

STOP THE SPLITTERS IN THE CIO

An Editorial

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THE MILITANT

Workers of the World, Unite!

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 40



NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

NO PLACE TO HIDE FROM THE A-BOMB

Either World Socialism or Atomic Annihilation

Which World?



Corporations Hurl Last-Minute Provocation at Steel Workers

SEPT. 28 — Two more days remain before the third — and what Philip Murray has called the "final" — deadline for a general steel strike. Whether or not some 800,000 members of the CIO United Steel Workers hit the picket lines this Saturday at 12:01 a. m. rests entirely with the arrogant steel barons.

As several thousand workers in the Pittsburgh area "beat the gun" on the deadline and there were mounting signs of intense resentment at the brazen and challenging attitude of the corporations, Benjamin F. Fairless, head of U. S. Steel, today flung another provocation at the union.

He restated the corporations' refusal to accept even the miserable recommendations for company-financed social insurance and pensions made by Truman's "fact-finding" board. He offered instead a proposal for an insurance-pension plan to cost the company "up to" the 10 cents per hour maximum fixed by the steel board — provided the workers agree to a wage deduction as their "contribution" to a fund.

MURRAY FORCED

Murray, who truthfully pleaded that he had already made every possible concession to avoid a real fight, had no alternative but to denounce and reject this latest offer as the corporations' attempt, under the guise of a pension concession, "to impose a wage cut on their workers."

He stated that if the companies fail to accept the principle of non-contributory pensions, as recommended by Truman's board, by the time of the strike deadline, the union will be "free to strike for its original demands" totalling 30 cents an hour for wages, insurance and pensions. But Murray's talk of "original demands" is just rhetoric. He has

given away so much that the companies have maneuvered the union into a position where, if a strike results, the workers will be fighting not for the 10-cent "package," which the companies have conceded, but over whether the employees will also have to contribute to enlarge the pension fund through a cut in their take-home pay.

Fairless's statement indicated that the corporations, which in

the first half of this year enjoyed the greatest profits in their history, are holding out for more than their "principle" of contributory pensions. He demanded that any pension plan become effective only "when the present labor agreement expires on April 30, 1950" and "contingent upon the union's agreement to extend the existing labor contract for one year or until April 30, 1951."

Morris Stein to Begin Tour On the "Stalin-Tito Conflict"

Morris Stein, Organization Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will begin a national tour Sat., Oct. 1, in New Haven. His tour will take him all the way to the Pacific Coast and back, in a series of internal discussions with party members on the work and problems of the party, and public addresses on "The Stalin-Tito Conflict and the Crisis of World Socialism."

Stein's tour is the first of a series of national tours of SWP leaders projected for the fall and winter months, which are designed to expand the propagandistic activity of the party and strengthen the ties of information and communication between the party branches and the national center in New York.

His public speeches will deal with the origins of the struggle between the Yugoslavs and the Kremlin, based on material not yet printed in this country, and on the perspectives which this conflict opens up for the revolutionary socialist opponents of Stalinism and imperialism.

Early reports show an enthusiastic welcome for Stein's

tour by the party branches all along the route and intensive preparations to make a success of his meetings. The schedule of the tour is as follows:

New Haven	Oct. 1
Boston	Oct. 2-3
Buffalo	Oct. 5-6
Pittsburgh	Oct. 8
Youngstown	Oct. 9-10
Akron	Oct. 11
Cleveland	Oct. 12-13
St. Louis	Oct. 14
Los Angeles	Oct. 15-19
San Francisco	Oct. 21-23
Seattle	Oct. 25-27
St. Paul-Minneapolis	Oct. 29-Nov. 1
Milwaukee	Nov. 2
Chicago	Nov. 3-5
Detroit-Flint	Nov. 6-10
Toledo	Nov. 11
Philadelphia	Nov. 13

Additional dates to be announced.

This would mean that the steel workers would not get a red cent for the year covered by the current negotiations and would agree to forego any wage increases for two years in return for whatever pension crumbs they might receive after next April 30.

SOME DEAL POSSIBLE

Some kind of deal like this may yet be hatched between the companies and Murray, who would be willing to settle on any terms rather than lead a militant struggle. But the one thing he dare not yield — the one picayune concession left him by the steel board — is the principle of non-contributory pensions, that is, pensions paid exclusively by the companies.

Murray's stiffening on this one point is due to the magnificent stand of the coal miners, led by John L. Lewis, in defense of their \$100-a-month pensions paid by the companies, including the steel owners of the "captive" mines who are now claiming that a similar pension for steel workers is nothing less than "socialistic."

The action of the 480,000 miners in shutting down the coal industry — instituting what Lewis called the "No-Day Work Week" — has imbued the steel workers with new determination to win at least some part of the security for illness and old age that the miners have won through their series of splendid and courageous strike actions.

There is the possibility of some further last-minute desperate government intervention. Truman has been able to stall a steel strike since July 15 and his "fact-finding" board brought out recommendations that so whittled down the union's original demands that there was hardly a scrap left.

Truman's announcement that "an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR" has shattered the illusion that the next war would spill its frightfulness everywhere in the world but the United States. No longer can the scoundrels and madmen who rule this country offer the lure that American imperialism, through its monopoly of the atomic bomb, can destroy the Soviet Union and conquer the world through a "quick, cheap war."

The fact that the United States no longer controls the "secret" of the A-bomb makes one thing certain: If the power-drunk money-lords of America plunge this country into another war, the unimaginable ravages of atomic destruction will fall not only on the peoples of Russia and Europe, but on the teeming cities of America as well.

For the American people too, there will be NO PLACE TO HIDE and NO ULTIMATE VICTORY. The price of another imperialist war, in "victory" or defeat, can only be death for millions of Americans — death, perhaps, to American civilization itself.

Truman's momentous announcement of Sept. 23 has been accompanied by a massive propaganda campaign to "Be Calm." There is "no cause for alarm," we are assured over and over again from Washington. What do they mean by being "calm" in the face of the new frightful prospect that American imperialism, through its "cold war" and arrogant blackmail use of its A-bomb monopoly, has presented to America itself?

Truman and Acheson mean that the American people are to sit back in blind complacency and timid compliance while the Wall Street-Washington arsonists set the fuse for a world-wide explosion. They mean that the American people shall make no move to intervene against their insane plot.

Truman's announcement heralds not a greater hope for peace but an intensification of the atomic arms race; greater and greater stockpiling of instruments of mass slaughter; total militarization of America and Western Europe; an all-out witch-hunt against free speech and free thought; repression of organized labor. These are the realities being hatched under cover of the palaver about "international control of atomic energy through the UN."

David Lilienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission,

UE STALINISTS PREPARE TO EXPEL OPPOSITION

Even while they themselves are threatened with bureaucratic expulsion from the CIO, the Stalinist leaders of the CIO United Electrical Workers are preparing a ruthless expulsion drive against their minority opponents of the Murray-Carey faction.

As one of the final actions of the UE convention, held in Cleveland between Sept. 19 and 23, a constitutional amendment was jammed through granting the Stalinist-dominated General Executive Board power to "assume original jurisdiction" over any member the board accuses of "raiding or secessionist" activities.

This supersedes the previous constitutional provision that permits charges and trials against members only in their own local unions. The new amendment means that the international officers can reach into local unions and expel any members it accuses of "raiding and secessionist" activities.

What the amendment aims at was made clear by a subsequent statement submitted by the board to the convention and adopted. This statement assails the Murray-Carey opposition in most violent terms and calls on "the membership" to "drive the traitors out of their locals and the union."

The bureaucratic expulsion drive the Stalinists plan to unleash in UE belies their hypocritical claims that they are defending minority rights and union democracy in the CIO. They themselves are setting an example for the Murray machine when it moves to expel the Stalinists at the coming CIO convention.

ULTIMATUMS

Positive evidence that the Stalinists are committed to splitting the CIO was the UE convention's adoption of a series of ultimatums on the CIO convention. This declaration concluded: "In the event the [UE] executive board does not receive these assurances [to comply with the ultimatums] from the president of the CIO, this convention authorizes the board to withhold per capita tax to the CIO for such time as it deems necessary for the protection of the interests of the UE."

Withholding of the per capita tax to the CIO would give Murray a constitutional pretext for declaring the Stalinist-dominated

says that the Soviet Union's possession of the atom bomb means that now, more than ever, this country must "establish unquestioned and unmistakable leadership" in the atomic arms race. Brien McMahon, chairman of the House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee, asserts, "We will still rely upon an overwhelmingly larger stockpile of our own as the principal warning to aggressors." And the yellow press, with Hearst in the lead, takes up the cry "Four for One!" — four U. S. atom bombs for every one produced in Russia.

The warmongering press and congressmen chortle in glee that now there will be no "bickering" about arms appropriations, no cuts in the proposed program for arming foreign capitalist reactionaries. The "calm" clamor that "Russia has the bomb!" will now be raised to shove through ever more immense subsidies for the military machine.

Already the congressional witch-hunters are yelping for a "tightening of internal security" — which can only mean still more hysterical spy-scares, repressive legislation, "loyalty" purges. The Big Brass in the Pentagon — thirsting for dictatorial power — are moving to tighten their grip on every sphere of American life.

First Target — Labor's Rights

And what a timely pretext Truman's "calm" announcement offers for further blows against organized labor. How quickly the Big Business press has picked up the cue. "To what degree can the development in Russia be expected to bring about a mood in industrial relations that will assure continuance of the peak functioning of our industrial machine?" asks Arthur Krock, N. Y. Times columnist. "Has not the baleful potential of great strikes been made even clearer?" His colleague, business commentator C. F. Hughes, opines: "Public opinion is not likely to condone industrial bickering in the face of this new threat."

Thus Washington plans to use the Russian atom bomb in order to blast the rights, liberties and standard of living of the American working class.

There are those who try to suck consolation from the fact that the Kremlin possesses the atom bomb. The Stalinists, echoing Vishinsky in the UN, raise the will-o'-the-wisp of "disarmament" and "outlawing of atomic weapons." They are spreading the gospel that now that Stalin has the bomb, American imperialism "won't dare" to start a war. Muddle-headed pacifists are saying that the technology of war has reached such a potential of horror that "reason must at last prevail." One and all — Stalinists, pacifists and imperialists alike — din in our ears: "The United Nations is our one and only hope." If that den of imperialists and political gangsters is our "only hope," then humanity is lost.

The "Hope" Truman Offers

For what is this "hope" that Truman and Acheson have cooked up for us? They have declared they are going to press uncompromisingly for the Baruch plan of "international control of atomic energy" — that is, for the brazen proposal that the United States keep its stockpile of atom-bombs while an "international commission" of the U. S. controlled United Nations takes over ownership of all atomic energy plants and raw materials sources and "supervises" atomic energy production — particularly in the USSR. If the Soviet Union refuses to be "supervised" by UN agents of American imperialism, this will be trumpeted as "proof" that the Kremlin has "aggressive designs" and that nothing remains but to prepare the atomic holocaust with good conscience.

We do not say that the rulers of America "want" war. They talk that they are not "surprised" by the Kremlin's speedy development of the atom-bomb is an attempt to put a bold face on their own nightmarish fears. They realize fully that an atomic war will not leave this country unscathed, that it will bring such devastation and exact such a fearsome cost that it may drag the American economy down to irredeemable ruin.

BUT THAT PROSPECT, IN THE END, WILL NOT STOP THEM. For the American capitalist system cannot survive WITHOUT WAR. It is tottering on the brink of crisis and chaos, with the dead-weight of a bankrupt world capitalism on its shoulders. And in the ears of the American plutocracy sounds the ominous rumblings of mass uprisings and rebellions everywhere — in the colonies, in the European countries, in the mines and factories here at home. It is this prospect of internal decay and crisis, with its inevitable accompaniment of mass revolt, that the American capitalists fear above all else. To stave off that fate, they will not hesitate to choose even the awesome risk of atomic war.

The existence of atomic weapons is not the cause of war. The atomic bomb is but the most fiendish part of the preparations for a war whose basic cause lies in the hopeless contradictions of outmoded, crisis-ridden world capitalism. Any pact that may be signed for "international control" or to "outlaw" the bomb is just a scrap of paper. The job is not to "outlaw the bomb" — but to OUTLAW CAPITALISM.

The Choice Before Us

This system of the exploitation of the many for the profits of the few strangles human progress. Its utter bankruptcy is proved by the very fact that it has taken the greatest means for the material uplift of human society — the utilization of atomic energy — and converted it exclusively into an instrument of mass suicide and murder.

Control of this new titanic force for good or evil is indeed the crucial question for all humanity. But it is not a question of whether this force is to be controlled through the imperialist-dominated United Nations. It is whether the international working class can wrest control of atomic energy away from the monopolists and profiteers.

Humankind is faced with a choice of life or death. Only world socialism — the international planned and cooperative economy of the free and equal — can snatch the atom bomb from the hands of the imperialist warmakers and destroyers. Truman's announcement of the atomic explosion in the USSR is an alarm signal for the workers of America and the world — EITHER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM OR ATOMIC ANNIHILATION.

(Continued on page 2)

Curran Runs Rough-shod Over NMU Democracy

By R. Bell

NEW YORK, Sept. 27—The CIO National Maritime Union convention was adjourned yesterday after 12 days in which the faction led by President Joseph Curran sought to overthrow the basic democratic principles upon which the union was established.

Under cover of an unrestrained red-baiting hysteria the Curran group proceeded link by link, to forge a bureaucratic noose to strangle the democratic rights of the membership. The main links in the chain were borrowed from the army of reaction: "Loyalty" oath, witch-hunt, gag rule and purge. One by one these measures were introduced and jammed through the convention.

Before the convention concluded its sessions it became clear that the Curran gang aimed to stifle the voice of every critic, silence every dissenter and expel every opponent. After declaring war on all opposition the Curranites propose to make it an offense, punishable by expulsion, for any member to distribute "unofficial" literature or leaflets, "subversive" newspapers or circulars, petitions or pamphlets, or to collect funds for any purpose without approval of the Curran-controlled National Council.

"PORK CHOP" ISSUES

All actions of the convention must be submitted to referendum vote of the membership for ratification. The bureaucrats are deathly afraid of a discussion by the ranks in which the opposition is free to present their point of view. The men aboard ship had looked forward to the convention as a forum in which their grievances would be aired, action taken to solve their problems and a program elaborated to meet their needs.

Hundreds of resolutions had been adopted by ship's crews dealing with "pork chop" questions. These resolutions were pigeon-holed by the machine-controlled convention committees. An attempt to establish a Contract Committee was side-tracked by the Curran faction.

Instead of dealing with the problems of the men aboard the ships, the Curran machine converted the convention into a sounding board for the reactionary foreign policy of the American State Department and an instrument for depriving the membership of their democratic rights under cover of an "anti-communist" hysteria.

With all convention committees in the hands of the Curran machine, only those proposals were permitted to reach the floor which fitted the needs of the

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bureaucrats. As permanent chairman Curran ruled out of order amendments or proposals from the floor. Many delegates awoke to what was happening only during the closing hours of the convention. They had been led to believe that the "pork chop" issues from the ships would be forthcoming after the "communist" issue was settled.

ADJOURNMENT MANEUVERS

But the Curran machine had other plans. With only one committee left to report and with "new business" next on the agenda, a Curranite made a motion to adjourn the convention. There was a roar of protest from the delegates and the motion was voted down by a majority of 100. Delegates clamored for the floor under "new business" to submit the proposals of their crews.

After several had spoken, another motion to adjourn was made with Curran putting on the pressure from the platform for its adoption. Again the motion was voted down with the delegates setting up a chant: "We want pork chops, we want pork chops!"

The economic problems of the seamen were the last thing the bureaucrats were concerned with. They had gotten what they wanted when the convention placed in their hands the repressive weapons to weed out all "trouble-makers" who fought for better conditions aboard ship. Having accomplished THEIR purpose, the Curranites were determined to close the convention before the delegates fully realized they had been taken for a ride.

For the third time within a brief period a motion to adjourn was recognized by Curran. This time the hand-picked "master-at-arms" counted 286 in favor to 283 opposed and the convention was hurriedly adjourned with the chairman ignoring demands for a recount.

The fight will now be taken to the ranks who must ratify all decisions of the convention. Opposition spokesmen pointed out that the convention did not provide a true representation of the membership. The hard core of the Curran machine was based on delegates from the Lakes, Rivers and Southern ports. These are the most conservative sections of the

union. The Lakes and Rivers, for example, had some 75 delegates representing approximately 3,000 members. This is contrasted with the Port of New York which had 14 delegates representing over 5,000 members on the beach.

Approximately half the membership of the NMU sail out of the Port of New York where the opposition is concentrated. It was the northern ports that led the fight on the yellow-dog "anti-communist" amendments last spring which resulted in a stalemate when the referendum was disqualified because of irregularities in the voting.

The gag rules pushed through the convention are intended to prevent a repetition of the effective mobilization of rank and file opinion against this latest attempt to set up a reactionary dictatorship in the union.

THE INDEPENDENTS

However, the Independent Caucus, which took form at the convention and led the opposition to the Curran machine, has announced its determination to carry the fight to the membership. While directing their main blows at the Curran machine, the independents dissociated themselves from the discredited Stalinist group which was shoved to the side lines.

In launching the struggle against the Curran machine, the Independent Caucus traces the fight against machine control from the very beginning of the union through the smashing of the corrupt Communist Party machine after the last convention. The Stalinists, on the other hand, fight for a return to their type of leadership which they contend was the "most democratic, progressive and militant" in the history of the labor movement.

These conflicting aims cannot be reconciled. Any attempt to do so can only play into the hands of the Curranites. This is one of the major lessons of the convention. The failure of the Independent Caucus to sharply dissociate itself from the Stalinists created considerable confusion and strengthened the Curran machine. Unless this separation is clearly established, the decisive struggle to win the membership will be placed in jeopardy.

WORKERS FORUM

Reader Questions Our Treatment of Spellman Issue

Editor:

Recently when our press caustically criticized Cardinal Spellman for having his fingers in the public treasury, I wondered if this was good strategy. (He's guilty I don't doubt.)

Basically as Marxists we're taught of the two classes and the tendency for the bourgeoisie to monopolize all the wealth. Now, according to our recent publication, we would single out one segment of this class to scorn and insist that by curbing this segment from robbing the other segments of the owning class, the problems of the proletariat are alleviated. And I would like to add and emphasize that Catholics are ever so fanatical so our efforts are ill spent.

A Reader
Cincinnati, Ohio

ED. NOTE — The very first of democratic rights established in the progressive struggle of early capitalism against feudalism was the separation of church and state. This was the first principle embodied in the Bill of Rights. No section of the population has more at stake in the preservation of this principle than the working class. And no institution is striving more vigorously, cunningly and effectively to destroy this principle in America than the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The Catholic hierarchy has launched a powerful drive to secure public funds for the financing of parochial schools and to gain control over the public school systems. Cardinal Spellman's attack on the Barden bill for federal aid to public education is but the most open expression of this drive.

Leading capitalist circles and a wide section of the capitalist press are giving encouragement and support to this campaign. This is an expression of the growing political alliance between American imperialism and the Vatican on a world scale for the suppression of the workers and colonial peoples and the preservation of the capitalist system.

The Catholic hierarchy with its authoritarian influence over millions in this country is regarded

by America's rulers as an especially potent force for splitting the workers along religious lines, stirring up the witch-hunt against "communists" and fostering censorship and repression of all free thought.

How far the influence and aims of the ultra-reactionary Catholic hierarchy extend is indicated by the growth and activities of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which has become a spearhead of the red-baiting attack on union militancy and democracy, particularly in the CIO. The Sept. 20 Newark Evening News gloatingly reports how a local of the CIO United Electrical Workers in Orange, N. J., voted to back "three right-wing candidates" for UE convention delegates after "an anti-Red plea Sunday from the pulpits of two Orange Catholic Churches," where the priests publicly instructed the workers how to vote.

Marxists have the greatest obligation to expose the sinister intervention and penetration of the Catholic hierarchy into the political, educational, cultural and labor institutions of this country. We naturally direct our attack at the reactionary political activity of the hierarchy and not at the honest religious sentiment of Catholic workers. Many Catholic workers are already aware of the anti-labor role of the hierarchy and experience in the class struggle will eventually convince most of them, we are sure, that their best interests lie in the struggle for socialism.

The Power of the Church in Italy

Editor:

The following parts of a letter from my brother in Italy offer an indication of conditions in that unhappy country today and the reactions of some of the population:

"The American ruling class, we were given to understand during the war, was going to help us install a real democratic government for Italy — with free schools, freedom of conscience, freedom from police rule, etc., on the model of the American Constitution. They did nothing but put power in the hands of the most brutal and most obnoxious elements the world has

ever known — the Roman Catholic Church, which has always been ruling Italy and Spain in partnership with the landlords and banks. But now she is ruling alone and supreme.

"You should be here now to see what the Roman Church is doing to sink Italy once again into the pitch dark of the 16th century and to push Italy and the rest of the world in a sort of religious crusade against Russia. Miracles announced every day of the week, everyday processions, priests turned into regular political orators. Meanwhile millions and millions of lire flow into their pockets selling miraculous water, dirt, rosaries, etc. It would be perfectly legal in Italy. And Wall Street likes it because it serves their aims — keeps Italy down and tied to them.

"I suppose you heard that the Pope excommunicated both the Communists and Socialists the world over. The pulpit and confession booth have been turned into political instruments for propaganda, mixing the sacred with the profane. Across the confession booth they know (especially in small towns) who is not with them and they are regularly checked.

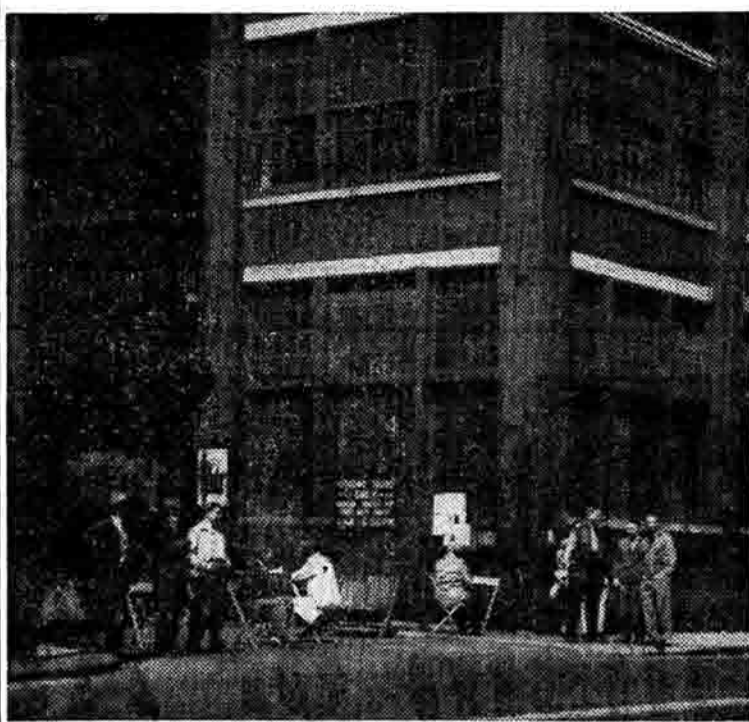
"They cannot pluck out their tongues or burn them alive as they did up to the 18th century but they persecute them in a modern way. They point them out as individuals the real Catholics must loathe, any reference required is secretly furnished by them. The police come second to them and it is under their control. This is the kind of air Italy is breathing today — the air of a modern sacred inquisition."

Reader,
New York City

Correction

Last week's item on the fate of Tan Malakka quoted a comment from News from New York, a weekly bulletin published in New York which we erroneously described as being issued by Indonesia's Information Office. This bulletin is actually the publication of the Dutch government's Information Officer for Indonesia.

Goodrich Strike in 6th Week



Pickets on duty at the plant gate of B. F. Goodrich Co., Akron, where the CIO United Rubber Workers is on strike. Seven plants with more than 20,000 workers are involved in this fight for wage raises and a company-financed pension plan.

CONSERVATIVES WIN RULE OVER CIO RUBBER UNION

TORONTO, Sept. 24 — The CIO United Rubber Workers convention wound up its sessions here today with the conservative faction sweeping all international offices as well as the General Executive Board. Whereas a year ago at the Omaha convention, Buckmaster won by only two votes and lost the majority of the Executive Board to his opposition, this year he was re-elected by a majority of approximately 140 votes and has firm control of the whole international machinery.

The defeat of the progressive Bass-Lloyd forces can be directly attributed to a bad mistake committed by them in the course of the faction struggle. This was the suspension of Buckmaster from office by the majority of the Executive Board sitting as a trial committee.

The suspension and trial arose out of the so-called "Pottstown affair" where Buckmaster called a special meeting of the Firestone local and attempted to act as chairman of the meeting, resulting in a fracas and some violence. The Board's removal of Buckmaster hinged on his violat-

ing the union constitution which calls for the local President to preside at all local union meetings.

MAIN FACTION ISSUE

The removal of Buckmaster became the main issue around which the faction struggle revolved for all the months preceding the convention. It obscured the more important programmatic differences at issue between the two factions and forced the Bass-Lloyd group to fight on weakest ground.

Buckmaster's appeal from the Executive Board decision occupied a whole day's debate at the convention. Each side marshalled its strongest speakers and best arguments. At the conclusion of the debate it was clear that the majority of the delegates felt that an injustice had been committed, that even if Buckmaster went an inch beyond his constitutional prerogatives, his suspension from office was unjustified and factionally motivated.

While the majority of the delegates supported their respective factions on this issue on the basis of overall considerations, approximately 40 middle-of-the-road delegates ensured Buckmaster's victory by swinging over to his support. After Buckmaster won vindication on his appeal his re-election was a foregone conclusion.

LITTLE ALTERATION

The Board's action in suspending Buckmaster from office thus proved to be an irreparable error. But more is involved in the defeat of the Bass-Lloyd faction. Their inability to win over any sizable group of workers in the course of the months-long faction fight undoubtedly reflects the apathy and confusion in the union's ranks. The fact is that the reams of propaganda issued to the membership by the Bass-Lloyd forces calling for all sorts of militant policies did little to alter basic lines of division as revealed at the 1948 Omaha convention.

The Buckmaster victory does not mean the end of the opposition. The opposition can and is determined to maintain itself and continue the fight for progressive unionism. Unquestionably, many of the opportunistic elements in the progressive caucus will drift away or go over to Buckmaster now that the latter is in the saddle.

But the Bass-Lloyd group will still remain a formidable force and will not suffer the same process of internal disintegration that took place in the Thomas-Aides-Leonard group of the CIO auto union after its defeat at the hands of Reuther in 1947.

Kutcher to Speak In Chicago on Civil Rights Fight

(Continued from page 1)

speaker at a public meeting under the auspices of the Chicago Kutcher Civil Rights Committee Fri., Oct. 7, 8 P. M. at the Midland Hotel, 172 West Adams St.

Other speakers at this meeting include Professor Malcolm P. Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School, representing the American Civil Liberties Union; Sidney Lens, director of AFL United Service Employees Local 329; George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee; and representatives of the Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council and the American Veteran Committee.

Kutcher is also scheduled to talk to the Chicago City Club at its opening fall luncheon Mon., Oct. 3 and to student meetings at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College.

In a statement issued to the public today, the Chicago committee called upon "every supporter of democracy and fair play to join our efforts to win justice for this victimized veteran."

KCRC Reports Aid From Union Bodies

NEW YORK, Sept. 26 — The Kutcher Civil Rights Committee reported it has received expressions of support or financial assistance for its work from the following organizations in recent weeks:

AFL unions: Joint Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers in Boston; Local 1100 of the Department Store Employees in San Francisco; Bricklayers and Masons in Toledo.

CIO United Auto Workers: Locals 289 and 625 in Cleveland; Local 697 in Detroit; Local 813 in Philadelphia.

Other CIO unions: IUMSWA Local 9 in San Pedro; IUMSWA Local 419 in Peru, Ill.; United Railroad Workers Local 1873 in Pitsburgh, Pa.; Ship Scalers Local 589, and Northwest Lumber Inspectors Local 20877, both in Seattle; Textile Workers in Cleveland; UE Local 777 in Cleveland.

A donation was also received from Workmen's Circle Branch 1616 in Los Angeles.

C. R. Hedlund Urges Support To Skoglund Fight

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 24 — C. R. Hedlund, retired Omaha railroad engineer who has just returned from a three-months tour of Europe, addressed a Civil Rights Defense Committee meeting of over 50 persons here tonight, on behalf of his long-time friend and associate, Carl Skoglund. The CRDC is actively defending Skoglund in his fight against deportation to Sweden.

Mr. Hedlund told his audience that European workers to whom he had talked were astonished at the extent of the "persecution of foreign-born people for their political ideas" in the United States.

"The government's move against Skoglund is part of the general drive against civil liberties and the rights of militant trade unionists," the speaker declared, and urged all-out support for Carl Skoglund, former Minneapolis Teamsters union official. Hedlund has been active in Minnesota railroad unions for 40 years.

Miles B. Dunne, chairman of the Minnesota section of the CRDC, presided at the meeting. He reported that Skoglund, who has recently won an Immigration Department decision for a rehearing in his case, will speak at a public meeting Sat., Oct. 8, at 10 South 4th St., Minneapolis, to be sponsored by the CRDC.

Tonight's gathering held at the home of C. K. Johnson, secretary of the state CRDC, raised over \$85 for the Skoglund Defense Fund.

CARL SKOGLUND SPEAKS....

in his own behalf

Saturday, Oct. 8, 1949 -- 8 P. M.
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CHINA--A SETBACK FOR IMPERIALISM

By Charles Hanley

Chiang Kai-shek's representatives in the United Nations General Assembly are making a bid for support from the capitalist world. His friends in the American Congress are trying to extort additional

hundreds of millions of dollars for the corrupt dictator. Chiang himself, trying to show that he is a ally worthy of imperialism, has made a number of trips to build up an anti-communist bloc of Asiatic states.

But all this effort is in vain because the breakdown of Chiang's regime is an accomplished fact. There seems little doubt that Mao Tse-tung's armies can take Canton in the near future, and it is conceded now that even Formosa cannot be defended for long. In fact the Chinese Stalinists would already have conquered all of the country if it wasn't one of the biggest in the world, with enormous distances and communication problems to overcome.

All this represents a tremendous setback for world imperialism, which has lost its main foothold and sphere of influence in continental Eastern Asia. Chiang's trip to the Philippines brought nothing but courteous phrases and polite smiles. The capitalists don't invest money in hopelessly bankrupt firms.

That was why the Truman administration resisted including any mandatory provision for funds to Chiang Kai-shek in the Military Aid Program. Instead of pouring additional money into his pocket, Washington is concentrating on the transformation of Japan into an anti-communist bulwark and offensive base for Asia.

But Japan is hardly an ideal barrier against the general movement of the Asiatic peoples. Despite General MacArthur's reactionary decrees and strike-breaking intervention, the Japanese proletariat is high-spirited and combative, and the labor movement is a genuinely strong force. If the imperialists consider Japan to be an anti-communist fortress, they surely cannot help feeling that it is a fortress full of dangerous dynamite.

Thus the situation in Japan does not and cannot make good for the loss of China by the imperialists. For the advance of the Stalinist armies in the south of China has greatly increased the difficulties of the French imperialists in Indo-China, where the restoration of their puppet Bao Dai has not improved things at all, and of the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia, where the effect of the imperialist debacle in China is to encourage the rebellious masses to drive out their own oppressors.

A new era is opening in Eastern Asia — an era which bodes little good for the imperialists despite their hopes for the spread of "Titoist" tendencies inside the Chinese Communist Party.

The chief obstacle to the for-

ward march of China remains the party of the Chinese Stalinists who work hand in glove with the Kremlin. Mao Tse-tung and his clique fear the masses and the proletarian revolution. They seek to establish "a new capitalism," that is, they have pledged in advance collaboration between the Stalinist machine and the Chinese capitalists.

This policy has restricted the struggle in China to the military plane, with the masses deliberately shoved aside. Repressive measures have been fiercely applied whenever mass initiative is evinced. When the Stalinist armies take over, the workers are not permitted to take over plants or shops, or form committees of their own. Some who did have been shot. It is hardly surprising therefore that the workers as a whole just wait and see. There have been no real revolts in key Chinese cities such as Shanghai, Hankow or Canton. Glad to get rid of the Kuomintang despots, the workers are beginning to view with suspicion the policy of their new Stalinist masters.

Even in the countryside, the measures of agrarian reform are far from complete and numerous big landowners, anxious to play along with the Stalinists, are allowed to keep their property. Seeds of disillusion are thus being sown among the Chinese peasants.

Meanwhile the Stalinists have finished their own preparations for taking over completely the reins in the country. It has been officially announced that the Provisional Government at Peiping (called the "Chinese Consultative Council") has prepared a new political facade with an "All-China People's Congress" and a "Central People's Government Council." According to the Chinese Stalinists, this new government of China will be something new, resembling neither the constitution of the USSR nor the "new people's democracies" of Eastern Europe.

This regime, the Stalinists promise, will be based on a network of committees and will constitute a "democratic dictatorship of the people." But the committees will not be democratically elected councils of workers, poor peasants and soldiers; they will be bodies handpicked from the top, "representing" both workers and capitalists, rich landowners as well as poor peasants, Red generals and former Kuomintang soldiers who have made their deal with the Stalinists.

A head-on collision between such a regime and the mass of the people, whose interests are being flouted more and more openly, is in the long run unavoidable.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Howard Mason, Literature Agent for Detroit, writes that the top sub-getters in the subscription campaign for The Militant



which netted 119 subscriptions, as reported in last week's column, were Ernie K., 38 points; Chuck, 20; Tom, 20; and Ernie D., 20. One point was credited for a six-months sub, two points for one year.

Comrade Mason reports that the sub-getters met with the best response among friends and shopmates who were familiar with The Militant but had not yet become regular readers. At first the campaign went slowly. It was felt that "many comrades were talking about the need for obtaining subs, but very few actually were doing it." However, after a few pace-setters began bringing the subs in, the campaign developed momentum and everyone "began showing a real interest."

The Detroit comrades mention that sales continue to be easy at theaters showing the film *Lost Boundaries*. Recently, four comrades sold 20 copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality in an out-coming crowd of about 60 people.

Youngstown's subscription campaign appears to be doing well. Last week M. Jones sent in another 10 subs.

Sales of The Militant are on the increase in New York, according to Literature Agent Harry Gold. At four election rallies for the Trotskyist majority candidates, 132 Militants were sold. Harlem took top honors for the city with 70 sold at one

meeting. "Our experience so far, particularly on the East Side, demonstrates that greater organization and push will increase the sale of Militants."

Literature Agent Bert Deck, reporting for Los Angeles, writes that sales are holding up well there. "Vivian, for instance, on her regular sales day last week sold 32 Militants. She conducted quick sales at various factory gates and on a busy street corner. Actual selling time: less than two hours."

Literature Agent Winnie of St. Paul thinks the Sept. 12 issue of The Militant was a "very good one. The story on the second Robeson-Peelskiss assault was worth a year's subscription price! Nowhere in the capitalist press could you find a report like that. And this is the best reason in the world for the publication of The Militant."

Grace Carlson, Organizer of the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party, mentions in a letter that she is sending extra copies of the Sept. 19 issue of The Militant to a friend in Duluth who knows many steelworkers in that area. "I wish that we could send up hundreds of that particular issue with the excellent analytical article about the steel fact-finding board's proposal by Art Pre's and the round-up article on the 'Mohawk Valley Formula' by Bert Cochran."

P. H. of Worcester, Mass., likewise commends the Sept. 19 issue, saying that the subscribers he talked with thought it "extra good."

Paul S. of California enclosed a \$1 contribution when he sent in a notice of change of address. Thanks a lot, Paul; contributions like that are really needed to help put out The Militant.

Subscriptions: \$2 per year;
\$1 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$3.50 per yr.; \$2 for 6 mos.
"Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1914 at the
Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of Mar.
3, 1879."

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interest of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9839)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more
copies): 5c each in U.S., 4c
each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contribu-
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Vol. XIII - No. 40

Monday, October 3, 1949



TROTSKY

"In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States [in the capitalist world] will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom. The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

—Leon Trotsky, "Third International After Lenin."



LENIN

Stop the Splitters in the CIO!

The Murray machine and the Stalinists have turned the CIO into a battlefield of the "cold war" between American imperialism and the Kremlin. The conflict of these two bureaucratic cliques, one serving the U. S. State Department and the other Stalin's foreign office, has brought the CIO to the verge of split.

Philip Murray, who commands the top apparatus of the CIO, has long since made it plain that he intends to expel the minority of Stalinists from the CIO national board at the forthcoming CIO convention in Cleveland. The Stalinists are meeting this threat with preparations for withdrawal of unions under their control from the CIO.

The danger of split has been implicit in Murray's policies ever since he broke off his honeymoon with the Stalinists in conformity with Washington's post-war rupture with Moscow. Through a series of bureaucratic moves against the autonomy and democratic rights of local and state CIO bodies and affiliated international unions, the Murray machine is seeking to make it impossible for anyone to live in the CIO who does not conform in thought, word and deed to "CIO national policy" as dictated by Murray in line with the directives of the Truman administration and the State Department.

The Stalinists are proceeding in their own bureaucratic and adventurist fashion to give Murray "legal" and "constitutional" pretenses for his long-planned expulsions. They are making no serious fight to remain in the CIO. On the contrary, it is clear they have already determined to set up their own union side-show affiliated with the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions,

from which the CIO disaffiliated this year.

At the recent United Electrical Workers convention, the Stalinists shoved through a resolution serving a series of ultimatums on Murray. The resolution concludes by threatening to withhold the UE per capita payments to the national CIO. This can only be construed as a calculated provocation with the aim of hastening the split.

This same UE convention further compromised the fight for autonomy and union democracy in the CIO with a declaration to "drive out" of the UE the minority opposition to the Stalinist leadership, in precisely the same manner that Murray threatens to deal with those who oppose him. The UE leaders put over a constitutional amendment giving them the power to try and expel any UE member — the same kind of bureaucratic violation of local autonomy as Murray exercises.

But the fact remains that the bureaucratic expulsion of the Stalinists will only strengthen the anti-democratic trend in the CIO, weaken the CIO numerically and divert its resources and energies away from struggle for the improvement of the conditions of the workers into jurisdictional raids and warfare.

The Murray machine could prevent the split, if it wants. It commands the majority. It has the responsibility of leadership. All it needs to do is to recognize minority rights and withdraw its expulsions. That would cut the ground from under any move by the Stalinists to split. The CIO membership should intervene to demand an end to the irresponsible, divisive policies of both bureaucratic factions.

Tito's Mill and Stalin's Machinery

"It is because Tito Yugoslavia is anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet Union, anti-socialist . . . that he has received the approval of President Truman for the purchase of material to build a steel plant while the ban on exports to the real people's democracies goes on." This statement in the Sept. 25 Worker echoes the allegations about the reactionary character of the Tito regime that have been made over and over again by the Stalinist press in all parts of the world.

But on Sept. 22 the U. S. Department of Commerce announced that it had approved the immediate export of \$500,000 worth of oil field machinery to the Soviet Union. The sale of such machinery to the Soviet Union has been banned by the Truman administration for the last year and a half. It was also reported that Moscow had immediately dispatched to these shores large shipments of manganese and chrome ores, whose sale had been suspended in retaliation for Washington's ban on "war-potential" machinery.

It remains to be seen whether this new step by Washington represents an easing of the cold war in trade, as some quarters are speculating, or whether it is designed as some kind of bait in connection with Washington's plans to take

the offensive in the atom bomb race resulting from the announcement, made the next day, of the Soviet Union's possession of atomic energy secrets.

In any case it knocks into a cocked hat the above-quoted Stalinist charge against the Tito government — unless the Worker editors are prepared to say that the Stalin regime too is "anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet Union, anti-socialist" merely because Truman gave it permission to buy industrial equipment from this country.

Naturally this won't halt the Stalinist vilification campaign to portray Tito as an agent of imperialism, which has been an abysmal failure to date, despite the Hungary frame-up-confession trial. For if there is one thing that infuriates the Kremlin more than anything else in its conflict with the Yugoslavs, it is its inability to convince the masses of Eastern Europe that Tito is an imperialist tool simply because he defies the GPU and refuses to turn Yugoslavia over to it.

The Tito regime's main strength today is its independence of both Moscow and Washington. It can survive their pressure and thus encourage millions of workers throughout the world to resist their domination only if it seeks and receives the aid of the international labor movement.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ISSUES STATEMENT CONDEMNING FRAME-UP TRIAL IN HUNGARY

PARIS, Sept. 24 — The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today released through Pierre Frank the following statement on the Budapest frame-up trial:

A new counter-revolutionary crime has just been perpetrated on orders from the Kremlin.

Several defendants at the Budapest trial, accused of being "Trotskyists in the service of espionage agencies of imperialism," have been condemned to death. A few months earlier, on the same monstrous charge, a "trial" in Tirana resulted in the execution of several leaders of the Communist Party of Albania, among them its wartime secretary Koci Dodi.

The Secretariat of the Fourth International formally declares that none of those condemned at Budapest belonged to an organization affiliated to the Fourth

International. Alongside of Stalinists of long standing, those prosecuted at the Budapest trial included ex-officers and police officials of the Horthy regime and professional GPU provocateurs. The indictment, the trial technique, the "confessions" of the accused who vie with one another in self-accusations of crimes consisting of alleged intentions and directives which are never actually carried out or even undertaken — all these are reminiscent of the Moscow Trials which were used by Stalin to exterminate the Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. These trials were directed by the same people who are staging the Budapest trial, as is being recognized by the leaders of the Yugoslav CP.

World public opinion, however shocked it may be once again at the procedure of these trials

(which lead to confessions of imaginary and absolutely improbable and fantastic crimes), can no longer have any doubt that they are pure fabrications staged for political ends. The Moscow Trials were used by the Kremlin bureaucracy to eliminate all potential revolutionary opposition inside the Russian Bolshevik Party and to prepare the assassination of Leon Trotsky. Similarly, the Budapest trial and these which will be staged in the other capitals of Eastern Europe are designed to intensify the struggle against Yugoslavia and to smash all possible opposition in the Communist Parties of these countries to the Kremlin's policy of plunder and oppression.

This opposition has received powerful reinforcement from the courageous struggle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia since its break with the Cominform.

Peekskill and the Negroes

By J. Meyer

Peekskill and its consequences illuminate the past and throw long shadows into the future of national politics. As a symbol Peekskill is of enormous significance.

The most important feature, around which everything else revolves, is that Peekskill showed how close to the surface is the counter-revolution in the United States. The fascistic elements showed themselves as plain as daylight — veterans and hoodlums bent on violence and aided and protected in action by the police. This outburst can be traced to two basic causes:

First there is the continuous incitement in propaganda and practice by the Truman administration and all the supporters of official society. Secondly there is the deeper cause — a sense of hopelessness and exasperation among the masses at the blackness of the social future, and the need for expressing this by personal intervention. Articles in the N. Y. Post describe the miserable economic conditions of Peekskill today.

All this conforms to the classic pattern of fascism. Its specific form in Germany was hostility to the government and the Jews. In the United States it shows itself as hostility to the Communists and Negroes, though the Jews were not by any means omitted from the list of enemies.

ANTI-NEGRO VICIOUSNESS

The special viciousness of the outbreak was due to the fact that Robeson was a Negro, a distinguished, in fact, a world-famous Negro. In the attack upon him was concentrated the hatred and bitterness of the reactionary petty-bourgeoisie and the hoodlums against the national and international preoccupation with the righting of Negro wrongs. This is the counter-revolution. Peekskill is not an isolated case. In Greenwich Village white hoodlums have again begun beating up Negroes. In places like Pittsburgh and Chicago, in areas in Long Island, the tension in Negro-white areas has again grown taut.

Yet the forces of fascism, though they have unmistakably announced themselves, are for the time being embryonic, they are in no position to lead any

offensive on a national scale. The elections of 1948 showed the power of the labor movement as a national force. Such an outburst as Peekskill could have been met by a labor counter-offensive which would have driven back the thugs and intimidated the middle-class elements who encouraged them. Equally important, it would have thrown confusion into the ranks of that combination of the police and the bourgeois state (in this case Governor Dewey) which has always formed the barrier behind which the fascist forces have gathered strength. A powerful counter-offensive would have knitted together labor, liberals and a mass Negro movement.

REACTION OF NEGROES

The desire was not lacking. Many New York liberals recognized the threat. But, as is typical of them, they wasted their energies denouncing what they call the "treachery" of the police and the "unaccountable" delays and maneuvers of Dewey. It is no use to waste energy on these. That is their nature. Labor and the Negroes can win many of them, but never by listening to them. The masses have to ACT. Only then do liberals stop chattering and follow the lead.

Far more significant for national politics is the reaction of Negroes. THEY wanted action. The Negro people are torn between admiration for the defiant actions of Robeson which came to a climax in Peekskill, and distrust of his politics.

The Negro press in recent months has been a most illuminating spectacle. On the one hand it denounces Robeson's pro-Russian views; on the other with thinly-disguised exultation it chronicles and comments upon his every move, his every word.

The Pittsburgh Courier of Sept. 17 is a dramatic illustration. On Page 1 is a banner headline introducing a special interview with Robeson, questions and detailed answers. On Page 11 is an article headed "Robeson, the Martyr." On the editorial page is a bitter attack on Robeson by Geo. Schuyler, urging that Robeson join the Communist Party so as to be a full-fledged CP Presidential candidate in 1952. On Page 18 Billy Rowe describes the Peekskill events as an eye-

"No Welfare - No Work"



Like 480,000 miners in 20 states, Joe Zampini, Liberato Barnabell and Joe Zampini relax at home in Morgan, Pa., during UMW strike. Nation-wide shutdown was caused by refusal of southern operators to continue payments to union welfare fund.

witness, with Robeson naturally holding the center of the stage.

The most significant statements in this concentration upon Robeson are the following. Len Graves, who interviewed Robeson, says: "... it has been established by competent observers who are in no way sympathetic with Communism that Robeson and his supporters were the victims and not the instigators of the terror and bloodshed and that the New York State cops were the principal offenders." Rowe as an eye-witness emphasizes the same — the attacks of the cops upon the people.

Thus there is posed before the indignant Negro people and the country as a whole that combination of cops, hoodlums and fascists from which the Negroes have long suffered and which at the present stage could be the prelude to nation-wide mass action.

But equally significant is Graves' comment that it was more difficult for him to get to Robeson than it was to get to Senators, and even Presidents. "The interview, when finally granted, was monitored by the inner circle of party dialecticians. . . ." Graves is torn be-

tween his admiration for Robeson and the grip that the Communist Party has upon him. The mass response is not quite the same.

In a number of Negro papers Neil Scott describes the result of a survey of more than 200 persons in Harlem. The persons interviewed all asked this question: What are our leaders doing? Where is Walter White? What about Roy Wilkins, Channing Tobias, Lester Granger, Adam Powell, William Dawson, Philip Randolph? They condemned these. They want an all-out fight "staging gigantic protest meetings against discrimination like the Peekskill meeting; endangering life, limb, security, citizenship, income . . . to fight" American race prejudice.

Scott knows what this signifies. This kind of business he says, will lead to "riot and revolution, and the overthrow of the existing government, local as well as national. It is sad that the times have come to such a state, but the Negroes want their problem solved, and they don't care whether [it is] solved by Truman or Robeson."

There is no question that Scott expresses the general temper of the Negroes with great accuracy, the more so because he is obviously afraid of it. Here are forces as symbolical of the revolution as the Peekskill police and hoodlums are symbolical of the counter-revolution.

But the Negro mass militancy is corralled by the Negro leaders. They content themselves with protests and with being "shocked" and "astonished" at the behavior of the police and of Governor Dewey, just like the liberals. Above all they do not want to get mixed up with Robeson and his "communism."

LABOR'S DUTY

The leadership of organized labor did nothing and nobody expected them to do anything. But the lesson here is for the labor movement as a whole. As so often happens, an experience of great importance for the whole country has been made in illuminating form by the Negro people; just as the catastrophic defeat suffered by the Negroes in Congress on the civil rights fight is now being experienced by the labor movement in the fight against Taft-Hartley. If Robeson's politics are slavishly tied to Russia and create hostility, suspicion and apathy among those who would otherwise follow what they think he represents, the politics of the labor leaders and the Negro leaders is no less tied to Truman and American imperialism. Between them both, they paralyzed the tremendous forces which could have taught the fascists at Peekskill and their friends elsewhere a lesson that would have gone 'round the globe.

Far greater outbursts than Peekskill are on the horizon. They begin always with attacks against "Reds," Negroes, Jews, etc. Their real aim is always the labor movement. It is certain that labor and the Negroes, dragging behind them the chattering intellectuals, can sweep these people off the face of the country wherever and whenever they appear, and thus put the fear of God into the police. But to do this requires repudiation of leaders who are tied, one lot to the telephone-wires of the Kremlin, and the other to the wires of the White House.

Tito Links Budapest and Moscow Trials

By George Breitman

The ideological rift between Belgrade and Moscow grows wider and wider. In self-defense, the Tito regime feels compelled to denounce and expose more and more of the Stalinist policies and practices which it used to defend or kept silent about, even after the expulsion of the Yugoslavs from the Cominform last year. The latest example is the attack on the Moscow Trials made by Moshe Piyade in the Sept. 22 Borba, paper of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

Answering the frameup charges against the Tito regime presented at the Hungary trial of Laszlo Rajk and seven other Stalinist puppet-confessors, Piyade "said it was reminiscent of the Moscow purge trials of 1936, whose 'producers, with their experience, could have had a hand in the production of the Budapest trial.' He said that the Moscow trials had not prevented the Soviet Government from signing a pact with Hitlerite Germany and drinking Hitler's health at the signing. But in M. Piyade's view, the seriousness of the problem is that 'now such trials have become export articles because the person who was at that time State Prosecutor became Foreign Minister [Andrei V. Vishinsky] and this type trial was transferred to the international arena.'" (N. Y. Times, Sept. 23.)

WHAT IT DIDN'T SAY We do not have the full text of Piyade's article, but what was printed in the American press does not say everything that is to be said on the Moscow Trials by a long shot. It hints, rather than flatly asserts, that they were criminal frameups which signalled the extermination by Stalin of the whole Bolshevik Old Guard. It could be interpreted to mean that the Moscow frameups were of less importance to the international working class than the extension of such frameups and purges outside the borders of the USSR. And it omits a good deal of proof about the frameup character of the Moscow Trials which Tito is undoubtedly aware of.

Nevertheless, even what is only hinted at marks a long step for the Yugoslav leaders, for this is the first time they have ever referred in a critical fashion to the Moscow Trials (or the Stalin-Hitler Pact, which gave the Nazis a green light for launching

World War II). This step was apparently taken hesitantly and tardily (not until the Hungary trial was virtually completed). Despite this, it represents another sharp blow at Stalinism and additional material for the education of the working class on the reactionary role of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

However inadequate were Piyade's remarks about the Moscow Trials, there was nothing hesitant or open to misinterpretation in his blasts at the Hungary trial, which he called "a penetration into Europe of the dark methods of the Soviet intelligence service. . . ."

"The trial," he continued, reveals the complete and ruthless degradation of some Communist Parties — in the Soviet Union and in the other people's democracies. It reveals the full dependence of all Communist Parties on the Soviet intelligence service, which rides over them and dictates their political lines.

"... It means the transformation of states whose leaders have handed over their countries to the disposal of the 'leading power' [Russian Stalinism] into vassal satellite countries that no longer have any internal or foreign policy of their own and the transformation of the party leadership in these countries into common police headquarters.

"The degeneration of the Bolshevik Party can no longer be concealed. The Budapest trial is the fruit of this degeneration, the fruit of the superstate, the great Russian chauvinism, which does not hesitate to use any methods to satisfy its penetration into the lives of the European peoples and the imposition of the great Russian nation as the leader of the world."

DON'T EXPLAIN WHY

The Yugoslav leaders no longer want to conceal the degeneration of Stalinism, and in fact realize that exposing it is in their own interests. But to expose it effectively they are obliged to explain WHY it degenerated.

What, for example, was the relationship between the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the defeat of the world revolution, which left the Soviet Union isolated as a workers state in an industrially backward country? What is the connection between this degeneration and the Stalinist destruction of workers' democracy in the Soviet Union?

If the rule of the GPU is counter-revolutionary and oppressive in other countries, how can it help being counter-revolutionary and oppressive in the Soviet Union? If Stalinism prevents the socialist development of other countries, how can it be anything but an obstacle to the socialist development of the Soviet Union?

The Yugoslav leaders cannot answer these questions correctly until they understand and reject the reactionary implications and counter-revolutionary consequences of the theory of "socialism in one country" and other Stalinist revisions of Marxism. And until they do understand this and act accordingly, their blows at Stalinism are deprived of full force and their efforts to win the support of revolutionary workers in other countries can have only partial success at best. For these workers cannot be effectively mobilized to fight against the theories and methods of Stalinism by a leadership which shares them.

TITO'S CONTRADICTION

Last week, before Piyade's article was released, I wrote that Tito was silent on the Moscow Trials because to speak up he would have to admit that he previously had condoned and defended them, and he would have to condemn his own Stalinist past, repudiate the reactionary methods he learned from the Kremlin and make a fundamental re-evaluation of Stalinism.

Piyade's article proved that my statement had oversimplified the problem by underestimating the speed with which Tito is being compelled to dissociate himself from the crimes of Stalinism, especially as they relate to the Yugoslav struggle, and by telescoping the consequences in

theory and practice that logically follow the widening rift. As the events quickly showed, Tito is trying to dissociate himself from Stalin's crimes without simultaneously or immediately bringing into question his continued adherence to Stalinist theory and method.

In the long run, however, he and his regime will be forced to grapple with the contradiction of clinging to fundamental Stalinist theories while rejecting their effects, or to be overcome by it.

NEW CENTRIST TENDENCY

The Tito regime's need for mass support is compelling it to rapidly shift away from its own ideological foundations. Superficial commentators attribute this change solely to the fact that "leftist" propaganda is most effective against the Kremlin. Such an explanation does not explain very much and it ignores at least two basic factors:

1. Tito's definitive break with and movement away from Stalinism has not led him into the imperialist camp, at least not yet. That is what makes his propaganda effective (popular) with the masses of Eastern Europe, while the most "leftist"

propaganda in the world will not help him much if he becomes a tool of imperialism.

2. "Stalinism minus Kremlin control," even if still trying to base itself on Stalinist theories and methods, is not the same thing as Stalinism at all, if only because it is necessarily much more responsive to mass pressure. Titoism is not the same thing today it was a year ago, and its further evolution will depend on the pressure not only of imperialism and Stalinism but also of the revolutionary masses.

This pressure and the dynamics of the struggle are transforming Titoism, despite the original intentions of the Yugoslav leaders, into a new centrist tendency in the working class movement, standing between Stalinism and Trotskyism. This important development is analyzed at some length in the statement of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, printed in the October issue of Fourth International. Every Militant reader should study this document carefully to learn what the Yugoslav struggle against the Kremlin means and why support of that struggle will strengthen the movement for world socialism.

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New York

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Editor, Fourth International

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Civil Rights and Politics

By Gladys Barker

SWP Candidate for President of City Council

A Negro woman running for office in New York City has a lot on her mind. In this city of more than eight million people, 10% of the population — 819,450 — is non-white. These people are the most oppressed, work at the hardest and lowest-paying jobs, pay high rents for the worst housing in ghetto slums. And this is not all.



Right here in New York, we face constant terror and sudden death — not from hooded lynch mobs, if you please, but from the blue-suited men with badges. Police brutality has so increased in the past year that a Brooklyn NAACP attorney recently said, "A Negro's life is becoming worthless in Brooklyn."

It is no accident that the cops' night sticks swing more often against innocent Negroes and Puerto Ricans. It is part of the national assault on civil rights. At the same time we see the flowering of the "loyalty purge," the use of "subversive lists," the enactment of the Feinberg Law in our own state. These and a host of other reactionary measures are all designed to keep the working class docile in preparation for another war. Negroes and other minorities are always front-line casualties when the civil rights of any section of the population are threatened. Nor does it make any difference to the minorities whether it's a Republican or a Democratic administration that is elected.

Mayor O'Dwyer's political boss, President Truman, could not have been elected last November without proclaiming the civil rights program which won him the Negro and labor vote. But he has proven that his program was only campaign lies. We have waited almost a year for the passage of civil rights legislation, and now the Negro-hating Senator Eastland of Mississippi is

appointed chairman of the Senate sub-committee which handles civil rights bills! Truman and all the Democratic Party leaders, not just the "Dixiecrats," are responsible for this vicious treachery.

Republican Governor Dewey got in his 20 licks against civil rights at Peekskill. His state troopers and the Republican-controlled Westchester County cops made possible — and even joined — the fascist attack on the Robeson concert. Dewey pre-judged the case, found the victims guilty, and now he orders a Grand Jury inquiry to whitewash the fascist hoodlums.

The one advantage of the Eastland appointment and Dewey's friendship for the Peekskill mob is that both help destroy illusions about the two major capitalist parties. The record is clear. The Republicans and Democrats cannot be relied on for one minute in the fight for equality and civil rights.

But what about Marcantonio and the ALP? This is really a third capitalist party — miniature edition. As a matter of fact the ALP supported the Republican mayoralty candidate in 1941 and the Democratic mayoralty candidate O'Dwyer in 1945. Today it still supports members of the Democratic and Republican machines.

Marcantonio makes demagogic speeches about civil rights and the mistreatment of the Puerto Ricans in his own district. But during his three years of collaboration with O'Dwyer, he shared in the mayor's criminal conduct toward the minorities. To vote for him is only to give indirect help to the Republicans and Democrats he pals with.

The workers and minority peoples must break from this three-ring circus of capitalist politics if we are to make a stand for civil rights in this election. Capitalist rule means Jim Crow and police terror, war and depression. A workers' administration in City Hall — with full representation for all minorities — would make a fundamental change.

Richest City's Jobless

By Harold Robbins

SWP Candidate for President of Borough of Manhattan

Unemployment is reported on the rise for the ninth successive month by New York City Welfare Commissioner Hilliard in his report for August. There were 816,305 people on the city welfare rolls, an increase of 55,299 since last November. He also reports that the cost to the city was reduced five cents a head for August compared with July. In July he reported he had saved the city, state and federal governments about ten million dollars by tightening the screws on the



jobless in the richest city in the world.

Under the LaGuardia and O'Dwyer administrations the head of the Welfare Department had what a N. Y. Times reporter characterized as "one of the meanest" jobs in the nation, and Mr. Hilliard has surpassed his predecessors in viciousness. The capitalist politicians, the capitalist liberals, the heads of the trade unions, the Social Democrats and the respectable church leaders are all lending their approval by supporting the capitalist parties that brought this scavenger Hilliard to New York to squeeze the unfortunates on the relief rolls worse than ever before. The American Labor Party and its Stalinist masters, although they now criticize Hilliard and O'Dwyer, are responsible too because they helped put them in power.

While the politicians cry that taxes have to be kept down, it is done at the expense of the living standards of the unfortunate people on home relief. Compare their miserable dole with the

magnificent dole given to the capitalist class. The banking and mortgage interests rake in the profits from farm and housing mortgages while the government guarantees their profits on this type of investment. In addition the government floats all its loans through banks and Wall Street brokerage houses which get a lucrative rakeoff. There is no thought of saving money by nationalizing the banks and limiting profits.

The steel and metal industries get theirs directly and indirectly through government war and munitions contracts. Even the strikebreaking corporations were paid profits from the federal treasury above losses incurred while they engaged in union-busting lockouts and strikes for two years after the end of the war. The striking workers were denied unemployment compensation.

To cap it off, the capitalist class all over the world has been on an American government dole costing billions to the workers, while the unemployed continue to be chiseled and starved.

Workers ask us what we would do for the unemployed if we held state power. We believe in production for use and not for profit. We would utilize to the full the productive capacities of the workmen and women of America to build new homes and provide related services such as day nurseries, playgrounds, schools, etc. We would provide adequate pensions for the aged, and make industry pay full wages to the unemployed. Technical improvements that increase the productive output of labor should result in a progressively shorter workday and expanded social services. That is the socialist approach to the problem of unemployment.

A Huge Budget--For Whom?

By Harry Ring

SWP Candidate for Controller

The New York City budget of one and three-quarter billion dollars, second in size only to that of the U.S. government, is a trough that the Republicans and Democrats weren't to get their snouts into. During their alternating periods of control of this gigantic budget, these representatives of the Wall Street financial and real estate sharks fleece the New York workers in a fashion that would turn the James brothers over in their graves.



Consider a few essential facts. Where does the money come from? How is it spent? Two things are revealed in the answer. First, that for ever-dwindling services, the poor pay a constantly increasing share of the taxes. Second, that an incredible portion of their tax dollars is siphoned into the pockets of the Wall Street parasites who, at the same time, contribute ever less to the city's upkeep.

Most cities depend almost exclusively on real estate taxes for their revenue. New York, despite its gigantic real estate holdings, is a startling departure from this common practice, with the situation getting worse every year. In 1945 such taxes amounted to 68% of the city's income. By 1949 that unduly low portion had been whittled down to a neat 56%.

Compare this landlords' paradise with an average city just across the river. In Newark, N. J. — which has been rocked by real estate scandals, including such proven charges as the city buying property that it already owned — real estate taxes are the sole source of revenue, excepting marriage and dog licenses. Despite their domination of City Hall the real estate sharks in that city pay a tax rate of almost 7% as compared to New York's unbelievable statu-

tory limit of 2%, and even that not fully levied. Although it is the world's business and financial capital, New York derives a paltry 60 million dollars in taxes from this rich source as compared to a staggering 130 millions taken from the workers by a sales tax on the necessities of life.

The city administration stands equally indicted by its method of expenditure of this vast budget. Again a few facts. Nineteen percent of the budget is devoted to the operation of an outrageously inadequate public school system, notorious for its dirty, overcrowded, Civil War buildings, and a pitifully undermanned and underpaid teaching staff. At the same time an almost identical amount is expended for "debt service." Two hundred and twenty-two million dollars is paid off annually to a gang of Wall Street loan sharks as "interest" on loans that they keep happily making to the city at the drop of a hat. A greater amount is paid to these pirates each year than the combined sum doled out for hospitals, health services, sanitation, parks and housing subsidies!

These political swindlers in City Hall are doing an admirable job for their Wall Street pals. They operate on a single principle — make the workers pay through the nose and give them nothing while letting the financial barons escape with token payments and a lion's share of the spoils.

This situation can be remedied only by driving them out of City Hall and establishing a labor administration in their place. Only such an administration will shift the tax burden from the workers to the monopolists. It will repeal the sales tax, restore the five cent fare, and through a stiff taxation of business, financial and real estate operations, finance a program to provide New York's workers with the homes, schools, nurseries and parks that they need and have paid for.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1949

NUMBER 40

Vote Socialist Workers Ticket in N.Y. Election!

SWP ELECTION PLATFORM

- 1. Smash Wall Street's Drive toward World War III!**
- 2. United Action to Defend Civil Liberties and Labor's Rights!**
Abolish all city and state laws and edicts limiting the right to strike. Repeal the Wadlin-Connelly Bill. Against the strikebreaking policies of the O'Dwyer administration. Stop the witch-hunt in the schools. Repeal the Feinberg Law. Lift the ban on "loyalty oaths" for municipal employees.
- 3. For Full Employment and Job Security!**
For a 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay. For unemployment insurance at union wages for the full duration of unemployment. No delays, no waiting periods. For the organization of the unemployed by the trade unions.
- 4. Full Equality for Negroes and All National Minorities!**
End police brutality against Negro and Puerto Rican minorities. For job equality. Pass a city FEPC law with teeth in it. End segregation. No tax-exemption for Jim Crow Stuyvesant Town.
- 5. For a Low-Rent City Housing and Public Works Program!**
Build a million new homes to meet the city's housing needs, and replace more than 600,000 slum homes in New York City. Give the unemployed jobs building homes at union wages. Take rent control out of the hands of the pro-landlord bureaucrats and put it into the hands of voluntary committees of the tenants, AFL and CIO organizations.
- 6. Tax the Rich, Not the Poor! Repeal the Sales Tax!**
Shift the city tax burden from the small home-owners to the big real estate trusts, banks and insurance companies.
- 7. Expand the Transport System! Restore the 5c Fare!**
Declare a moratorium on interest payments to the Wall Street bankers who hold the subway bonds.
- 8. Build More Schools, Free Hospitals, Nurseries, Playgrounds, Beaches and Recreation Centers for Workers' Families.**
For a municipal health plan administered by the workers, financed by a tax on stock and bond transactions.
- 9. Build a United, Independent Labor Party!**
Drive the Wall Street politicians and grafters out of City Hall. For a labor administration in New York City and a Workers and Farmers Government in Washington.
- 10. For a Socialist Society of Peace, Progress and Prosperity!**

ALP Knives Independent Labor Political Action

The American Labor Party, which is running Vito Marcantonio against William O'Dwyer and Newbold Morris, appeals to the voters for their support on the ground that it is a party devoted to independent labor politics. But the truth is that the ALP still supports capitalist candidates; following the same policy that crippled it at birth 13 years ago.

With the mass support of the trade unionists, the Negroes, the Puerto Rican and Jewish and other oppressed peoples, the ALP had every opportunity to emerge as the major political force in this city and state. It could have aided tremendously in building the national party of labor.

But two opportunistic gangs of trade union bureaucrats took hold of the ALP to shape it for their own ends: the Dubinsky Social Democrats serving the interests of American imperialism, and the Stalinists subservient to the will of Kremlin despots. Jockeying for control of the party, these contenders cynically played upon the hopes and illusions of the workers. Both gangs were virulent foes of a genuine Labor Party, and determined to transform the ALP into a vote-catching machine for the Democratic and Republican Parties.

They ripped the ALP apart. The Dubinsky crew broke away to form the Liberal Party. The Hillman forces split away from the Stalinists over the Wallace candidacy last year. The great trade union base was pulled away — the Garment Workers, the NMU, the Transport Workers Union. Now empty and lifeless, the ALP echoes and magnifies the noise of Stalinism.

The ruinous policy of collaboration and deals with capitalist

parties continues, but now the maneuvers have only one purpose: to use the ALP for the propaganda purposes and pressure games of the Stalinists, as dictated by the international diplomacy of Moscow.

Let no one be deceived by the few "independent" ALP nominations. The 1949 ticket of the party is loaded with capitalist free-riders, whose party affiliations are Republican and Democratic, but whose names appear also on the ALP line of the ballot — three Republicans in New York City; five more in Monroe and Rochester Counties; 14 Democrats in Utica and Oneida Counties. The ALP also gives tacit support to a Democrat, ex-Governor Lehman, who scornfully repudiates the ALP in his campaign for U. S. Senator.

The Daily Worker lays down the law for support of Lehman, in an article by Max Gordon, Sept. 23. "It would be inaccurate to say," this Stalinist hack begins cautiously, "that Dulles and Lehman are exactly the same. Dulles is an out-and-out reactionary. . . . Agreed. 'Lehman, on the other hand, has the job of keeping the liberal, the progressive-minded, unionists, Negroes, etc., tied to the bipartisan policy. He, therefore, must perforce appeal to them by adopting a liberal-sounding program of domestic reform.'"

And since "It would cost the ALP many votes from liberals who would resent a campaign which made Lehman the main target against Dulles," the ALP does not make Lehman even a minor target.

When Marcantonio blasts the capitalist parties, he is only making a demagogic speech to deceive the workers. In the name

of the ALP Executive Committee, he shouted:

"A pattern of broken pledges and betrayal of the people's interests reaches from Washington to Albany to City Hall. This pattern bears the joint trade mark of the Democratic and Republican parties in active partnership as twin instruments of Big Business in the drive toward fascism and war."

But even then, the real line was laid down for the cynical hacks who know the price of votes. Marcantonio went on to explain that the ALP would support "candidates for all political offices who, regardless of political affiliations can be relied upon on the basis of their overall records, to meet the needs of 8,000,000 New Yorkers."

On the basis of this handy formula, he supports the very candidates of this "twin instrument of Big Business," gives them an honored place on the ALP ticket, labels them as "friends" of the working class.

The 1949 election campaign proves again that the ALP is not a labor party. It has no real trade union base, its program is pro-capitalist, its officials are mere tools of the Stalinist party. The Socialist Workers Party in this election, as in the past, advocates the formation of a genuine independent Labor Party that will unite the workers and oppressed minority peoples around a militant program in the interests of all.

If you want such a party, if you want such a program, if you want an end to Wall Street's rule of the city, and if you want to establish a workers' administration in City Hall, vote the Socialist Worker ticket.

Bartell Urges Working Class Administration in City Hall

By Michael Bartell

SWP Candidate for Mayor of New York

When William O'Dwyer was elected mayor of New York City, he said: "I will be mayor of ALL the people." Four years of strikebreaking, boosting transit fares and



MICHAEL BARTELL
SWP Candidate for Mayor
of New York

hiking sales taxes have proven to the hilt that the only "people" O'Dwyer has faithfully defended are the bankers, speculators, rent-gougers and Park Avenue parasites.

We of the Socialist Workers Party do not claim to represent all the people — those who do are demagogues and liars. We speak FOR the workers, and AGAINST the employers who exploit them; FOR the Negro and Puerto Rican people, and AGAINST the uniformed thugs who club and murder them; FOR the tenants, and AGAINST the rent-sharks; FOR the rights of students and teachers, and AGAINST the witch-hunters who seek to impose thought-control on them.

The issue of issues in this election is who shall run the government — a small clique of bankers and big employers, or millions of workers?

THE REAL ISSUES

New York City is the capital of Wall Street's world empire; financial, political and cultural nerve center of America. That is why the battle for political power in our city assumes a national and even international importance.

The real issues in this election can be understood only against the background of the world crisis of a dying social order. After 17 years of Roosevelt's "New Deal" and Truman's "Fair Deal," the specter of depression and mass unemployment haunts the land. Over five million have been thrown out into the streets; five million others are working part time. Half a million are jobless in New York City alone.

For the financial plutocracy, the only way to save their crisis-riddled system is dictatorship at home and conquest abroad. Consume "surplus" commodities in the fires of atomic warfare; conquer the entire world for systematic exploitation by Big Business. Such is the real program of the monopolists who rule in Washington, the state capitalists and city halls. That is the REAL election platform of both Democrat William O'Dwyer and Republican Newbold Morris.

FRONT DOOR AND BACK

How has Wall Street succeeded in keeping this city in its grip? After all, ours is the city of the most advanced workers in America, with a history of militant strike struggles and great mass movements against hunger, fascism and war, with deep-rooted traditions of radicalism.

Thirteen years ago, the New York workers entered the road of independent political action through formation of the American Labor Party. Inherent in this movement was the entirely realizable aim of installing a workers' administration in City Hall. The days of the capitalist politicians appeared numbered. Yet they survived.

WHY? Before every election they donned overalls, proclaimed "friendship" for labor to disguise

their anti-labor aims. They promised "new deals," "no deals," "fair deals." But their fakery and lies would have availed little, had they not received invaluable aid of the Stalinist and Social-Democratic traitors who led the ALP. The workers had walked out of the capitalist parties through the front door. The ALP leaders led them back through the back door. First, they gave us LaGuardia and then O'Dwyer.

After 13 years of ALP "victories," the strikebreaking, Negro-hating, fascist-minded police remains intact. The arch-reactionary Catholic hierarchy hand-picks college presidents, bans liberal publications and books from city schools, breaks strikes and conspires to take over the labor movement through the priest-controlled Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Workers bear an ever higher proportion of the tax burden, while bankers grab hundreds of millions out of public funds every year. The Negro and Puerto Rican people are Jim Crowed in housing, jobs and education. Overcrowded, rat-infested, firetrap slums remain. Our schools are diapidated and social services woefully inadequate.

After 13 years of "leadership" by the Marcantonios, Davises, Dubinskys, Currans and Quills, look at the shambles that "labor" presents in this election. Curran, Quill and Potofsky, together with the AFL fakers, are backing Tammany. The Dubinsky crew has hooked its "Liberal Party" onto the rump of the Republican elephant. The Stalinist wing, through the ghost of the ALP, backs for Mayor — Marcantonio, czar of East Harlem, and a growing list of Republicans for other offices. All of them support Tammany's banker-politician Lehman for U. S. Senator.

The Socialist Workers Party alone raises the banner of independent labor political action in this campaign. We say there is nothing wrong with our city that a workers' administration could not set straight.

Its very first act would be to clean out City Hall. It would replace the entire police force with workers' patrols drawn from the mass organizations of labor and minority peoples. It would use its power to protect strikers against strikebreakers and defend all workers' meetings and national minorities against fascist hoodlums. It would pass a law making discrimination or segregation a high crime and severely punish those who violate it. It would dismiss the reactionary Board of Education, replacing it with elected representatives of labor, teachers, students and parents.

A workers administration would launch a vast building program to wipe out the slums, build homes, hospitals, schools, nurseries and playgrounds — at the expense of the billionaires. Above all, it would use the full force of its powers, authority and influence to mobilize the masses to install a Workers and Farmers Government in this country.

A vote for Socialist Workers Party candidates in this election is a blow struck against the capitalist system with its witch-hunts, unemployment and wars; and for the organization of the working masses into their independent party on the march toward a new Socialist society of peace and plenty.

Vote Row F

Socialist Worker Candidates

Michael Bartell
For Mayor

Harry Ring
For Controller

Gladys Barker
For Pres. City Council

Harold Robbins
For Pres. Boro of Manhattan

NEW YORK PUBLIC MEETING

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AND ELECTION RALLY

HEAR: JAMES P. CANNON MICHAEL BARTELL

National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for Mayor

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