with the capitalist class in the fight against Stalinism, a fight the capitalists intend to wage through suppression of democratic rights and imperialist war. Such collaboration with the capitalists constitutes a betrayal of the struggle for socialism no less shameful than that of the Stalinists who in the last analysis also betray the workers into the hands of the capitalists.

"We are always ready to participate in united actions within the labor movement on specific issues involving the rights and interests of the working class. But we cannot sign a one-sided political declaration which condemns only the crimes of Stalinism and ignores the criminal policy of support to predatory American capitalism practiced by Social Democrats who have been invited to sign the declaration."

"However, we cannot agree to sign the joint declaration against Stalinism forwarded with your letter of August 20. That declaration establishes as its lowest common political denominator simple 'anti-Stalinism.' It does not call for uncompromising struggle against capitalism parallel with the fight against Stalinism, which is the only course a true socialist can follow. "Among those invited to sign

Murray's Report Reaffirms Bankrupt Political Policy

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31 — CIO President Philip Murray today released his official report to the CIO's Eleventh Constitutional Convention, which opened at the Public Auditorium here this morning.

In addition to the long-expected formula for the expulsion of any or all of the Stalinist-controlled unions in the CIO, it reiterates the pro-imperialist, pro-capitalist political policies of the Murray machine in both foreign and domestic affairs.

Murray uses every stick he can find to beat the Stalinists in his report — and the Stalinists present numerous exposed areas for his blows, as when he states they have a "program of destruction" for American labor "couched in terms of pseudo-militancy."

But he uses these arguments also to cover his own delinquencies, particularly in the events leading up to the steel strike. Thus, he accuses his opponents of "carping, unjustified criticism" of the Murray leadership that is "diabolical, premeditated and ill-founded" and the "most flagrant approach to union strikebreaking" in CIO history.

It would appear from this that any criticism of Murray's reliance on the capitalist politician Truman and his "fact-finding" board and of Murray's acceptance of the board's wage-freeze recommendation, is "strikebreaking."

However, all these new attacks on the Stalinists are just thrown in for extra measure. As Allen Swin, CIO News editor and Murray's publicity director remarked to me Saturday afternoon when I engaged him in a brief conversation, "This split really took place two and a half years ago" — that is, when the CIO leadership came out openly for the Marshall Plan and the "cold war" policies of the U. S. State Department.

Murray's report goes right down the line in support of American imperialist foreign policy, from the ECA and the North Atlantic military alliance to Truman's Point 4 for the

economic penetration of American monopoly capital into the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Murray accuses the Stalinists of aiming at a "retrogressive dictatorship" and piously claims that "we are not and never will be committed to a policy that makes our movement the slave of a dictatorial state apparatus." He assumes, of course, that slavish conformity to the dictates of Truman's State Department and the militarist program of Wall Street is somehow the earmarks of a "free labor movement."

On domestic issues, the report is full of complaints about the attacks on the labor movement and the failure of the 81st Congress to enact the social legislation promises by Truman. But it is likewise a cover-up for the role of Truman and the Truman Democrats who made no real effort to put through the measures they had promised. Everything is blamed on the "devilish and shortsighted coalition of Republican reactionaries and Southern Democrats."

As far as a program is concerned, Murray puts first emphasis on a continuation of the bankrupt policy of supporting "labor's friends" — that is, mainly Truman Democrats. Even after the conclusive lesson of the Democratic-controlled 81st Congress, Murray offers no program for genuine independent labor political action through labor's own party and candidates.

This attitude of continued dependence on Truman and the Democratic machine, of reliance on favors from capitalist politicians, saturates Murray's report. It remains his fundamental program. It is on this rock that all the numerous progressive proposals Murray includes in his report must continue to be wrecked.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Worcester Leads in November Campaign For 'Militant' Subs

The November national subscription campaign got off to a good start with a total of 57 points for the first few days. Worcester took the lead easily with 40% of its quota filled. Cleveland and Toledo came second and third with Newark not far behind.

The figures next week should be more representative for the other branches of the Socialist Workers Party as many of them did not have time to get their first reports in by deadline.

In scoring, one point is given for each 50c. special three-month introductory subscription to The Militant. Two points are rung up for \$1 six-months subs and four points for every \$2 one-year sub. Howard Mason, reporting for Detroit, says that 17 copies of The Militant were sold at a picket line of steel workers. There was a "favorable reaction" to the articles about the strike. Thirty copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality were sold at a Paul Robeson meeting, six copies of Socialism on Trial and five copies of The Socialist Workers Party. What It Is and What It Stands For. Following intensive activity during the visit of James Kutcher, the comrades are now preparing to fulfill their subscription quota 100%.

Los Angeles is swinging into action on the sub campaign, according to Literature Agent Bert Deck. At the same "our regular sales of single copies are maintaining the same high level. We sold out last week's bundle completely." Among the top distributors were Rita and Vivian who "sold 18 Militants to steel workers on the picket lines, 20 Militants to rubber workers at the plant gate, 28 Militants on a street corner. The Southside Branch bundle is now 85 a week and Bob P. has been handling the greater part of these, selling them in the neighborhoods and to contacts."

Fred Martin, Militant Manager for the Milwaukee Branch, reports that the comrades found the ex-

periences of the Detroit branch in its recent sub campaign useful in making their own preparations. "We are organizing a Militant Brigade or Task Force of six to eight comrades who will devote themselves mainly to the campaign during November."

Minneapolis, according to Literature Agent C. E. Scheer, set an ambitious figure as their goal. "We hope that with an intensive campaign we can realize it."

Freddie Forrest, Literature Agent for Pittsburgh, writes, "We will begin with a Red Sunday and follow it up with another in the middle of November." Comrade Forrest also reports that "in the first attempt to sell Militants at a housing project, we sold 15 copies."

The Seattle comrades, recently having finished a successful local subscription campaign, decided to lower their sights during the November drive. Daniel Roberts, however, thinks "we may well exceed this quota of 15 subs."

Branch	Goal	Points	%
Worcester	20	8	40
Cleveland	15	4	26
Toledo	25	6	24
Newark	50	8	16
Flint	50	7	14
San Francisco	35	4	11
New York	300	8	3
Buffalo	100	2	2
Los Angeles	250	6	2
Akron	25	0	0
Allentown	10	0	0
Boston	15	0	0
Chicago	60	0	0
Detroit	50	0	0
Milwaukee	25	0	0
Minneapolis	75	0	0
Morgantown	10	0	0
New Britain	10	0	0
New Haven	15	0	0
Oakland	30	0	0
Philadelphia	75	0	0
Pittsburgh	25	0	0
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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

"A Responsible Union Leader"

There was a great deal of truth in James W. Gerard's complaint on Oct. 24 that U. S. Steel was rendering a disservice to its own shareholders (and by implication, to the capitalist class as a whole) when it refused to settle the steel strike on the basis of the meager pension-insurance formula advanced by Truman's "fact-finders." Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, says his family owns more shares of U. S. Steel stock than "the combined holdings of a majority of the board of directors," and he speaks in self-interest when he urges Big Steel to "show enough wisdom and instinct for self-preservation" to grant the union's "modest" demands.

"The steel industry is making a grave mistake by not settling this strike promptly," said Gerard. "If it will not deal with responsible union leaders, like Philip Murray, for instance, who has shown himself to be opposed to the Communists, it will have to deal with Socialists, Communists or worse."

Gerard's statement is important because it reflects the thinking not only of a section of the capitalist class but of capitalist "reform" politicians like Roosevelt and Truman. They know that without the restraining influence of conservative, capitalist-minded labor leaders like Murray, the union movement would be fighting for far more radical demands today and would quickly pass over to attacking the foundations of the capitalist system itself. That is why they are anx-

ious to deal for the present with people like Murray and to grant them certain concessions so that they can retain their prestige among the workers.

They do not differ with the steel barons over the objective of weakening the unions, but they do differ over their tactics. Big Steel was evidently led by the timidity of the Murray leadership into believing it could undermine the unions by forcing a long strike on the workers. But the events have shown that they grossly underestimated the workers' union-consciousness and loyalty. What the strike has done so far is to draw the workers closer to their union, to increase their militancy, to strengthen their hostility to the arrogant corporations.

The more far-sighted capitalists and capitalist politicians favor another tactic for the time being. They seek to house-break the unions — to disarm them through a policy of class collaboration, to destroy their independence by transforming them into appendages of the capitalist state, to paralyze their militancy by tying them up in the knots of "fact-finding" boards, compulsory arbitration, etc.

Both tactics are anti-labor and must be fought if the labor movement is to survive as an instrument of struggle for the workers. The militants have to be especially vigilant against the encroachments of their more far-sighted enemies because the labor leaders habitually seek to paint them up as "liberals," "progressives" and "friends of labor."

Journey's End for James T. Farrell

Although James T. Farrell, the novelist, began his flight from Marxism later than many intellectuals of his generation, he has caught up with and outstripped most of them. But his political evolution is worth study as an object lesson in the consequences of Stalinophobia and lack of confidence in the revolutionary capacities of the working class.

At one time Farrell was a sympathizer of Marxism; he was also one of the few intellectuals who refused to be stampeded into support of the second imperialist war. This was an honorable position but a lonely one because the workers were still under the domination of leaders who had betrayed them, and he began to relish it less and less as the war drew to an end. When the cold war began, he was no longer able to resist the pressure.

It is worthwhile remembering that when he began bucking under the pressure, he tried to cover his retreat by protests that he was a better Marxist than his critics in the Socialist Workers Party. But this lasted for only a short while. He soon began building his bridges back to the camp of capitalist respectability, and the handiest materials for these bridges were the well-known crimes of Stalinism, which he now denounced not from the viewpoint of Marxism but of capitalist democracy.

From that it was only a short distance to support of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact, which he managed with-

out a stumble. In 1948 he opposed the anti-war candidate, Farrell Dobbs, and campaigned for one of the many candidates who will support the next war, Norman Thomas, whom Farrell dubbed a great "moral hero."

This year, without even having the decency to offer a public explanation, Farrell has switched political camps again in the New York elections. Instead of supporting the Socialist Party candidates, he has become a campaigner for the Liberal Party. Over the radio he has issued a personal appeal for the election of Herbert Lehman, the candidate of Tammany and the Catholic hierarchy whom Farrell used to assail, and of Newbold Morris, the candidate of the GOP and the Social Democratic Dubinsky machine that has done so much to retard the socialist development of the workers.

Farrell has probably not reached the end of his political evolution, but the rest of the story will have few real surprises, even if he should turn up in 1952 as chairman of the Intellectuals' Independent Committee for the Election of General Eisenhower. What counts is that he has made his peace with capitalism. The arms of reaction are the logical resting place for everybody who loses faith in the ability of the working class to shape its own fate and who rejects Marxism as the only progressive method of combating Stalinism.

Dealers in Atomic Death

Washington boasts of a big stock of super-atomic bombs. Tomorrow, we shall doubtless hear of super-super bombs. The Kremlin, too, is unquestionably building up a stockpile. Britain and Canada and perhaps the French are redoubling efforts to produce their "own" A-Bomb. The race has become frantic.

Meanwhile the U. S. atom budget has been hiked by several more hundreds of millions of dollars. This will double the output of atomic explosive materials. Then it will be quadrupled, and so on.

Simultaneously, the newspapers last week boasted that the U. S. is more than holding its own in another "quiet but deadly race" — the race to develop jet and rocket aircraft which will "deliver" the A-Bombs.

It would have taken only a small fraction of the billions sunk into these super-explosives and super-aircraft to have produced the first practical applications of atomic energy to civilian production.

But under the rule of monopoly capitalism there have been none. It took approximately two years to produce the first "crude" A-Bomb here. How long would it take to produce the first atomic power plant? Or the first atomic chemical or metallurgical plant? No one knows because no real attempts in this direction are made or permitted.

Epoch-making as the initial discoveries have been they cannot but be dwarfed by discoveries still to be made in what every scientist knows is a virtually uncharted atomic and sub-atomic universe. Here, indeed, are boundless vistas of progress in science and technology.

But as everybody knows, over the world of science and over our entire planet there now hangs a pall. Instead of inspiration and hope there is hopelessness and fear especially among the scientists. What could underscore more strikingly the self-destructive, irrational nature of the capitalist order than the barbaric use to which it has put atomic energy?

The "Clear and Present Danger" Doctrine

By William F. Warde

In the trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders Judge Medina let slip the cloak of impartiality usually worn by justices of the capitalist courts. He displayed his vindictiveness by refusing bail to the defendants pending appeal and by imposing severe jail sentences on their attorneys.

His most ominous action was his charge to the jury where Medina set forth an interpretation of the law which made a mockery of the Free Speech Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The federal prosecution admitted that the CP leaders were not accused of any overt action against the government and that "the Statute under which this indictment was returned [the Smith Gag Act] does not require the allegation or proof of the commission of an overt act." Like the 18 Trotskyists who were the first victims of this iniquitous law, the 11 Stalinists were prosecuted solely on the basis of their ideas and utterances. As the indictment, evidence and testimony showed, the Foley Square proceedings were from start to finish a political prosecution, a thought-control trial.

MEDINA'S CHARGE

The Smith Act permits such trial — and that is precisely why it has been condemned as unconstitutional and undemocratic by all genuine supporters of civil liberties. But Judge Medina went further in curtailing the exercise of free speech and political activity than even this law itself goes, and the opinions of more liberal justices have held.

He told the jury that, in order to establish a criminal conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence, neither acts nor utterances directly inciting to actions were required. Mere words "reasonably calculated to incite somebody to action" or anything that might be construed as upsetting "domestic tranquility" or injuring "the domestic welfare" could be taken as sufficient proof of subversive conspiracy.

This is a judicial warrant for suppressing all unorthodox or anti-capitalist opinions and move-

ments since it gives license to any reactionary-minded prosecutor, judge and jury to condemn and convict any individual or group whose opinions they dislike.

THE FIRST AMENDMENT

Like the Smith Act itself, Medina's interpretation flagrantly disregards the U. S. Constitution which is supposed to control the government and courts. The First Amendment specifically states: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." This guarantee was expressly added to the original Constitution upon the demand of the American people who were determined not to be swindled out of the democratic conquests of their revolutionary struggles. Virginia, New York and Maryland ratified the Constitution with the understanding that these and other rights would be guaranteed.

Since the Bill of Rights was adopted, reactionary administrations, Congresses and courts have tried to trespass upon its provisions, as in the Alien & Sedition Law passed in 1798. In turn, powerful protest movements of the people have succeeded in halting these violations and erasing these laws from the books.

The pattern for the present witch-hunt was prepared during and after the First World War for "democracy" which witnessed hundreds of shameful prosecutions under the Espionage Act of 1917 and the state criminal syndicalism statutes. At that time Chief Justice Holmes of the U. S. Supreme Court enunciated the "clear and present danger" rule which has since become the standard liberal test of free speech.

HOLMES' RULING

In the case of Schenck vs. U. S. (1919) Holmes stated: "The question in every case is whether

the words are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent."

The first point to be observed is that this doctrine, put forward by liberals as the safeguard of free speech, actually prescribes restrictions upon its exercise. The Bill of Rights contains no restrictions whatever upon free speech and expressly prohibits Congress from enacting any. However, under this "liberal" rule free speech is permitted only under certain conditions. Freedom of expression becomes not a question of principle or constitutional rights but, as Holmes said, "a matter of degree." Thus on the basis of this rule Holmes himself upheld the verdict which sent Debs to Atlanta prison for his anti-war socialist ideas.

Here, as in so many other situations, the capitalist liberals

have opened the door through which outright reaction has entered. Now Judge Medina has taken the "clear and present danger" doctrine and given it an even more dangerous twist by imposing further limits upon free speech. His charge to the jury was not in contradiction to the liberal interpretation, as some commentators think (see Labor Action for Oct. 31), but a logical extension and rightward development of its abridgment of free expression.

EFFECT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Medina asserted in effect that the danger of overthrow need not be either "clear" or "present." It may be dim and distant. But whatever the specific conditions, if any eventual intent to act or to inspire action can be imputed by a prosecutor, judge or jury, the ideas and their advocates can be found guilty.

If this totalitarian interpreta-

tion should be upheld by the Supreme Court — and there is little reason to trust in its liberalism — democracy will be dealt a terrible blow. The sanction of the highest court would be given to the imposition of thought-control upon the American nation since it would not be too difficult for servants of Big Business to uncover evidence of "criminal conspiracy" behind every political program or labor activity directed against their selfish interests.

That is why the conviction of the CP leaders under the Smith Act must be fought by everyone concerned with protecting civil rights. The crimes of the Stalinists against the working class are no justification for keeping silent or passive in face of such monstrous attacks by the Truman administration and its judicial agents against the constitutional and civil liberties of the American people.

Shown above are some of the speakers at the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee banquet held in Detroit on Oct. 22. Left to right are Gus Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council; James Edwards, secretary of trustees, Calvary Baptist Church; James Kutcher, the legless veteran who is now completing a national tour; George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Committee; Al Barbour, secretary of the Wayne County and Greater Detroit CIO Council; and Rabbi Joshua Sperka, of Congregation B'nai David.

Deutscher's False Evaluation of Stalinism

By George Breitman

After recording the major crimes of Stalinism, Isaac Deutscher's Stalin: A Political Biography comes to the conclusion that it is fundamentally revolutionary and progressive, despite its ruinous policies, despite its tyrannical and repressive methods it uses against the workers at home and abroad. Last week we discussed the fallaciousness of Deutscher's evaluation of the role of Stalinism inside the Soviet Union; here we continue with an examination of his interpretation of the events in Eastern Europe since 1945.

To meet the economic crisis in the Soviet Union after the war, Deutscher says, Stalin resorted to two methods. One was the "nationalist" method, which consisted in plundering the defeated countries, dismantling and transferring factories, instituting slave labor on a mass scale, etc. The other he calls the "revolutionary" method, which consisted "in the broadening of the economic base on which planned economy was to operate, in an economic link-up between Russia and the countries within her orbit." (To achieve this, the Stalinists had to take power in those countries, although at the same time they helped to preserve the capitalist system intact in the more advanced countries of Western Europe.)

STALIN'S NEW CONCEPT

In employing the second method, Deutscher continues, Stalin tacitly admitted that "socialism in one country" was impossible and vindicated Trotsky's condemnation of it. But Deutscher does not completely endorse the vulgar distortion, now widely current, that Stalinist expansion proves Stalin has returned to Leninism.

For although Stalin was forced in effect to repudiate his basic theory, he did not go "back to his starting point, to the conception of world revolution he had once shared with Lenin and Trotsky [before 1924]. He now replaced his socialism in one country by something that might be termed 'socialism in one zone.'" (Like its predecessor, this new Stalinist concept accepts and will even strengthen the capitalist order in the rest of the world in return for being allowed to strengthen its own position.)

From this Deutscher passes to a discussion of the Stalinist "revolutions." "The old Bolshevism . . . believed that the Socialist order would result from the original experience and struggle of the working classes abroad,

that it would be the most authentic act of their social and political self-determination. The old Bolshevism, in other words, believed in revolution from below, such as the upheaval of 1917 had been. The revolution which Stalin now carried into eastern and central Europe was primarily a revolution from above," which was "decreed, inspired and managed" by Stalin's political and military agencies, although the workers also participated to one degree or another. "What took place within the Russian orbit was, therefore, semi-conquest and semi-revolution . . . it is the blending of conquest and revolution that makes the essence of 'socialism in one zone.'"

ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTS

Now, the statification of property in Eastern Europe has certain progressive features, even though it is incomplete and is achieved by military-bureaucratic means. But simultaneously with these measures, the bureaucracy moved against the masses, preventing them from taking power into their own hands and carrying through a genuine proletarian revolution. The bureaucracy eventually drove out the old ruling classes, with whom it saw no reason to keep on sharing the privileges of power. But from the very beginning it struck most brutally at any independent action by the masses, whom it feared more than the old ruling classes and whom it was determined to keep in a subordinate position.

The attitude of revolutionary socialists to such measures was clearly expressed by Trotsky at the very beginning of the war, when Stalin's troops had invaded eastern Poland: "The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property relations in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, completely retains its reactionary character and remains the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution."

DECISIVE STANDPOINT

The decisive standpoint, Trotsky termed it, because there can be no socialist transformation of society unless the masses understand the need for it and carry it through

themselves. The emancipation of the workers is the task of the workers themselves; no one else can do it for them — that is the unique thing about the socialist revolution. It is a task they can carry through only when they are organized in a revolutionary party and in Soviets or their equivalent, democratically expressing their will — and all such organizations are prohibited and suppressed by the Stalinist policemen-bureaucrats.

The expression "revolution from above" is self-contradictory. We can conceive and have already witnessed, as the result of the continuing degeneration of the first workers state, the transformation of property relations by bureaucratic measures. But since these measures are directed as much against the revolutionary classes as against the old ruling classes, a more exact name would be "counter-revolution from above." Even when they entail new property relations, changes that do not put power in the hands of the working class, changes in which the masses are relegated to a subsidiary if not a wholly passive role, are a grotesque abortion rather than a living expression of socialist transformation.

HISTORIC PARALLEL?

Stalinism strangles the socialist revolution even when it is compelled to transform property relations; its over-all character, therefore, is counter-revolutionary. That is why it must be fought and smashed, and that is why Deutscher is wrong when he attempts to establish historic parallels between Cromwell and Robespierre and the dictator in the Kremlin.

Stalin is like them, he says, in being despotic and in being "revolutionary, not in the sense that he has remained true to the original ideas of the revolution, but because he has put into practice a fundamentally new principle of social organization, which, no matter what happens to him personally or even to the regime associated with his name, is certain to survive, to fertilize human experience, and to turn it in new directions."

We have already shown that the credit for the "new principle of social organization" belongs to the 1917 revolution and not to Stalinism; that what Stalin did was not to put it into practice but to after and distort it, to weaken and undermine it, to pervert it and exploit it. But this is only the beginning of Deutscher's misinterpretation.

Cromwell and Robespierre were petty bourgeois leaders of the bourgeois revolution in their respective countries. They represented the historically progressive tendencies of the capitalist system, which was then coming to power. They sought to defend the interests of the new social order, by violent means and dictatorship, on the one hand against the former ruling class, the aristocrats, and on the other hand against the plebeian elements who had been the best fighters for the bourgeois revolution and who attempted to go beyond the bounds of capitalist society.

THE DIFFERENCE

Stalin, like Cromwell and Robespierre, crushed the revolutionary mass movement on the left; in that sense, a certain limited analogy can be constructed. But when we examine the social content of their respective acts against the masses we can see that it refutes rather than confirms Deutscher's attempt at a historic parallel. For Cromwell and Robespierre could crush the plebeians who were seeking to push the revolution beyond the bounds of capitalist inequality, without decisively impairing the new revolutionary (capitalist) structure.

But the social revolution of the 20th century differs from the bourgeois revolutions in this fundamental respect: It is impossible without the leadership, progress.

initiative and creative direction of the working class. When Stalin suppresses these, he undermines the degenerated workers state in the Soviet Union and prepares the way for the restoration of capitalism; much more important, he prevents the world socialist revolution.

Stalin cannot be compared with Cromwell and Robespierre, therefore, because on the whole they helped to build a new and progressive society (although they weakened it by suppressing the masses) while Stalinism on the whole blocks, impedes and opposes the construction of a new and progressive society; because they served the interests of the revolutionary capitalist class while he subverts the interests of the revolutionary working class for the benefit of a parasitic bureaucratic caste.

It is necessary to stress the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism over and over again because many people, seeking a way out of the present world crisis and seeing no other alternative as yet, are impelled to turn in the direction of Stalinism. Books like Deutscher's must be combated relentlessly because they help to sustain the illusion that Stalinism, despite its "faults," is a "lesser evil" to capitalism — the main illusion diverting people from the revolutionary socialist movement which alone offers a program for social progress.

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A-Bomb Is Jim Crow Too

By J. Meyer

David Lilienthal is one of the great hopes of liberals. He misses no opportunity to hold forth on the virtues and possibilities and responsibilities of liberalism. He writes books and he makes speeches.

This great liberal is the head of the Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC is housed at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, and Oak Ridge was built from the ground up by the federal government. Oak Ridge is ridden with segregation.

Some months ago the Pittsburgh Courier exposed the vicious policy of segregation in housing, education, etc., which exists in Oak Ridge. Quite recently the Courier returned to the attack and submitted a number of questions to the AEC. We give below some of the questions and some of the official answers.

Question: Why are Negro students transported twenty miles every day to segregated schools in Knoxville in an AEC bus when there are junior and senior high schools in Oak Ridge?

Only one sentence is needed from the reply to make clear the practice of Oak Ridge. It runs as follows:

"Local law and the long and uniform practice of the schools of the state do not make possible a deviation in Oak Ridge schools by which Negro and white students would attend school together."

In other words, the customs of Tennessee are imposed on Oak Ridge.

Negroes are denied access to any of the five theatres which operate in Oak Ridge. Why?

The answer is as follows:

"The Commission is not fully satisfied with the motion picture situation in Oak Ridge as it relates to the Negroes."

So this is where we are: the Negroes are profoundly dissatisfied, the Commission is not fully satisfied. Presumably the only people who are satisfied are the small group of white people who look at pictures without contamination from Negroes in Oak Ridge.

But there is hope. The Commission informs us that the question of increasing facilities of Negroes (Jim Crow, be it understood) is "under constant review both in Oak Ridge and in Washington."

Another question. Why are Negroes not permitted to occupy homes constructed in areas where they formerly lived? We are informed:

"The entirely new Gamble Valley neighborhood was planned with the help and advice of members of the Negro community."

The Commission really seems to be playing with the Negro people. It is not a question of whether the Commission is satisfied, is not fully satisfied, or whether the segregated housing for Negroes was arranged with the help and advice of Negroes in Oak Ridge. The question is the existence of segregation organized and maintained by a federal agency. And it is clear that the Commission has nothing to say except these contemptible and impertinent evasions.

The Commission later puts forward the hoary fallacy that "segregation does not deny Negroes services and facilities and therefore it alone does not constitute discrimination." It states plainly that it follows this policy because it believes that from it "there will result a community conducive to the most effective operation of the research and production program of the Commission's installation."

That this is happening in Oak Ridge is not in the slightest degree accidental. Notice is hereby given to the Negroes on the one hand and to the Southern reactionaries on the other that just as, in the case of Negroes who suffered in army camps during the war, the federal government will not interfere with Southern customs even where it builds a completely new city for its own purposes. It is precisely because the work of the AEC is one of difficulty and great importance that the authorities do not propose to get themselves tangled up in any quarrels with the local Negro haters.

It is another proof of the fallacy of believing that the Truman administration is serious about the abolition of Jim Crow. But not only does show the futility and folly of trusting to the administration. Of more importance it shows that David Lilienthal's liberalism is of the same stamp.

Finally a word about the elections at Oak Ridge. In the past, elections were by districts and inasmuch as the Negroes lived in the Ninth District, they had a representative on the City Council. Now the elections are changed and representatives are elected at large. That is, the entire city votes on everybody.

With 35,000 whites in the other districts and only 1,251 Negroes in the Ninth District, the results in the elections can easily be foreseen. Those who have examined the situation have no doubt that this was done deliberately. Thus Lilienthal and his staff, officially in the administration and unofficially in the election system, are no more than tools and agents of Tennessee Negro-hating whites.

Stalin's Big Brass

By Ruth Johnson

Of all the reactionary changes made in the Soviet Union under the rule of Stalin, the transformation of the Red Army is among the most far-reaching. This once-revolutionary army or workers and peasants is ruled today by a Big Brass so arrogant that even an American army spokesman can point to it with devastating ridicule.

Garrett Underhill, for 3½ years a member of the General Staff of the U. S. War Department, wrote a "Report on the Red Army" in the N. Y. Times a few weeks ago, describing its "pomp, ceremony, trappings and caste."

"The Soviet forces today," he writes, "are more gaudily militaristic than either the old Czarist or the traditional German military. . . Four-star rank was good enough for the Grand Duke Nicholas and the generals of the World War I Imperial Russian armies; the German militarists raised their top brass one rank higher to field marshal. But the present-day Russian Army has three ranks of field marshal, the top one being two ranks higher than any non-Russian military grade."

These are not mere honorary titles. They mean more money, more privileges, more power, at the expense of the impoverished masses of the Soviet Union. They mean also ostentation on the scale of a Hollywood super-extravaganza.

"Generals now can wear one of six fancily bedecked costumes, the most elaborate of which boasts colored velvet and outsized epaulets as well as quantities of gold braid," Underhill says. And to decorate these "the Russians award an entire new medal and ribbon for each fresh citation, in contrast with the Western practice of adding a star to the original ribbon."

You can tell a big-shot's rank by his medals: "Many classes of honors, for example, cannot be awarded to junior officers, much less to enlisted soldiers and sailors."

There are other rewards, some verging on the ludicrous. "The winner of a Gold Star medal automatically receives free subway and street-car rides for life. A one-time winner also has his bust sculpted and erected in his village square; the winner of two or more Gold Stars is honored with a full-length statue."

Stalin viciously discriminates against minority groups in his nationalistic army. "The Great

Russians constitute a majority in the branches of the Soviet armed forces deemed essential to internal security. They predominate in the air force and in the tank and mechanized troops. Ukrainians, White Russians and Georgians generally end up in the infantry."

The discipline is tight and brutal. Underhill quotes Paragraph 6 of the 1945 Armed Forces disciplinary manual: "The order of the commander is law for the subordinate. The order must be fulfilled without question, literally and immediately."

Behind this drastic order stands the officers' power of life and death over the men — and their relatives. "In an emergency, when there is no time to spare," a commander can dispose of a luckless underling "by resource to weapons." Underhill adds that "The Russians, like the Japanese, regarded surrender as desertion. Unlike the Japanese, the Soviets often punished the families of men known to have surrendered."

In military academies where training begins at the age of 8, "privilege now extends to children of professional soldiers," in order to "solidify the present caste system" and lead to "a hereditary officer and noncommissioned officer corps."

Far different was the original Red Army organized by Trotsky to defend the young Soviet Republic against imperialist invaders in 1918. Trotsky abolished the old Czarist system. The officer caste was destroyed. The soldiers had the right to criticize their commanders, and were urged to use that right. Ultimately, as productive forces increased, even this democratic army was to be replaced by a form still more responsive to the will of the people — a militia dependent upon the whole population.

Trotsky long ago explained why Stalin destroyed this Bolshevik army. In 1936 Trotsky wrote, in *The Revolution Betrayed*, that elevation of commanders to marshals was a political move to safeguard the Stalinist bureaucracy. "It is not the army that thus receives a 'stable basis,'" Trotsky said; "but the officer corps." And this permanent caste was to be established in order "to bind the officers closer together with the ruling circles." By this method, as by other repressive decrees, Stalin builds a force to protect himself against the wrath of the people at home.

These totally inadequate pension and welfare payments in steel are bound to have a negative effect on the demands of the miners, putting pressure on them to accept lower terms than they might have won had there been a unified strategy between the two unions. The present miners' fund provides for more liberal payments than those of the Bethlehem settlement.

The chief gainers from the settlement are Philip Murray and Harry Truman. The head of the CIO, now posing as the great opponent of the monopolists, is using his advantage to purge the CIO and consolidate his bureaucratic machine. The President is saved from using the Taft-Hartley Act and thus can continue strutting as the liberal while his "Fair Deal" program produces nothing but broken promises. For the workers, the fourth wage round represents one great and still uninterrupted retreat.

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Toledo Bosses Organize to Smash Union in Pension Fight

M. Stein Speaks Over the Radio In San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 26 — Morris Stein, National Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, completed an active three-day period on this leg of his national tour. He spoke at two public meetings over the radio and held several conferences with local members of the party.

The two public meetings, one in Berkeley just outside the University of California campus, and the other in San Francisco, were on the topic, "The Tito-Stalin Conflict and the World Crisis of Stalinism."

At both meetings the audiences raised numerous questions indicating their great interest in the background of the Tito-Stalin break as well as an understanding of the deep importance this question has in the political currents of the working class.

The radio broadcast over the FM station KPFA was a highlight of the tour. Originally the time had been set aside for a debate between Stein and a spokesman for the Stalinists. However, after frantic efforts to find an opponent failed, an interview with Stein was held.

In the allotted half-hour Stein was given the opportunity to present the viewpoint of Trotskyism on a whole series of questions flowing from the Tito-Stalin conflict — the role of the Marshall Plan, the essence of Stalinism, the real meaning of the Stalinist conflict with the church, how socialism would work in this country, what is Trotskyism, etc.

Stein's experience in organization as well as political and trade union problems made the conferences with him very fruitful for the SWP members in this area and were limited only by the shortness of his stay.

Bethlehem Pact Follows Pattern Of 'Fact-Finders'

(Continued from Page 1)

plays at the age of 68. The method of computing service time is also more generous than in the Ford agreement.

The new contract also provides a contributory health and welfare fund, including hospital benefits and life insurance, of 2½ cents an hour and an equal sum from the worker. The previous plan was paid for entirely by the employees.

EFFECT ON OTHERS

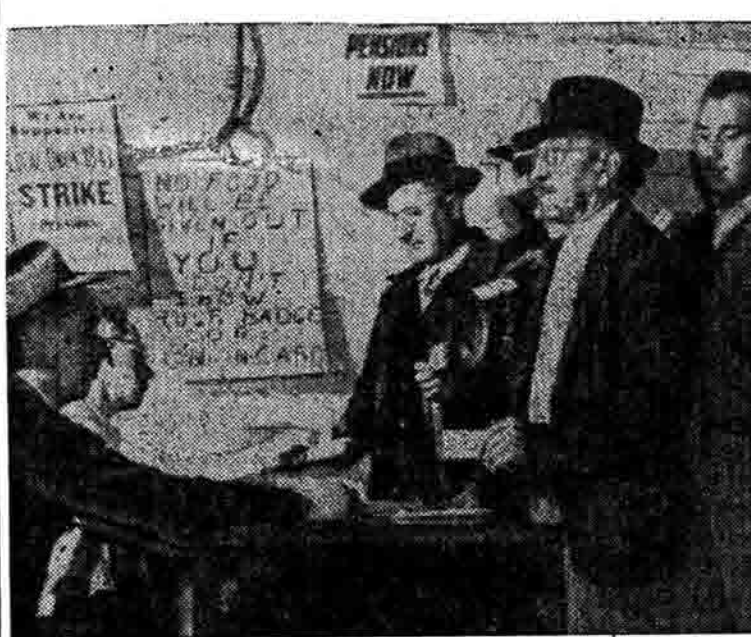
While this latter proposition constitutes a slight gain for the Bethlehem workers, it can become in effect a cut in take-home pay for the workers of U. S. Steel if put into effect in that corporation. Granting such a provision would signify yielding to the very demand made by U. S. Steel which the union previously refused to accept.

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Vote Row F

FOR THE
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
CANDIDATES



Having their union cards checked, striking United Steelworkers members are shown as they apply for food parcels at a Pittsburgh union local. Murt Dugan, left, welfare committee chairman, receives the men who work at the Jones-Laughlin Corp. plant.

Ohio Strikers Mobilize Mass Aid, Issue Own Paper

By Ed Conti

YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 29 — The steel unions in this locality have launched a program to mobilize the entire Mahoning Valley community to back the steel strike.

Plans to issue a weekly strike paper, set up a District 26 strike committee, raise a community welfare fund of \$250,000, organize a citizens committee in support of the strike and call another general mass meeting, were approved this week at a special meeting of all steel local union presidents and international representatives called by CIO Steel Workers District Director James P. Griffin.

This is the first big move to mobilize the steel workers on a solid strike basis and to rally support from the entire working class community.

The decision to issue a strike paper, the first of its kind in the union's history in this area, was forced on the steel union leadership because the entire local press and radio are lined up with the steel companies and have even begun "back-to-work" propaganda. The plans are to distribute the new strike paper to every home in this area.

Up to now the strike has been loosely conducted. The establishment of a general district strike committee composed of all local union presidents will mean a great tightening up and coordinating of the struggle against the steel barons here.

In speaking of the projected campaign to raise a \$250,000 strike welfare fund here, Director Griffin said: "The whole strike must be broadened to get the full support of all fabricating steel locals, other CIO unions and the

first feeler toward a "back-to-work" move was made here by Rev. Paul W. Gauss of Westminster Presbyterian Church, who issued a public statement falsely claiming that most of the steel workers want to go back to work on the companies' terms. His statement was promptly challenged by the local steel union.

In a telegram to Rev. Gauss reflecting the sentiments of the whole membership in this area, CIO-USA Local 2332 said the steel workers feared that "you are an advance agent of the same interests who in 1937 followed their seemingly innocent pleas for peace with the wanton clubbing and murder of our brother steelworkers."

Rev. Gauss immediately backed-tracked in a follow-up statement.

STALINISTS HAIL MISERABLE CONTRACT SIGNED WITH RCA

CAMDEN, N. J., Oct. 20 — At a special membership meeting here 2,000 RCA workers belonging to UE Local 103 voted to accept the company's offer: a 7.84 cent package, consisting of 3¼c. across-

strike, having no confidence in the local or national UE leadership, nor in its national \$500-a-year wage and benefits program, ratified the pact.

The Stalinists have criticized Murray for accepting the "fact-finding" board's recommendations, but they themselves based their demands in RCA negotiations on those same recommendations. They claim the RCA package is worth 13 cents, by adding 5 cents which RCA has been paying for welfare items all along. But a careful study of the present package shows it actually provides for a little less than 8 cents to all RCA workers.

This agreement leaves the old pensioned workers without any improvements in pensions. The hospital and surgical provisions have no family coverage, for which the workers would have to put out approximately 2½ cents per hour.

This is the best contract that the Stalinist UE leadership has been able to win from a corporation with whom they have had "good labor-management relations" since the first and last strike in 1936, in the Camden plant.

TOLEDO, Oct. 29 — A bitter struggle involving labor's future in this area has broken out over the pension issue. The United Auto Workers announced a few weeks

ago that it would seek an area-wide pension agreement with 125 companies presently under contract. At that time, UAW Vice-President Richard Gosser listed the union's demands with a terse comment that 15 of the companies to be approached first would either agree to sit down and discuss terms of the union would shut them down.

Before any of the companies had a chance to reply, the Chamber of Commerce, the capitalist press and the Toledo Clearing House Association (the banks) rushed in to oppose the union. The Toledo Blade, owned by millionaire Paul Block Jr., ran a front page editorial denouncing UAW Local 12, Gosser and everyone else connected with the union.

"Toledo is sick to death of being dominated by one big union, Local 12," said the editorial. "Toledo is sick to death of being used as the guinea pig for radical experiments. . . . But are Toledoans going to sit back idly while the community goes to pot. . . ? Are our industries going to knuckle under to Mr. Gosser's latest demands, knowing that if he gets away with these he will soon be back with more?"

WHAT 'BLADE' OMITS

The Blade carefully fails to mention that Toledo is and has been "in the pot" for a long time, that 25,000 unemployed were in the streets before any pension demands were made by the union. Now this capitalist rag is threatening that industries will move away if the workers do not agree to keep on being thrown on the scrap-heap when they are too old to man the production and assembly lines.

The bankers, in an unprecedented move, were quick to join this rogue's chorus by running a full page ad in the papers, taking the same line as the Blade.

A well-known public relations firm then announced that an organization of 10,000 "business and civic members" to fight the union was being organized. The fascist-minded industrial leaders, having observed that the labor movement has been slow to react to hoodlum attacks on radicals, evidently think the time is ripe to go after the unions themselves.

Last night, a group of millionaires representing industrial, banking and newspaper interests announced the formation of the "Committee to Save Toledo's Payrolls."

Taking a tip from Hitler who demagogically called his movement "socialist" in order to sow confusion, this group pretends to

be concerned over the workers' paychecks. Prominent among the sponsors of the new labor-busting outfit are such men of great wealth as Block; R. A. Stranahan, president of the Champion Spark Plug Co., another millionaire; Harris McIntosh, president of the Toledo Scale Co.; John T. Rohr, president of the Toledo Trust Co.

It would have been more appropriate to name the new organization "The Millionaires' Committee to Save Profits." The other sponsors of this unsavory outfit are also high officials in industrial and business concerns, with a sprinkling of professional people for window-dressing.

FALSE CLAIMS

The avowed aim of the group is to fight the unions on the pension issue and " . . . to bring to an end the unhealthy situation which has been created by the local labor dictatorship." This false claim that labor exercises some kind of dictatorship here is also reminiscent of European fascist propaganda, which tried to turn public opinion against the unions by claiming they exerted undue influence. As a matter of fact, the unions here do not even have a single representative in the City Council and have been rather conservative in every respect in recent years.

Also taking encouragement from the opposition to pensions and the union expressed by the banks, newspapers and Chamber of Commerce is the DeVilbiss Company, the first of the 15 to reject the union's demands. The DeVilbiss workers are preparing to take a strike vote Oct. 31.

The union pension demands here represent an improvement over the weak agreement negotiated at Ford's. But it will take a real fight to win a better plan against the kind of opposition that has developed in this area. Obviously the capitalist interests are making the issue not only one of pensions but of the very existence of the union itself.

What is needed in this situation is a call by Local 12, which has some 25,000 members, for a city-wide Union Defense Committee, representing the entire labor movement, to combat in every way the attempts being organized to smash the union. The unions should recruit two men to this committee for every one the capitalist leaders get from the so-called "business and civic" elements. This would be the most effective answer to the local would-be union smashers.

BRAVERMAN YOUNGSTOWN COUNCILMAN CANDIDATE

YOUNGSTOWN — Harry Braverman, organizer of the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party who is running for councilman in the Sixth Ward, is the

only independent candidate in the Nov. 8 election here. The Communist Party withdrew its candidate in another ward in favor of the Republican candidate, a Negro.

The Socialist Workers Party is forced to run its candidate without the party designation because the Ohio election laws make it almost impossible for a minority party to appear on the ballot under its own designation.

The Youngstown SWP has put out an election newspaper, headlined "VOTE SOCIALIST!" Braverman, the leading article explains, "is no frustrated Republican or Democrat, he is a genuine independent candidate. His political opinions are socialistic, and his nomination is meant to be a direct challenge to the supremacy of the 'two-party system.' He and his party believe that both the Republican and Democratic Parties are Wall Street-controlled at the top and ward-heeler ridden at the bottom."

The election newspaper, which is being distributed from house to house in the ward, proclaims that Braverman and the SWP stand solidly behind the steel and coal strikes.

Full unemployment compensation for strikers, denied by the vicious Ohio compensation law, is demanded by the SWP. "The miners and steelworkers," it is

pointed out, "were forced out on strike because the House of Morgan and their associates refused to grant just health and old age security to these workers, and are attempting to destroy these mighty unions. All unemployment due to cutbacks in production or strike struggles are a result of the profit system. . . . Then let those who force unemployment for their selfish system, pay the cost of unemployment."

"A special session of the Ohio State legislature should be called now, in order to get unemployment benefits for all the striking miners and steelworkers."

The do-nothing record of the present City Council, dominated by the Democratic Party, is exposed. The brutal terrorization of the Negro people by the Police Department is roundly condemned, as well as the arrests of Communist Party members who were passing out leaflets to strikers.

The workers of the Sixth Ward are urged to vote for Harry Braverman because "the Socialist Workers Party is an organization that fights 365 days of the year for the interests of the working people. The program of this party calls for the organization of a Socialist government in the United States. This party is the only organization, that fights unwaveringly for Socialism and a society of peace and plenty."

Notes from the News

ROGER BALDWIN, who has been director of the American Civil Liberties Union since it was founded in 1920, will resign his post at the end of this year. However, he will continue to work with ACLU committees in the field of international civil rights.

THE FLINT JOURNAL printed the following question and answer in one of its columns on Oct. 9: "Is it true, or is it just a political joke, that the headmaster of the 'Roosevelt School at Hyde Park' is a man named Trotsky?" asked F. O. of Brooklyn, N. Y. The solemn answer was: "It is no joke. I saw the school's advertisement recently in the educational supplement of the Sunday New York Times. But I doubt if there is any ideological connection between the school, its headmaster and the Hyde Park family."

DWIGHT MACDONALD has notified subscribers of Politics of his decision to suspend its publication for "partly financial, partly personal" reasons. He describes the latter as follows: "Although I had all summer to draw up the promised prospectus for the new Politics, I did absolutely nothing on it. So I conclude that I don't really want a magazine right now. For several reasons: the general political situation, which gets less interesting and more depressing

every month. . . the fact that my own values and interests are changing even more rapidly than usual. . ."

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