

Cominform Issues Formal Orders to Overthrow Tito

By John G. Wright

After a lapse of 17 months the Communist Information Bureau met once more amid greatest secrecy "somewhere in Rumania" to take up as the first and main point on its agenda Stalin's struggle

to crush dissident Yugoslavia in blood. All the other Cominform declarations — on the danger of war, the intensification of "the struggle to unmask the right-wing Socialists," the orientation to win over Catholic workers, the plan to organize city and village "committees all over the world in the defense of peace," etc. — all these are intended as mere trimmings and a smokescreen for the conduct of Stalin's warfare against Yugoslavia.

It should be recalled that the raising of the war-danger, more accurately, using the actual war-danger as a screen, has been one of Stalin's favorite methods of struggle against all his political opponents. In the present instance the imperialist war threat serves not only to whip waverers into line but also to mask Stalin's own ruthless preparations to destroy physically the Tito regime, the Yugoslav Communist Party and to subjugate Yugoslavia herself.

Phila. Convention Founds IUE-CIO Electrical Union

NOV. 30 — The atmosphere and actions of the founding convention of the CIO International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, which opened Nov. 27 in Philadelphia, can only be described as militant.

True enough, CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey, whom Philip Murray hand-picked to head the new organization until permanent officers are elected some time next year, promised the delegates that IUE-CIO will do a better job on wages and pensions than the Stalinist-led United Electrical workers which the CIO expelled several weeks ago.

He even introduced an "economic report" proposing a campaign for fourth-round wage increases as well as pensions like those obtained by the steel and auto unions. But the Carey report was hedged around with qualifying statements, such as the union "will take into account the ability to pay of the various companies" and will not "resort to 'Alice in Wonderland' tactics and demands."

Besides, who will take seriously this talk of fourth-round wage raises when the major CIO

A cursory comparison of the text of the current Cominform declaration with the one adopted in June 1948 shows how far Stalin has moved in preparing politically for this onslaught. A brief 17 months ago Tito himself was labeled merely as an "adventurer" and his followers accused of a whole gamut of political deviations, including "Trotskyism" and nationalism. Today they are all "assassins and hireling spies."

Last time the Tito regime was charged with pursuing a "hateful policy" toward the Soviet Union and of "conspiring" to sell out Yugoslavia to Anglo-American imperialism. This time Yugoslavia is denounced as "an anti-communist police state of a fascist type" and an "American center of espionage and anti-communist propaganda."

From the first dispatches, the only ones available at this writing, the Yugoslav government is evidently the only one whose overthrow is being openly demanded and covertly organized under Cominform auspices. For example, there is no mention whatsoever of Franco's Spain. As for Greece, the Kremlin, after liquidating the Greek guerrilla struggle, is obviously too busy negotiating an agreement with those whom it branded only yesterday as "monarcho-fascists," to bother about such trifles as organizing for their overthrow. Yugoslavia — there is Stalin's "main enemy!"

We come now to another highly significant difference between the last two Cominform declarations. In June 1948, the Cominform expressed confidence that the Titoist "deviation" would be speedily and painlessly liquidated by the "healthy" forces inside the Yugoslav party itself. No such confidence is now expressed. On the contrary, the report on this topic is eloquently entitled "The Yugoslav Communist Party Which Is in the Hands of Murderers and Spies."

No less eloquent is the fact that there was no representative or spokesman of the "patriotic and revolutionary" Yugoslav elements present at this conference. The official explanation

MINERS DEMONSTRATE THEIR IRON SOLIDARITY

DEC. 1 — Eleven hours after the country's 400,000 soft coal miners began their fourth strike this year, the United Mine Workers Policy Committee, on the advice of John L. Lewis, today instructed the members to resume work on Monday, Dec. 5, but on a 3-day week basis.

This continues the UMW tactic of harassment and pressure on the recalcitrant mine owners, while conserving the resources and fighting strength of the miners. In a further move that enraged the arrogant operators, the UMW Policy Committee authorized the negotiation of individual contracts to split the operators' front.

With iron solidarity and discipline, the miners had renewed their strike for higher wages and pension royalties. No formal call was needed. Precisely at the time set for ending the three-week truce, the mine workers shut down the pits.

During the period of the truce, the capitalist newspapers had spread reports of alleged "disaffection," reflecting Big Business and government hopes that some miners might balk at a fourth strike this year "just before Christmas."

This propaganda, designed to undermine the miners' morale and divide them, has proved fruitless. They know their enemies. They know that the rich coal operators and the Truman administration are conspiring to weaken their union and deprive them not only of new concessions but of vital past gains.

Truman has already given the mine owners a potent weapon in

the report of his "fact-finding" board in the steel case. That report declared against any general wage increases not only for the steel workers, but for all industrial workers. It recommended a standard for pensions far below that provided in the old United Mine Workers contract, let alone the new pension demand.

NEED SOLID BACKING
The fact that the CIO leaders — Murray, Reuther, etc. — have accepted the wage freeze-pension formula of Truman's steel board has strengthened the operators and government in their insistence that the miners drop their wage and pension demands. In fact, the mine companies have countered the UMW demands with their own demand that the payments out of the UMW welfare fund be "regulated" — that is, that benefits be cut — and that the "able and willing" clause which leaves the miners contractually free to strike at any time be eliminated.

If the mine owners thought to test the UMW's solidarity and determination to fight, they have received their answer. The miners are still no pushover, despite the great sacrifices they have been forced to make so far this year and the depletion of their resources. What is needed to assure them of speedy victory is the solid backing, morally and materially, of the whole American labor movement.

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Curran Goons and Cops Terrorize NMU Ranks

NEW YORK, Nov. 30 — Members of the CIO National Maritime Union in the Port of New York were given a demonstration last week of the kind of regime President Joseph Curran is seeking to establish in the union. Having lost the support of

the membership, Curran moved into a gang of imported gorillas to "capture" the union hall with the aid of the New York Police Department and loosed a reign of terror designed to intimidate the membership into submission.

The Curran putsch took place in the early morning hours on Fri., Nov. 25, immediately following the Thanksgiving holiday. Members arriving at the shipping hall Friday morning found all entrances sealed with the exception of one narrow doorway at the front of the building. A large concentration of police surrounded the entire block; foot patrol-

men, detectives, mounted cops, prowl cars, motorcycles, etc.

To get into the hall, members were compelled to line up on the street and were permitted to enter only one at a time. Inside the door were stationed a gang of thugs and a fingerman surrounded by cops. As each member entered he was forced to surrender his union book, ostensibly for the purpose of "identification."

Those suspected of opposition to the Curran machine were fingered and their books taken away; they were forcibly ejected

from the hall by the cops. Known oppositionists were taken to a back room for "questioning," their books taken, beaten up and thrown out the back door. These beatings occurred with cops swarming all over the hall. They conveniently turned their backs, except in a single instance when the screams of one victim impelled them to break into the room to make a show of preserving "law and order."

In the first few days after Curran and the cops took over, it is estimated that approximately 100 men had their books taken away. Many were not involved in the dispute but had remained neutral in the internal struggle. Their protests were in vain. Once they were fingered as suspect by a Curran hatchet-man, their book was taken and the cops shoved them outside the hall.

DEPRIVED OF LIVELIHOOD

To take a seaman's union book is to deprive him of a livelihood. With the exception of a very few unorganized shipping companies all men are hired through the union hiring hall. A seaman who has his book taken is denied access to the hiring hall and is therefore deprived of the opportunity to get a job.

The union constitution provides that no member's book can be taken unless charges are preferred, a trial is held, and the membership votes to expel. Members who had their books taken have instituted court action to protect their right to work in the industry. Because of the fundamental issues involved, the American Civil Liberties Union has

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Judge Voids Witch-Hunting Law in N.Y.

100 YPA DELEGATES BACK CIVIL RIGHTS FOR SWP

CLEVELAND, Nov. 28 — Approximately 100 delegates at the second national convention of the Young Progressives of America (Wallace youth), which closed here yesterday, voted in favor of an amendment calling for support of the 18 Trotskyist leaders who were the first to be convicted under the Smith Act.

The amendment was voted down, with about 300 delegates voting against it, and another 150 abstaining. (Representation was based on one delegate for ten members.)

A resolution was introduced on civil rights, calling for defense of the eleven Communist Party leaders convicted at Foley Square, for defense of their lawyers who were sentenced to prison for "contempt," and for repeal of the Smith Act.

Expressing support for the resolution, a delegate from the West Side Manhattan YPA introduced an amendment to the resolution, asking for the defense of all labor and progressive victims of the Smith Act and support for the campaign to win a presidential pardon for the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party who were tried and convicted under the Smith Act in 1941.

The introduction of this amendment produced a hysterical Trotskyist-baiting attack by the Stalinist forces at the convention. The entire arsenal of slanders about Trotskyist "sabotage of the war effort" was thrown at the delegates. It was even charged that "Trotskyist doctors in Spain" during the civil war had amputated the legs of Loyalist soldiers as a means of helping the fascists.

WALLACE'S LETTER

The delegates, including many of the Stalinists, were left stunned momentarily when they were read Henry Wallace's letter to Farrell Dobbs last year, condemning the Minneapolis trial because the defendants had been convicted "solely by reason of their expression of political views and opinions" and offering his support to the efforts to get a presidential pardon to restore the civil rights of the 18.

A Negro delegate took the floor to say that he was tired of discussing Trotskyism, although

the real issue was civil rights and only three people had gained the floor to discuss it, and the chairman put the question.

After the amendment was voted down, a call for a civil rights caucus was answered by 20-odd delegates. Their effort to hold a meeting was broken up by an organized group of Stalinist hacks who moved in on the group shouting charges that it was a "Jim Crow caucus" plus other lies. (Five of the group were Negroes.)

Aside from this issue, there was no important differences manifested at the convention on which adopted a program in general line with Henry Wallace's policies.

NAACP Sec'y Hits Stalinist Line on Minneapolis Trial

Stalinist-dominated organizations were not invited to participate in the NAACP-initiated Civil Rights Mobilization because of the Stalinist betrayal of the Negro struggle during the war and the Stalinist attitude toward the Minneapolis trial of the 18 Trotskyists, according to Roy Wilkins, acting secretary of the NAACP.

On Nov. 14 William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Stalinist-controlled Civil Rights Congress, sent the NAACP a letter offering the CRC's "support" and "cooperation" to the Civil Rights Mobilization and asking why the CRC had not been included in the list of organizations invited by the NAACP to participate as co-sponsors. On Nov. 22 Wilkins answered Patterson's letter. Part of his answer said:

"We of the NAACP remember that during the war when Negro Americans were fighting for jobs on the home front and fighting for decent treatment in the armed services we could get no help from

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Civil Rights Defense Must Not Relax

The witch-hunt against academic freedom in New York State public education received a judicial set-back on Nov. 28 when State Supreme Court Justice Harry E. Schirick, in a test case, ruled that the Feinberg Law violates the state and federal constitutions.

This law, which Justice Schirick branded a "resort to witch-hunting" and a "dragnet which may ensnare anyone who agitates for a change of government," was jammed through the state legislature early this year. It directs the State Board of Regents to compile a list of "subversive" organizations, membership in which would constitute "prima facie evidence of disqualification for appointment to or retention in any office or position in the public schools of the state."

Justice Schirick's courageous and honest ruling, made in the face of heavy pressure and threats from reactionary organizations and politicians, is the third judicial blow in recent months against the thought-control laws enacted by state legislatures from coast to coast. Maryland's "Omnibus Anti-Subversive" law and New Jersey's "loyalty oath" law for political candidates have been similarly declared unconstitutional.

NO RELAXATION

In all three cases, however, there is grave danger that the rulings of individual judges may be reversed. State officials are pressing for speedy action by appeals courts to uphold these laws. This means there can be no relaxation in the fight against them.

Teachers unions, civil rights groups and minority political organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, actively fought the Feinberg Law. At a Board of Regents hearing, SWP National Chairman F. Dobbs was a principal speaker against the Board's proposed blacklist, based on the list of "subversive" organizations issued by former Attorney General Tom Clark as part of Truman's "loyalty" purge of government employees.

Issuing a permanent injunction restraining the Board of Regents from enforcing the Feinberg Law, Justice Schirick declared that the law violated "due process." It is, he said, "a legislative finding of guilt of advocating the overthrow of the government by unlawful means without a judicial trial and without any of the forms and guards provided for the security of the individual by our traditional judicial forms."

"GUILT BY ASSOCIATION"
He found that the law "fails to meet the minimum standards of fairness required by any administrative procedure." In finding a teacher "guilty" for mere membership in an organization, he said, "no proof of the doctrines and program of the organization need be offered," according to the law. "As to the individual, no proof of illegal purpose is required. . . This is 'guilt by association' with a vengeance."

This phrase of Justice Schirick's opinion calls into question not only the Feinberg Law, but the whole procedure of the Truman administration's "loyalty" purge. It should encourage defenders of civil liberties to intensify their fight on behalf of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired from the VA for membership in the SWP, and all other victims of the witch-hunt and political purges.

The Chronic Crisis in Coal--and Its Solution

By Art Preis

The coal miners, by their magnificent strike battles, have won the highest industrial wage scales, welfare benefits and pensions in the country. No one can gainsay the fact that the United Mine Workers has elevated the living standards of its membership far above the abysmal levels of the '20s and '30s.

But the fact also remains that the miners have attained neither the incomes of decency and health nor genuine security. The average income of the miners this year will be about \$2,800, a decline of \$800 from last year, a decline of \$1,000 below the officially recognized minimum decency and health standard for an average family.

It is because conditions in the industry threatened to materially reduce their income that they were forced to strike. They hope by increasing their wages and other benefits to make up for the losses they have been sustaining through the periods of unemployment and part-time work that are plaguing the coal industry to a greater degree than almost any

other industry. A miner who earns \$1.91 an hour still cannot live in minimum decency if he has only one, two or three days of work a week and intermittent lay-offs of longer periods.

A big increase in man-hour output, combined with a sharp decline in the markets for coal, resulted this past spring in tremendous coal stockpiles. Large numbers of miners were laid off or reduced to part-time work. The UMW then ordered a general three-day week to equalize and spread the available work.

This, however, could be only a temporary expedient. If it spread the work, it also spread the poverty. Moreover, declining production meant less royalties in the health and welfare fund. The miners therefore had to fight for higher wage scales and bigger royalties to maintain their take-home pay and welfare fund.

NEW MINE DEVELOPMENTS

But even this cannot solve the miners' basic problem of insecurity arising from a cut-throat capitalist industry that for decades has maintained condi-

tions of instability and chaos at the miners' expense. There are some 8,000 operators in the coal industry. They are in bitter competition. To realize a continuous growth in their profits, they have to cut costs in relation to their prices — with labor costs first under the knife.

Over the past 20 years, by rationalizing the industry more and more, by the introduction of mechanization, the operators have cut down the number of soft-coal miners from 700,000 to 350,000. These 350,000 can produce more coal than twice their number two decades ago.

Two years ago, coal production was close to 650 million tons. This year the markets could absorb less than 450 million tons. Even if the miners had not struck or instituted their own three-day week to equalize the work, the operators would have curtailed production and employment anyway.

Under the present capitalist control and operation of the mines, the miners are bound to get the dirty end of the stick. They have been forced to strike

repeatedly, year after year, to get some of the benefit of their increased productivity. But they have not been able to keep pace. The lion's share of increased production goes to swell the mine owners' profits. Every rise in man-hour output means a reduction in the labor force or part-time work that cuts the take-home pay.

THE OWNERS' AIMS

There can be no solution to this problem so long as the coal resources of this country are controlled by a few thousand private owners whose sole aim is to ransack these nature-given resources for their own private gain. They raise production or lower it in terms of their own pocket-books. They are indifferent to the welfare of the men who risk their lives to extract and process the coal.

The coal industry needs to be organized and coordinated according to a national plan. No effective plan can be based on the profit interests of the mine owners. These parasites must be eliminated from the industry.

That means the mines must be nationalized, with private profit eliminated. The coal industry must be operated under the control of the miners themselves through their own organization and democratically-elected committees. By eliminating the tremendous profits of the mine owners, by introducing safe and efficient techniques of mining or a national planned basis, the overhead of the industry can be drastically reduced, prices to consumers cut and wages raised. Increases in labor productivity will mean not lay-offs and unemployment, but a shorter work-week with no reductions in take-home pay or welfare benefits.

The coal industry is sick with a disease called capitalist exploitation. Indispensable to a cure is nationalization under the miners' control. As they have spearheaded the fight for far-reaching social demands like health benefits and pensions, the miners can again point the way for all American labor by boldly championing the program of nationalization under workers' control.

Class Struggle Flares Anew in France, Italy

By Paul G. Stevens

Two major events last week served to point up the precarious character of the "stabilization" achieved under the Marshall Plan in Western Europe. One was the 24-hour general strike in France. The other was the resurgence of land seizures by the poor peasants in Italy.

Both these events, it must be noted, are reported as taking place without the initiative of the Stalinists. Their significance is thus doubly emphasized by the capitalist apologists themselves.

It should be remembered that the widespread social unrest and instability in Europe following World War II was in the main attributed by the Western powers to the machinations of the Kremlin. While the Marshall Plan was in part designed to patch up the dilapidated economies, the U. S. State Department did not rely on economic measures alone. It intervened directly in a political sense as well, primarily in the French unions and in the Italian elections of 1948.

SPLIT THE UNIONS

In France, through the agency of paid AFL and CIO functionaries working in cahoots with the FBI, the State Department engineered a split in the General Confederation of Labor (CGT). In the course of the adventurist

"strike waves" organized by the Stalinist leadership of the CGT in 1947, when the CP was ousted from the cabinet, the American "labor statesmen" convinced the old line reformist leaders, headed by Leon Jouhaux, to part company with the Stalinists and to form their own "Workers Force Federation." The maneuver resulted in a considerable weakening of the trade union strength of the French workers. The relative social calm that has followed since has been interpreted generally as a victory for this "grand strategy."

Certainly the Stalinist leadership in France has lost appreciable ground in the trade unions as well as politically. But this was undoubtedly due as much to the treacherous class collaborationist policies pursued by Thorez and Company while they were in the postwar coalition governments, as to their later adventurism. Their impotent adventures only served to make Stalinist treachery plain to larger masses of workers. The calm could not, however, last very long in view of the uninterrupted decline of living standards that resulted from the economic "stabilization" measures. It was disrupted entirely by the recent devaluation of the currencies.

In order to justify its existence at all, the reformist "Workers Force" leadership had to do some-

thing about this deteriorating situation among the workers. At first it brought pressure upon the "Socialist" ministers in the successive anti-Stalinist coalition cabinets. The "Socialist" ministers, in turn, could not consequently agree fully to the capitalist stabilization measures. When the French bourgeoisie started to get tough with the reformist ministers, the Jouhaux trade union leadership decided upon demonstrative strike action as its only way out.

The general strike call for Nov. 24 was thus issued originally by the "Workers Force Federation." The Stalinist CGT, whose own strike calls had been receiving less and less response, was quick to join. The Catholic trade unions, although their leadership opposed the general strike, voted on a local scale nearly everywhere to participate with the other unions. Thus, what the Stalinists, with all their machinations have never been able to attain in the postwar period, came into being: the first genuine French general strike action in 12 years.

The action itself was merely a warning of things to come, if a substantial upward adjustment in wages is not forthcoming. The Stalinist CGT, although reduced in size, still appeared as the strongest trade union force. By comparison the reformist unions revealed relative weakness. But the universal response to the strike call showed the power of united action sentiment among the French workers.

It proves beyond doubt that talk of stabilization in France in a social sense is a complete delusion. The class struggle, in France as elsewhere, can neither be stage-managed by Stalinists nor conjured away by the State Department and its "labor statesmen."

ITALIAN DEVELOPMENTS

In Italy the last elections, in which the Vatican, with the open backing of Washington, brought victory to the Christian Democrats of De Gasperi, were also supposed to have been a decisive turning point in stabilizing social conditions. Here, too, undoubtedly the Stalinists have suffered a considerable decline. But the needs of the masses make stabilization no less illusory here than in France.

Land hunger has characterized the Italian peasantry for decades. The fall of Mussolini in 1943 and the turbulent postwar years witnessed a widespread movement for the seizure of the landed estates by the impoverished peasants. This was curbed only by the class collaborationist tactics of the CP, to whom the peasants naturally looked for leadership. The Stalinist leader Togliatti promised them instead a parliamentary, legal solution of the problem.

The Catholic De Gasperi, who won the last elections, vied with Togliatti in promises to the peasantry. But as usual, performance lagged far behind promises. The land seizure movement again arose sporadically. The Stalinists, discredited and their following dejected by their reformist tactics, could not gain more than local leadership here and there of these peasant outbreaks.

Last week however, the press reported that land seizures have once again taken on the aspect of a large scale movement, particularly in Sicily and southern Italy. From isolated dispatches it becomes clear that the leadership of this vast movement has been taken, not so much by the Stalinists, as by local Catholic priests, who find themselves in constant conflict with the Vatican hierarchy. Here too, it is evident that the class struggle supercedes the machinations of the big powers.

AFL Leaders Off for London



Shown aboard the Ile de France just before sailing for England are three top AFL leaders (l. to r.), ILGWU President David Dubinsky, AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany and AFL President William Green. At the London conference to set up a new international labor body, AFL and CIO leaders joined in forcing the European unions to invite the priest-controlled Catholic unions into the new organization.

Kutcher Rallies Support In Buffalo, Pittsburgh

BUFFALO, Nov. 28 — Speaking in the Statler Hotel last Saturday night before well over 100 persons, who comprised the largest civil rights audience of its type here in Buffalo for many years, James

Kutcher completed the last lap of his nation-wide tour. The gathering, composed of Negro and white steelworkers from smoky Lackawanna, students from the University of Buffalo campus, and noted labor and liberal figures of the city, roundly applauded Kutcher's excellent speech playing the "loyalty" purge and the political persecution which he has suffered at the hands of the Justice Department. A resolution supporting his fight was unanimously passed, and copies of it were dispatched to President Truman, the Attorney General, the press and the national Kutcher Committee.

The chairman of the meeting, Iarton Bean, member of the University of Buffalo teaching staff and outstanding local liberal, said that he spoke in two capacities when he supported Kutcher: as an individual and as a member of the Erie County Civil Liberties Committee, a branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Robert A. Hoffman, chairman of the Erie County Liberal Party, stated that the Kutcher case is "part and parcel of a general hysteria that is sweeping the world," and likened the "loyalty" purges to the administration of the Espionage Act of World War I, under which not German spies, but Socialists and labor leaders, were arrested.

Both Attorney Clarence Maloney and Tim Smith, president of Bethlehem Steel Local 2603, USA-CIO, stressed, as Negroes, the necessity to fight unceasingly for civil liberties, and Mr. Maloney emphasized the fact that the Attorney General had labeled the Socialist Workers Party and other organizations "subversive" without "due process of the law."

William Kitt, hard-working secretary of the Buffalo Kutcher Committee, pointed out the necessity for funds to carry on the fight, and a collection of over \$80 was taken. The sponsoring committee of the meeting comprised a score of prominent Buffalonians, among whom were attorney David Diamond, who was active in the defense of the Bell Aircraft strikers; Sub-Regional Director Edward F. Gray of the UAW; Dr.

Lucis L. Jaffee, dean of the UB Law School; Rabbi Joseph L. Pink; Dr. Jacob L. Hyman of the ACLU; Richard Lipsitz, CIO attorney; and Ted Wierzbic, president of the 4,000-member Westinghouse local union. Following the meeting several persons expressed the desire to join the Kutcher Committee in its continued activities in this area.

The following day James Kutcher briefly addressed a small but enthusiastic meeting of Westinghouse Local 1581, IUE-CIO, where a spontaneous collection, started by members in the rear of the hall, brought in over \$21. As Kutcher left the hall the unionists broke into applause, and there were cries of "Attaboy, Jim," and "Keep up the fight!"

PITTSBURGH, Nov. 25 — The campaign on the Kutcher case in this steel center was given a big lift by Jimmy Kutcher's five-day visit here. On Nov. 19 the CIO sponsored a press conference for the legless vet and the workers in the local Kutcher Civil Rights Committee tendered him a welcome reception in the evening. Monday morning Kutcher appeared before two student groups at the Pennsylvania State College for Women. That afternoon he made a broadcast over Station WLOA, discussing his case with Robert Kirkwood, business agent of UE Local 610 (independent). At 4 P.M. Kutcher talked to the entire steward body of Local 610 which had been especially convened to hear the victimized SWP member tell his story. He was personally introduced to each one of the stewards and given assurance of their continued interest and support. This local has been among the foremost backers of the case in Pittsburgh.

Tuesday the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union held a luncheon for Kutcher at which he presented the issues in his case. The members present donated \$25 toward his fight. Later that afternoon he spoke to a gathering of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. He concluded his activities on Thursday by making an appeal for support to the executive board of Local 601, UE-CIO.

CHOICE GIFTS OFFERED AT ACEWR DEC. 9-10 BAZAAR

NEW YORK — Many beautiful things have been collected by friends and members of the American Committee for European Workers Relief for their Fourth Annual Bazaar to be held on Dec. 9 and 10. Everything to be sold at this Xmas Bazaar, which opens on Friday, Dec. 9, at 6 P. M., has been donated and will be sold at bargain prices.

From the department stores and the Madison Avenue shops, the Bazaar has received many choice donations, including a navy blue taffeta raincoat that retails for \$55, an electric toaster, leather cigarette cases and bookends, a great variety of men's ties, all kinds and prices of costume jewelry, lingerie, children's corduroy overalls, toys, games, lampshades and lamps, including a tall brass one, blouses, sweaters, books, records, an electric refrigerator, brie-a-brac, hats, alarm clocks, lady's wrist watch, French perfumes such as Chanel No. 5, Well and Schiaparelli, linen table sets, handmade leather belts and jewelry, imported chocolates, and many other items.

The prices will be so reasonable that everyone will be able to find something within the range of his purse. Those Christmas shopping for children will find many interesting toys as well as children's clothing.

The continued existence of the ACEWR depends on the success of the annual Christmas bazaars. So everyone is urged to do his Xmas shopping early — on Dec. 9 and 10 at 130 West 23rd St.

Flint First to Complete Quota in Fund Campaign

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

Only four more weeks to go in the Socialist Workers Party campaign to raise a \$12,000 Party Building Fund. Through Nov. 29 party branches and friends have contributed \$6,351 — 53% of the national quota. The campaign nationally is dragging 16% behind schedule, which means a concerted effort by everyone is required to finish the campaign IN FULL AND ON TIME by Dec. 31.

Flint Branch went over the top by 102%. These comrades set a steady pace and completed their quota without being fagged. Comrade Genora writes: "We challenge the other branches to take the spotlight away from us now — we've had it long enough and we socialists believe in sharing and sharing alike!"

New Haven still holds second place with 80%.

St. Paul-Minneapolis came back from sixth to third place on the scoreboard with a \$100 payment on their quota. "We had a very inspiring meeting on Nov. 19," reports Grace Carlson, "to honor the 21st Anniversary of The Militant. Part of the \$100 is the profit of the affair that the Twin Cities branches realized on this affair."

A payment of \$27 from the St. Louis comrades held them in fourth place.

For three weeks Boston Branch has held fifth place. "We hope to wrap it up within the next couple of weeks," says Comrade Dennis.

Comrade Cathy, Fund Director for New York Local, reports that New York, by strenuous efforts, has put itself almost on schedule with 63%.

A \$91 payment came in from the Chicago comrades, to boost them to 60%. "The comrades are very confident," says Comrade Gus, "that we shall be able to go over the top on time, if not sooner. Our slogan here is, 'Over the top before we stop.'"

Comrade Aimeida sent in \$50 for Cleveland, stating: "We have some unemployment in the branch and fund collections are lagging. But, 'where there's a will, there's a way.'"

With a \$131 payment, Detroit Branch moved from 35% to 47%. "This doesn't yet bring us up to schedule," writes M. Baker, "but at present many of our comrades are laid off and this has slowed down their payments." However, the Detroit comrades have assured us that unemployment will not prevent them from fulfilling their quota by the campaign deadline.

M. Tanner telegraphed \$100 for Los Angeles to assure its reaching us in time for this scoreboard.

Because of insurmountable obstacles — widespread unemployment and illness — Reading Branch could not take on the additional obligation of fulfilling a quota in this campaign. However, a comrade could not see the campaign go by without contributing every single dollar that he could possibly spare. He sent in \$7 to be credited to the "General" quota.

Militant readers and friends of the party are contributing their

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 204	102
New Haven	25	20	80
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	672	75
St. Louis	75	54	72
Boston	200	140	70
New Britain	30	21	70
Morgantown	25	17	68
New York	3,000	1,881	63
Chicago	400	242	60
Buffalo	500	292	58
San Francisco-Oakland	800	465	58
Cleveland	250	142	57
Toledo	75	43	57
Pittsburgh	150	80	53
Newark	350	179	51
Allentown	50	25	50
Seattle	200	100	50
Worcester	40	19	48
Detroit	1,100	513	47
Philadelphia	600	230	38
Los Angeles	1,500	475	32
Akron	100	25	25
Milwaukee	250	57	23
Youngstown	400	56	14
Lynn	75	10	13
General	705	389	55
TOTAL through Nov. 29	\$12,000	\$6,351	53

dollars and pennies to help fulfill the quota assigned to "General." City, \$1; Canton, Ohio, \$25; Milwaukee, \$20.

Mary L. sent in \$75; S.S.G. of Cambridge, Mass., \$2.70; M.K. of Newark, N. J., \$2; R.L. of Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1; B. and E.C. of Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1; W.C.C., Canada, \$2; I.L., Hollywood, \$1.70; B.S., Lynn, Mass., \$2; H.T., South Bend, Ind., \$1.54; Mrs. T.W., Minnesota, \$1.50 (second contribution); A Group in Green Point, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$2; Anonymous: Los Angeles, \$5; Ft. Wayne, Ind., \$1.30; New York

L.B. and E.B. of Milwaukee, Wis. sent in \$5.70, stating: "We didn't have time to see people for contributions because of speed-up hours. Please send more coins for future use."

A.C.D. of Los Angeles explained that he could send only \$1 due to "health, age, and circumstances."

Our heartfelt thanks to these friends for their contributions to the Party Building Fund.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Cleveland in Lead In Sub Campaign With 267% of Goal

A total of 40 points put the Cleveland branch of the Socialist Workers Party at 267% of its goal and gave it the lead this week in the national subscription campaign for The Militant. Cleveland's Literature Agent, Bob Kingsley, writes: "In spite of the bad weather and Kutcher's visit here, all of which tended to cut down on the total number of Militant subscriptions for the month, the comrades are inspired enough in what little we have accomplished to want to continue this necessary activity of pushing our best organizer, The Militant."

Boston shot up from sixth place last week to second with a score of 240%. In addition to sub-getting, Literature Agent Rena Breshi reports continued sales of individual copies. "Josephine Joyce is our champion sales girl. She sold 15 copies two weeks ago and 11 copies last week."

St. Paul managed to keep its narrow lead over Minneapolis last week but had to hit the 200% mark to do it. Some going! And take a look at the points Minneapolis has rolled up — 144, the highest in the country, topping even Los Angeles.

The energetic Seattle comrades hit 200% this week. That's a remarkable score in view of the fact that Seattle had just completed a local sub campaign when the national campaign opened. "Seattle is driving into another literature selling campaign," reports Literature Agent Marianne Stanley. "We are planning to sell at all conceivable meetings, unions and on the campus in connection with the tour of Vincent R. Dunne."

With a score of 180%, the Milwaukee comrades are within striking distance of the 200% mark also. "The Milwaukee Militant Task Force has been cruising ahead at a steady rate," writes Literature Agent Fred Martin. "Comrades Shirley and Frank are leading with nine points each. Betsy and Jim are steaming close behind with six points each." Fred reports, "We got good results from each preferred prospect as former election petition signers; lots of union members in newspapers and from appropriate 'Letters to the Editor' writers."

Besides their excellent record in sub-getting which has won them a score to date of 128%, the Pittsburgh comrades have made progress on the University campus. Recently \$5 worth of pamphlets were sold there, the best seller being Socialism on Trial. In addition to the pamph-

lets, four copies of Fourth International, the monthly magazine of American Trotskyism, were sold.

New Britain jumped from the zero column to 100% this week. Literature Agent Dottie Saunders says that two of the new subscribers have almost 60 years seniority between them at an auto plant. "They were more than glad to subscribe to a newspaper that fights for the working man." Another old subscriber took out a sub for a shopmate "as a Christmas gift to show him how to really get 'peace on earth and good will to men'."

San Francisco too made a big spurt, jumping from 31% to 94%. They found neighborhood visiting rather slow at the first area selected but on a second try in a different place netted encouraging results. Advance distributions help, writes Literature Agent D. Woods. "They make it easier for the sub-getter to approach the prospective subscriber. He immediately knows who we are and has had a chance to read the paper and judge it."

The Flint comrades continue to roll along right on schedule. Although a plant shutdown has created obstacles, "we expect to go over the top all right," reports Literature Agent D. Seymour.

The Los Angeles comrades, according to Al Lynn, are finding the best results among contacts and former readers of the paper who for one reason or other failed to renew. "The sub drive has given a very desirable impetus to contacting."

Although Akron got off to a slow start, Literature Agent Doris Hilson writes that "we should attain our goal by the end of the month."

Since most of the branches cannot get their subs in to us in time for the deadline of this issue, we will run the final scoreboard in the campaign next week.

Branch	Goal	Points	%
Cleveland	15	40	267
Boston	15	36	240
New Haven	15	32	213
St. Paul	35	70	200
Seattle	15	30	200
Minneapolis	75	144	192
Milwaukee	25	45	180
Pittsburgh	25	32	128
Chicago	60	76	127
New Britain	10	10	100
Toledo	25	25	100
San Francisco	35	33	94
Flint	50	45	90
Allentown	10	8	80
St. Louis	10	7	70
Worcester	20	12	60
Los Angeles	250	114	46
Akron	25	10	40
Philadelphia	75	30	40
Detroit	50	15	30
Newark	50	13	26
Morgantown	10	1	10
Youngstown	20	2	10
Oakland	30	2	7
Buffalo	100	5	5
General		16	
TOTAL	1,050	853	81%

COMINFORM ISSUES CALL FOR OVERTHROW OF TITO

(Cont. from page 1)

is that they have all been either jailed or executed. But the fact remains that Stalin is in dire need of some plausible Yugoslav figureheads at the head of these alleged elements and up till now he hasn't been able to find any! Unquestionably it will be part of the Cominform's job to manufacture both a "native" Yugoslav movement and also to find suitable "native" figureheads to lead it.

Even more embarrassing to the Kremlin than its inability to find Yugoslav puppets has been the spread of Titoist "heresies," and dissident views into other Stalinist parties. The Cominform takes cognizance of this development very cautiously and obli-

quely. It warns that to guard against "the penetration of hostile agents into the party milieu" is "of decisive importance." It adds for good measure that these same "hostile agents" are "the bitterest splitters in the ranks of the working class and democratic movements." It omits to explain just how "fascists, spies and murderers" could possibly gain a mass following big enough to cause serious splits inside such movements.

The Cominform's directive to "increase revolutionary vigilance to the utmost" is, of course, a signal for still bigger and more ruthless purges. But it also means that the Yugoslav experience is having broader and broader repercussions in one country after another. Anxiety and fear of mounting opposition, alarm lest the Yugoslav experience be repeated in other countries — these are clearly discernible in the Cominform text.

TWO FACTORS

Capitalist journalists have generally tended to dismiss the new Cominform decisions as unimportant. After all, they add nothing new to the already existing situation. This is true only in a most general way. Actually, at least two important factors have been introduced.

In the first place, the Cominform has now issued what amounts to a formal declaration of war upon Yugoslavia. These are not just empty words but orders issued by the Kremlin. Actions must of necessity follow orders. Such actions, at least for the next period, will take place under the banner and sanction of the Cominform. The struggle is now pointed officially to the phase of direct or indirect physical assaults on Yugoslavia. What still remains unknown are only the form and timing of these assaults.

In the second place, the Cominform declarations bring important additional evidence that the international crisis of Stalinism is unfolding with surprising speed and on a rapidly expanding scale.

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Monday, December 5, 1949



TROTSKY

"Marx taught that no social system departs from the arena of history before exhausting its creative potentialities. The Communist Manifesto exorcises capitalism for retarding the development of the productive forces. During that period, however, as well as in the following decades, this retardation was only relative in nature. . . Only in the last twenty years, despite the most modern conquests of science and technology, has the epoch begun of out-and-out stagnation and even decline of world economy. Mankind is beginning to expend its accumulated capital, while the next war threatens to destroy the very foundations of civilization for many years to come."

—L. Trotsky, Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto, 1938



LENIN

Another Service for Imperialism

The provision for admitting the Christian (Roman Catholic) unions into the new "non-Communist" world trade union organization being set up in London is sufficient to indicate the kind of "free unionism" the CIO and AFL leaders are sponsoring in competition with the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Wherever these so-called Christian unions have operated they are regarded by the bulk of workers as company unions. They are not free organizations in any sense of the term, being adjuncts of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in its struggle to destroy independent unionism and impose the authority and program of the Vatican on labor. Even in overwhelmingly Catholic countries like Italy, these priest-ridden unions have been largely scorned and rejected by the workers.

At the so-called Free World Labor Conference where the new world body is being established, the admission of the Roman Catholic unions was opposed by the delegations of the European unions led by Social Democrats. They correctly pointed out the Catholic unions are part of a Catholic International, directed from Rome, which aims to bring all labor under the authoritarian rule of the Vatican.

It was the delegates of the American CIO and AFL — with such non-Catholics as Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky putting the heat on the Socialist unions — who forced acceptance of a proposal to admit the Catholic unions on condition that they disaffiliate from their own International "within two years."

They Will Rearm Germany

Louis Johnson, Secretary of Defense, and Gen. Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, both issued public assurances in the city of Frankfurt to the effect that there is "no intention" to reararm Germany.

Both cited Truman as authorizing this "flat denial." Secretary Johnson hypocritically implied that this question was therefore settled once and for all "with no hedging, no dodging." Gen. Bradley thought it better to qualify his denial with the conjecture that the situation might change, "who can tell what the situation will be in a thousand years?"

The N. Y. Times editorially pretends to take these diplomatic assurances at their face value and assumes that they will suffice to "reassure those in the West who continue to fear Germany as much and possibly more than Soviet Russia." Of course, add the editors, hastily, this doesn't mean that "the issue is closed for all eternity."

Many leading British publications were franker; they pointed out editorially that it was impossible to keep Germany disarmed "forever."

What do these denials mean in the face of the North Atlantic pact, the foreign arms aid, and Washington's drive to turn Western Europe into a huge military stronghold? They mean as little as the

The action of Dubinsky and Reuther in opposing their own political co-thinkers and supporting the admission of Catholic unions was not dictated by any considerations of principle, least of all independent trade unionism. They acted to carry out a line laid down by the U. S. State Department.

American imperialism has used two props in Europe, the reformist Social Democratic organizations and the Roman Catholic political organizations. At first, the American overlords leaned more heavily on the Social Democrats. Now, the Wall Street-Washington Axis is utilizing the Catholic forces against the Social Democrats and as the political base for the most reactionary type of capitalist rule in West Europe.

So completely are the CIO and AFL leaders the creatures of the State Department that they have complied even in this ultra-reactionary policy. It is clear evidence of how far to the right they have moved and how willing they are to sacrifice the needs of the European workers to the "cold war" maneuvers of Washington.

First the State Department used the Social Democrats to split and divide the Stalinist-led unions. Now it uses the Catholic unions against the Social Democrats. Tomorrow American imperialism will try to crush them all under military dictatorship. That is the kind of "free unionism" for which the policies of the American union leaders are paving the way.

original denials that the Marshall "aid" plan was a prelude to the arms pact.

The arming of Germany is the unavoidable supplement to the rearmament of Western Europe. It must follow not after a "thousand years" nor in the course of eternity, but when the first favorable opportunity presents itself or is deliberately manufactured.

Denials are now in order because this is indeed a very big pill for the people to swallow, not only in Europe but in this country as well. For one thing, it will bring the danger of war so much closer home. It will not be easy to peddle the rearmament of Germany as a measure to "defend the peace."

Denials are now in order because of the concessions and new powers already granted to the Bonn regime and the industrialists who backed Hitler. The economic basis for the revival of German military power, independently of when Washington openly sponsors it, is already being laid. This alone is stirring discontent and alarm in Europe. Hence the cynical denials which should fool nobody.

The Kremlin, for its part, is accusing Washington of its intent to turn the German masses into cannon fodder. The Stalinist scoundrels omit to add that they are playing exactly the same game.

Handy Weapon for Bureaucrats

No one raved and ranted more loudly against "communism" at the recent CIO convention than Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union president. We can understand his eagerness to direct attention to a scapegoat when we examine what he has to offer the workers in his union.

On Nov. 26, the TWUA-CIO leaders announced that for the third time since February 1948 they have waived the union's contractual right to present new wage demands for 90,000 workers in the New England and Middle Atlantic woolen and worsted mills. They aren't even going to ask for the pittance pensions that CIO unions have won in other industries.

The excuse used for this policy is simply that the companies would oppose wage increases and pensions and that these could not be won without a strike. Besides, the textile millionaires might find pensions "too great a burden" and anyway "the industry lacks pension plans to serve as a guide." Also, the union is conducting a Southern organizing drive and doesn't want to push any program that might lead to a strike — though

how a fighting policy that wins gains can hurt an organizing campaign is something we can't fathom.

Every excuse is used for not fighting for the workers. But they skip over the two big reasons why they should fight: 1. Wages of textile workers are among the lowest in any industry. 2. The textile manufacturers are making handsome profits and can afford to pay higher wages and pensions.

On the latter point, we have the Textile Workers Union's own news release of Nov. 26 citing Rieve's speech at the Massachusetts CIO convention in Boston. "He declared that despite their 'moaning and groaning,' nearly all textile firms in New England made a profit during the first 'and worse' half of the year."

Red-baiting and purge laws in the unions are inspired by the government witch-hunt. But they are also handy weapons for a union official like Rieve to have around when workers start wondering out loud what he's doing about winning them better conditions.

By George Breitman

The Socialist Party leadership's proposal that the party discontinue its independent electoral activity was long overdue. It will merely confirm in a formal sense what had already become a fact several years ago—namely, that the SP no longer plays any kind of independent, let alone socialist, role in American politics.

The new policy, preparing the way for the SP's submergence into the swamp of capitalist politics by way of the ADA, PAC, LEPL and Liberal Party, was made inevitable by the Thomas leadership's support of the last war and its promise to support the next one, by its avowed support of the Marshall Plan and its shamefaced support of the Atlantic Pact — the chief milestones in its development since it expelled the Trotskyists in 1937.

As Norman Thomas and Co. now recognize, the same policies can be promoted just as effectively and far more economically within the camp of capitalist politics. What is the use in having SP candidates run against Fair Deal Democrats when on essential issues they have no differences — especially when doing so hampers the careerist elements in the SP who are looking for soft berths with the trade union bureaucrats and the U. S. State Department?

THEIR PROGRAM STOLEN

From the viewpoint of the SP leadership the proposal is logical and consistent in every respect. They have been complaining for quite some time that the capitalist parties have "stolen the socialist program," by which they mean the reform measures on social security, housing, etc., incorporated in the Fair Deal platform.

If all the "socialist program" amounts to is such reform measures — and that really is all it means to the Norman Thomases — then obviously there can be no valid reason for the SP not to go into the capitalist parties that already have their program, try to clean them up a little and take them over, etc. This very perspective is hinted at in the SP majority resolution (reprinted in last week's Militant), which speaks of "the basic conversion of one of the major parties" to a socialist program as "conceivable."

The new policy is also designed to promote the unification of the SP with the Social Democratic Federation, a proposition on which both groups are voting by referendum this month. The SDF has never made any bones about its support of capitalist politicians; in fact, one of the main reasons why it split from

the SP in 1936 was its determination to support Roosevelt.

Declining steadily in membership and influence, the SP has been trying desperately for some years to effect a merger. The chief obstacle has been the SDF's coolness because the SP maintained its 48-year old tradition of running its own candidates. The new proposal will tend to increase the chances for an affirmative decision in the SDF referendum.

NEC MINORITY

Five of the 13 members of the SP National Executive Committee voted against the majority proposal and for the continuation of the existing policy. But the minority lacks the political arguments as well as the influence to carry their position at the convention. Their own resolution mildly points out that socialists who go into the Democratic Party "will give up their own socialism rather than convert others" and that efforts to win control of the Democratic machine and use it as a vehicle of social change are bound to end in failure.

But the over-all effect of their arguments is necessarily feeble because they either share or do not combat the pro-capitalist policies (on war, the Atlantic Pact, etc.) which are the theoretical foundation for the majority's electoral proposal. How can they argue successfully against a conclusion that is fully consistent with premises they are willing to accept? Furthermore, the minority NEC members are themselves advocates of unity with the SDF, which as everyone knows is possible only on the SDF's terms.

To fight effectively in the SP against the new proposal requires a fundamental re-evaluation of and struggle against the over-all political premises of the leadership. There is no doubt that individuals and groups in the SP, and especially in the YPSL, will undertake such a fight because they really want a socialist party in fact as well as in name. In the course of this fight, they will be compelled to consider the question of program, which is at the bottom of the liquidationist move of the Thomas leadership.

PARALLEL MOVE

Whether or not the name of the Socialist Party is retained after the merger with the SDF, it is clear that the organization is in the process of assuming a new role on the political scene. The new policy signifies the transformation of the SP into a propaganda and educational group and its renunciation of the role of a party, that is, of a distinctive political organization competing with all other political organiza-

tions on every possible field for the support of the masses.

In this respect, the SP proposal parallels "the most striking decision" of this year's convention of the Shachtmanites, which consisted of changing their name from Workers Party to Independent Socialist League. The Shachtmanites did not propose, as the SP leaders do, to become the left wing of the Democratic Party; they assigned themselves the role of "loyal socialist wing" of a future Labor Party whose formation they regard as "the supreme task of the times" and which they expect will be led by the present labor bureaucracy. Nevertheless, just as much as the SP leadership today, the ISL renounced the idea of the independent revolutionary party.

In fact, the Shachtmanites not only voted to "relinquish all claim to being a political party in the true sense of the term," but swept away by their own enthusiasm over the belated burial of the Workers Party, they belatedly demanded that all other organizations such as the SWP and the SP do the same. Their argument on this score is worth repeating as an example of unrestrained petty bourgeois fantasy:

"To continue to pretend that they are parties is not only to deceive themselves but to stand in the way of the formation of the real party of the American workers [a Labor Party] and to impede the progress of the ideas of socialism in such a party." In other words, the refusal of the SWP to change its name or concept of its role is impeding the formation of a Labor Party, while the Shachtmanites, by changing their name and abandoning the traditional Marxist concept of the party, are contributing in some mysterious fashion to the building of a Labor Party!

The new Shachtmanite position on the role of the revolutionary party is more than ludicrous, however; it is also reactionary. Like the SP leadership, they gauge the question merely by the criterion of size. Thus they denied that the SP was a party in 1949 while admitting that it used to be one. Even with this gauge, they are careful not to get too specific — to indicate, for example, just how big or influential an organization must be before it can qualify for the role of party, or, for another example, precisely when, according to their estimate, the SP crossed over the dividing line from party to "socialist sect."

"PARTY" AND "MASS PARTY"

But a party and a mass party are not the same thing and no one ever "pretended" that they were until the Shachtmanites

deliberately set out to confuse the two as a cover for renouncing some more of their past ideas and for justifying their "neutrality" in the struggle between the revolutionary Marxist SWP and the reformist Social Democracy.

A political organization can properly be called a party, even if it does not have a mass following, when it has a distinctive political role to fulfill, a distinctive political banner to unfurl; when it acts, or tries to act, not merely as the wing of another movement but as a challenger to all other movements for the leadership of the masses. The question of size is relevant with regard to a mass party, but the decisive thing about a party is the question of program, of the direction in which it is trying to move — and of course the activities it engages in to achieve its goal.

This is not merely a matter of terminology; it involves a fundamental concept. The history of the last half-century has taught us, at a terrible expense, that socialism is impossible without an independent vanguard party in the leadership of the revolutionary masses. This precious concept has now been thrown overboard by the Shachtmanites in their effort to find a shortcut that will compensate for their steady loss of membership while trying to build a party.

For them the "supreme task" is the formation of a Labor Party which they are certain will be reformist in character and led by the labor lieutenants of capitalism, and in which they will operate as

a left wing. With such a perspective it is perfectly natural that they should abandon the whole theory of the independent party as "sectarian" and "sterile" nonsense, just as it is natural that the perspective of the SP leaders should persuade them to abandon the practice of independent electoral activity.

A POSITIVE SIDE

The defection of these two organizations — one into the camp of capitalist politics, the other into the no-man's land between Marxism and reformism — has a positive side. For one thing, it serves to clear the way for the authentic revolutionary party, the SWP, which still lacks a mass following but guarantees that it will overcome this lack by its tenacious adherence to Marxism, its tested ability to resist hostile class pressure, its historically-justified conception of its own role and its confidence in its ability to carry it out.

By demonstrating that the Shachtmanites have no greater aim than serving as the left wing of a reformist labor party, the ISL convention decision has already helped to clear up the question that bothered many workers — which is the Trotskyist party, the SWP or the Shachtmanites? Similarly, the SP proposal to enter the capitalist parties and support capitalist candidates will clarify the question — which is the real socialist party, the SWP or the SP? And clarity is always a good thing.

ITALY CP LEADERS FEAR GROWTH OF DISSIDENTS

ROME — For the last few months the Italian Communist Party has been in the throes of a crisis precipitated by the bankruptcy of the policies imposed by the leadership — a mixture of opportunism and

adventurism — and by the repercussions of the Yugoslav events.

Among the latest manifestations of this crisis two may be singled out as especially noteworthy:

1. There has been a split virtually from top to bottom in the Terni federation of the Italian CP. This federation, located some 100 kilometers north of Rome, comprises one of the principal industrial regions of Italy.

Among those who have broken with the CP are: Communaldo Morelli, former mayor of the city of Terni who resigned from his post upon leaving the party; Alfredo Filippone, secretary of the provincial organization of the partisans; Cesare Masserini, leader of the trade union commission of the chief steel mill in the area, and other prominent militants. An important section of the rank and file who formed the workers' core for the CP here appear to have followed Morelli when he broke with the party.

In an open letter addressed to party militants, Morelli has subjected to criticism the entire policy imposed on the party since 1944 by "concoited and incapable functionaries" at the top. He accuses them of leading the Italian proletariat once again on the same road of defeat as the one followed prior to the rise of fascism by the leadership of the labor movement. The same open letter condemns the excommunication of the Yugoslav CP by the Cominform because "Tito has given land to the peasants and handed over to the workers committees the factories destroyed by the Germans and since then rebuilt."

2. The November 22 issue of L'Unità, central organ of the Italian CP itself.

VEILED ALLUSION

Frightened by the rise of the spirit of criticism, more and more pronounced each day, this bureaucratic goes on as follows: "All the comrades and all the organizations must be more vigilant than ever before. It is necessary to unmask and denounce the activities of Titoist agents, who with their work of disorganization and provocation are lending a firm hand to the Anglo-American agents. . . . We know that the enemy is working might and main to introduce its agents into the ranks of the democratic parties from the top bodies down to the ranks. Among the former there are corrupted individuals whose aim is to provoke splits (!) inside democratic movements and parties by affirming political positions and thus theoretically disguising their wrecking activities."

These last remarks are a thinly veiled allusion to the discussions, which appear to have broken out among the leadership of the Italian CP itself.

A Factual Account of Japan Under U. S. Rule

By Charles Hanley

T. A. Bisson, a specialist on Japanese questions, is not a revolutionist. However, his recent book "Prospects for Democracy in Japan" (Macmillan Co., New York, 1949), dealing with the evolution of that country under American occupation, confirms what we Trotskyists have said about the effects of imperialist policy after World War II.

The proclaimed aims of American imperialism after Japan's surrender in August 1945, were the destruction of the big family trusts ("Zabatsu"), of the extreme concentrations of capital and power, of the military, political and economic machine which had been the most dangerous competitor of American imperialism in Asia. And, on the other hand, the conservation of the monarchy and support of the traditional pillars of Japanese capitalism, in order to prevent the social revolution.

GOVERNMENT TACTICS

The Japanese bourgeoisie (and the state bureaucracy) faced an impressive popular upsurge which developed very quickly, surpassing all expectations — after many years of autocracy, militarism and thought-control. Needing American protection against the masses, they were ready to pay lip-service to "democracy," to sacrifice their military leaders, to make all sorts of painful concessions to the conquerors. They had to buy time, to safeguard their basic positions and the possibility of a subsequent recovery.

The participation of Emperor Hirohito in the Japanese policy of aggression and pillage before and during World War II was beyond doubt. Yet Hirohito remained on his throne by grace of General MacArthur — while some

of his former generals were being hanged by his new American friends.

"Purges" had to be carried out, the constitution was "democratized" in 1946; but the big capitalists and landowners and the old state bureaucracy remained in command. The Zabatsu did not disappear; they went "underground" and continued to determine the policy of the bourgeois parties.

CAPITALISTS GET BOLDER

But there was a force rising against the trusts and the landlords. In 1947, when the economic situation deteriorated under a government which did nothing to stop the inflationary spiraling of prices, the Japanese unions were strengthened by a mass influx, growing to a membership of five million. The Farmers' Union reached one million. The Communist Party also grew in numbers and influence. Important strike movements developed. The Japanese bourgeoisie became frightened. So did the American occupation authorities.

The strikes were partly defeated because of adventurist Stalinist tactics. The ruling class gained new courage and abolished the liberal election law of 1946 so that the conservative parties would find it easier to keep control of the government without the aid of the Social Democratic leaders who had collaborated with them up to that point.

In 1948, the financial situation of the state improved slightly. Bankruptcy was averted thanks to a tax-collection effort aided all over the country by American troops. When the underpaid government workers went on strike for decent wages, the government imposed a strike ban on all government employees, following "advice" by MacArthur's headquarters. MacArthur openly engaged in the anti-red drive,

collaborating with the Japanese bourgeoisie, and seeking — not too successfully — to transform Japan into the anti-communist bulwark of Asia (a policy which has been considerably intensified since the collapse of nationalist China).

"REFORM" ERA ENDS

A consistent anti-red policy being impossible without giving firmer support to Japanese capitalism, the 1945 policy of destroying the Zabatsu was rendered obsolete. The era of timid reforms was closed. In 1948, the U. S. "Draper Mission" recommended a new policy which has in practice been adopted by MacArthur and the State Department. It provides for the strengthening of Japanese capitalism and of the conservative state bureaucracy; the Japanese trusts are not to be abolished, but simply integrated in the economic system of American imperialism. In 1945, Wall Street wanted to crush Japanese competition; in 1949 it finds itself obliged to accept Japanese capitalism as an important junior partner. This evolution is fundamentally the same (and for much the same reasons) as in Germany.

In their struggle for a better standard of living and for a free labor movement, against the police state of their Zabatsu exploiters and the semi-feudal landlords, the Japanese workers and peasants cannot be successful while the occupation troops remain in their country. Occupation spells active American support for the Japanese reactionaries against labor and the peasantry.

Bisson does not ask for the withdrawal of American troops from Japan — at least not in his book. But there can be no other logical conclusion from his analysis of developments in post-war Japan.

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The "Higher Morality"

By Joseph Keller

In the name of its special brand of "morality," the Vatican has ordered Catholic jurists — where they can get away with it — to ignore, evade, misinterpret, misapply and violate governmental laws that are in conflict with the dogmas and decrees of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and its infallible Pope.

In the name of this same "Christian morality," Catholic judges and lawyers are mandated, under threat of spiritual penalty, to deny to appellants before the courts their rights under law if these rights do not conform with the "justice" ordained from the Vatican.

In the name of a "higher morality," every Catholic is instructed, in effect, to violate an oath of public office where that oath requires decisions and actions not in line with the pronouncements from St. Peter's.

That is the essence of the Nov. 7 speech by Pope Pius XII to guide Catholic lawyers throughout the world in solving the "harrowing problem of applying unjust laws" — said "unjust laws" being any the Vatican opposes.

The Pope laid down four principles to guide Catholic jurists. 1. A Catholic judge "cannot shirk responsibility for his decisions and place the blame on the law and its authors." 2. The judge "can never pass a sentence which would oblige those affected by it to perform an intrinsically immoral act, that is, an act which in itself is contrary to the law of God and the church." 3. "Under no circumstance can a judge acknowledge and approve an unjust law."

The fourth principle leaves a loophole for Catholic judges to hold onto their jobs. "However, the application of an unjust law does not always mean acknowledgment and approval of it. In this case the judge may — sometimes even must — allow the unjust law to run its course if this is the only way to avoid a greater evil."

That "greater evil" is among other things, the loss of Catholic control or influence in the judiciary.

ciary. Thus, a judge can pass sentence under an "unjust law" in order to keep his post and "preserve for the people an honest judiciary and to avoid a much worse fate to the church and the faithful."

The capitalist press in this country, which is trying to put the best interpretation on this papal pronouncement, claims it is really designed for Catholic jurists in Russian-dominated countries. However, the Pope declared himself specifically on the question of divorce — a question on which the laws in this country are as much at variance with Catholic dogma as in Hungary or Rumania.

"The Catholic judge cannot pronounce, unless for motives of great moment, a decision of civil divorce in a marriage valid before God and the church," stated the Pope. The Church, of course, recognizes no divorce that it does not sanction, including divorce of Protestants. However, explained a statement of the National Catholic Welfare Council in this country, a Catholic judge may transgress these "fundamental norms" for "reason sufficiently weighty," such as, "if the judge were in danger of losing his office. . . or even if serious antagonism and loss of prestige ensued."

The implied threat of sin and its penalties weighs on the devout Catholic in all spheres of government who fails to conform to the dictation of the hierarchy. He must oppose the laws the people want if the Church disapproves them; he must seek to break down the wall of separation between church and state, as the Catholic dogma prescribes; he must deny freedom of speech and press and assembly to those with political views which the Vatican has stigmatized. If he cannot do it openly, he must do it secretly, behind a cloak of pious hypocrisy and that peculiarly twisted and opportunistic "morality" that the authoritarian Catholic hierarchy, controlled from Rome, seeks to impose on the world as a bulwark against "immoral communism."

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Bridges' Lawyer Victimized



Repeating the tactics of intimidation used at the Foley Square trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders, the judge at the perjury trial of Harry Bridges (left) has sentenced the chief defense lawyer, Vincent Hallinan, (right) to six months in jail for "contempt of court." Sentence will begin after the case goes to jury.

Flint GM Conference Called by Buick 599

By Arnold Cramer

FLINT, Nov. 27 — At its membership meeting last Sunday, UAW Buick Local 599 voted to call a conference of all GM locals in Flint on Dec. 17. The purpose of the conference is to let the locals air their views on the coming GM negotiations and on methods for preventing a repetition of the rotten settlement that was imposed on the Ford workers.

Reflecting the universal resentment against the undemocratic and unconstitutional setup in the UAW's GM Council, Local 599 voted to have representation at the Flint conference on a per capita tax basis.

The conference can become a sounding board for the militant opposition to the policies of the Reuther administration. The Reuther strategy in GM has already been made clear from the Ford negotiations and from the meeting of the GM Council held recently. Reuther is willing to promise anything to keep the ranks quiet through the spring local union elections.

REUTHER'S STRATEGY

The big publicity campaign which the International is conducting on the union shop question indicates that they intend to win the union shop (an insignificant gain in GM, which is over 90% organized) and use that to hide their failure to win any improvement in the contract. If the pension finally negotiated

with General Motors does have some slight improvement over the Ford plan — which is by no means assured — we can be certain that GM workers will have paid heavily for it in terms of a wage increase and contract gains.

There is only one road out of the swamp of phony Reuther militancy. That is to set clearly before the rank and file workers the most pressing minimum needs which must be satisfied.

First and foremost, there is the contract which is making conditions in GM shops intolerable. A new contract with GM must have as a minimum a return to the steward system, scrapping of the infamous section 117 (company security and no-strike clause), an end to the umpire system, and a protection against

speedup which at the very least must give the union equal rights with management in setting work standards. Only this can halt the ten-year retreat of the GM workers under the inroads of a powerful corporation and a timid union leadership.

In second place stands pensions and economic demands which must include the long delayed wage increase which Reuther promises so glibly and the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay needed to prepare for the coming depression. If the union shop can be won in addition, that's so much gravy.

If the Flint auto workers conference embarks on a program of this kind, it will mark a milestone in the development of the UAW since Reuther consolidated his power.

DETROIT NAACP WANTS 1000 FOR TRIP TO D.C.

DETROIT — The Detroit Branch of the NAACP is calling for more than 1,000 people from this city alone to participate in the nation-wide mobilization in Washington Jan. 15-17 to exert mass

pressure upon Congress for the immediate enactment of civil rights legislation.

The NAACP's plans for a militant drive against Jim Crow reach from the local level to the very steps of the nation's capital, said Gloster B. Current, national director of branches, at a Detroit membership meeting on Nov. 18.

An important part of this campaign was the Detroit branch's call upon Governor Williams for a special session of the State Legislature to pass a state FEPC law and to abolish segregation in the Michigan National Guard units.

The audience responded enthusiastically to these plans and to the report made by Ernest Dillard on the progress of the branch's fight against restaurant discrimination, which was launched early in October.

Dillard's report centered around the case of Mrs. Jessie Dillard, her daughter and three other teen-aged girls, which has received considerable publicity in the local press.

Mrs. Dillard and the children had gone to the Presto Restaurant, operated by Anthony Repas at 3603 Woodward Ave., and were refused service by him on Oct. 10. They filed charges against him for violating the state civil rights code and took him to court in line with the NAACP policy.

Reppas told a lily-white jury and a Jim Crow judge that he had been home with a serious cold, and not even in his restaurant, on the day in question. Naturally, the restaurant owner was found

not guilty. (There has been only one conviction under the state anti-discrimination law since it went into effect six years ago.)

The NAACP intends to carry forward the fight against this type of discrimination. Dillard's report ended on the note that a militant and vigorous prosecution of this campaign could win the mass support of the Negro people for the NAACP and make it once again the biggest branch in the country, as it was in the early 1940's.

Hit Stalinist Line On Trial of 18

(Continued from Page 1)

the organizations on the extreme Left. They abandoned the fight for Negro rights on the ground that such a campaign would "interfere with the war effort." As soon as Russia was attacked by Germany they dropped the Negro question and concentrated all effort in support of the war in order to help the Soviet Union. During the war years the disciples of the extreme Left sound very much like the worst of the Negro-hating southerners.

"American Negroes, and especially the NAACP, cannot forget this. It seems to us to prove conclusively (even if there were not mountains of additional proof) that the organizations of the extreme Left, when they campaign for civil rights, or in behalf of a minority, do so as a secondary consideration, activity upon which is certain to be weighted, shaped, angled, or abandoned in accordance with the Communist Party line."

"We can have no truck with such unity."

"This line of action—or, better, inaction — indicated to any thinking person that the Stalinist groups are for civil rights for some people, but not for all. The Minneapolis men were not Stalinists, therefore not a hand was lifted to aid them. If the Smith Act is a monstrous piece of legislation when used against the 11 Communist leaders, it was no less monstrous, no less an instrument for the suppression of civil liberties when used against the Minneapolis men."

"We reject such a 'part-time' concept of civil liberties."

Among other reasons cited by Wilkins for the NAACP decision not to invite the CRC were "the campaign of slander in the Daily Worker" against all those who did not accept the Stalinist "unity" policy in the Scottsboro case, and the attacks on the NAACP made by the Stalinists in connection with the case of the Trenton Six.

M-Day in New York

By Ruth Johnson

Behind Washington's hypocritical chatter of peace can be heard the rumbling of artillery as it rolls into line for the assault on the Soviet Union. Preparations go on relentlessly, no matter what words flow from the glib mouth of the politicians.

Writing for the N. Y. World-Telegram, Nov. 23, Roger Stuart reported that the plans are ready for war on a moment's notice. His article, "How N. Y. Area Will Jump if World War III Bugle Blows," also tells who will do the jumping and who will call the tune.

The M-Day scheme is ready even to the names of the men picked to rule the vast military machine. The Wall Street tycoons will work hand-in-hand with the top brass. Monopoly capitalism will be given dictatorial control over the country, and over the lives of their workers who are thrown into the gigantic army of American imperialism.

"In New York it's 2 p.m. on M-Day. President Truman's mobilization order has been flashed to the six Army commanders," writes Stuart in an article okayed by the Defense Department.

"New York's 77th Infantry — the Statue of Liberty Division — starts moving." The big boys put away their silk hats, and reach into their desk drawers for their officers' caps.

"Major General Julius Ochs Adler, commanding the 77th, has anticipated M-Day. . . A batch of new orders spring from his desk." Julius Ochs Adler is the immensely wealthy, powerful Vice-President and General Manager of the N. Y. Times, the most authoritative newspaper of Big Business.

"At the office of the Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., 26 Broadway, preparations are made to fulfill previously established defense commitments. The

organization, however, will lose one of its executives — Lt. Col. Winthrop Rockefeller, who already will have reported for duty on Gen. Adler's Staff."

You will be herded from the induction center to the training camp with the help of another capitalist, "Col. W. S. Carr, who until an hour or two ago, was general manager of the New York, New Haven and Hartford." He will be in charge of the "Second Transportation Railway Service."

If you reach the 1441st Signal Regional Office, you'll be under the command of Col. Ralph L. Hart, presently District Manager of Western Electric Co., whose workers can tell you what qualifications he has for driving the men in his charge.

You won't even escape from landlords in this millionaire-run army. "A real estate broker in Long Island City becomes Lt. Col. Ira H. R. Genet, commanding the 1490th Signal Photo Center in Long Island City."

The wealthy playboys will shine forth in Brooks-tailored uniforms and give you orders. "Out of this [M-day] reservoir of specialists comes Col. Van Ness Phillips of the Dongan Hills Country Club, Staten Island, to command the 1524th Signal Section (training)."

In case this doesn't sound democratic to you, another New York officer is qualified to pour out propaganda by the ream. The army will reach into "the offices of Elser & Cothran, public relations counselors at 521 Fifth Ave. One partner is Col. Ben J. Cothran, commander of the 305th Infantry Regiment of the 77th."

If you're not impressed with your prospects by this thorough preparation for M-day, you have one course open right now. . . Join us in the fight for a workers' government that will prevent World War III.

Chicago Conference Demands Action to Stop Mob Violence

CHICAGO — A Conference to End Mob Violence, sponsored by the Chicago Urban League, last week called for the removal of Police Commissioner Prendergast and the impeachment of Mayor Kennelly.

This action was proposed as an answer to the series of mob attacks on Negroes, climaxed by the Peoria St. assault on Negroes and their friends as the police stood by.

Nearly 200 attended the conference. Steel, packing and longshore were among unions represented.

A representative of the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations was invited to explain the role of that body in the crisis. He said the committee had no power to recommend the removal of prejudiced police officials and advised "interested parties" to stay away from scenes of tension lest they lead to violence.

He did not explain what good the committee was if it had no power even to recommend, or how victims of mob violence could be defended if "interested parties" must stay away while the police help the hoodlums.

A conference speaker put his finger on one of the true sources of the mob outbreaks when he revealed that pressure was being exerted to foreclose the mortgage on the Peoria St. house, that its insurance has been cancelled, and

that a Chicago bank had offered to buy the house for a high figure. He also charged that police action on the side of the hoodlums was not the result of individual prejudice, but a conscious policy enforced by the highest city officials.

PROGRAM ADOPTED

The program presented to the conference for action included proposals to break down the conspiracy of silence by the Chicago press on mob activities; to launch a program of education to be climaxed by "End Mob Violence Week;" and to take legal action against officials derelict in their duty.

No proposal was made to organize the physical defense of mob victims, nor was the labor movement appealed to for aid. One speaker proposed that hoodlums be "educated" in the way unionists take care of scabs, but this was not acted on.

The conference adopted the program of legal action and gradual education. But from comments around the hall it was clear that the Negro people are looking for a more militant and effective program against race terrorism.

CURRAN'S GOONS AND COPS TERRORIZE NMU MEMBERSHIP

(Continued from page 1)

made its legal staff available to the victims of Curran's purge.

Every union bureaucrat plays upon the fear of the worker for his job. With large scale unemployment in the shipping industry, Curran's terror campaign utilizes outright force as well as more subtle forms of intimidation.

In addition to his goons and cops Curran has the shipowners on his side. Opposition officials have been barred from the ships. The larger ships have been boarded by Curran officials accompanied by as many as 20 muscle men and detectives.

"PLEDGE" CARDS

At a meeting called on the S.S. Washington, one of the large passenger liners, for example, Vice-President Warner gave his "lynch-the-opposition" report flanked by officials of the United States Line. At the same time, yellow-colored pledge cards were circulated to crew members "to join with the officers" in driving all so-called "communists" from the union. The cards were printed in duplicate, numbered and signed, one to be kept by the member and one turned in to the National Office.

The "loyalty" pledge cards were the same as those circulated by the Curran caucus at the recent NMU convention. Those who refuse to sign are put on the list of "suspects." The presence of shipowner representatives at a union meeting was a not too subtle hint to the crew members to "vote right."

The same technique is being used on all the ships coming into New York harbor. This object lesson in blackjack democracy is

not lost on the crew. Despite the enormous pressure, the open threats of physical violence and the implied threat of shipowner reprisal, resistance has been manifested by a militant minority while the large majority has "abstained" in fear of losing their jobs.

The Curran putsch took place on the very day in which the opposition officials in the Port of New York had been notified to appear before a hand-picked trial committee. With the stage thus set for a "hanging," the mock trial was prepared to behold the opposition. However, none of the 14 opposition officials appeared, having previously challenged the constitutionality of the entire proceedings.

It is apparent that Curran intends to use his cops and goons to take over the next membership meeting on Dec. 1 to railroad through the trial committee verdict against the opposition officials. The jerking of books and beating of oppositionists was a prelude to that meeting. Curran dare not face the membership without his outside support. Once having embarked on this course, the Curran machine can continue in power only through the use of naked force and open shipowner collaboration.

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TRUMAN'S OK

Nor will it be any reassurance to workers in the industry that Truman and his top cabinet officials have put their OK on the new organization. Truman sent his blessings in a message expressing confidence that the new union will shun "subversive activity" and conduct itself as a "loyal" body.

Will Carey and the CIO leaders risk the charge of being "subversive" and "disloyal" by conducting any kind of real struggle for higher wages in opposition to the administration's policies? Although Carey is on record as opposed to Truman's "subversive" list and "loyalty" purge order, he said nothing about Truman's attempt now to set up the designations of "loyal" and "subversive" unions.

One of Carey's big pitches at the convention was his threat to defy court injunctions which the old UE leaders have been securing to block transfer of funds and properties when UE locals go over to the CIO union. He urged that the IUE "not get too damned legalistic" and said, "It's high time delegates and local officers took steps to defy irresponsible actions of irresponsible and ignorant judges." Carey doesn't act so defiant when it comes to the "legalism" of the Taft-Hartley Act.

There is no question that the majority of electrical workers would prefer to remain with the CIO, if they had some assurance it would help them win better wages and working conditions. But they are getting little encouragement on this score from the top CIO leaders.

Divide-and-Rule System Of the SIU Bureaucrats

By R. Bell

Whenever the membership begins breathing down the necks of the union bureaucrats the labor skates seek to divert attention from their crimes by dragging a big red herring across their trail. This technique has become standard practice in the fraternity of labor fakers. So, when members began to question the raiding, strikebreaking policy of cannibal unionism practiced by the officials of the AFL Seafarers International Union and Sailors Union of the Pacific, the latter retorted with an hysterical attack on — Trotskyism.

We penetrated the red-baiting smokescreen in previous articles to disclose how John Mahoney, veteran SUP member, was illegally expelled for raising a "point of information" questioning the right of the officials to break the Canadian Seamen's Union strike. We told how SIU President Harry Lundberg sent men through a picket line to man the strikebound ships of the Union Oil Company on the Pacific Coast. We cited known cases of raiding and strikebreaking by SIU-SUP officials. The only answer thus far has been a front page editorial in the SIU Seafarers Log with a lot of drivel about Trotsky and the Kronstadt sailors.

It would be instructive to examine one of the methods used by the SIU-SUP officials in conducting their strikebreaking operations. One of the "crimes" of which John Mahoney was accused in a six-page diatribe against Trotskyism in the Nov. 4 Log, is that of making a motion at a Seattle membership meeting "to non-concur with the issuing of probationary books to permit men who had served as volunteer organizers on the Union Oil Company's ships."

In the language of SIU Vice-President Paul Hall and Morris Weisberger, who wrote the article, "volunteer organizers" is a perfunctory phrase designating the "permenitmen" who crashed the picket line to sail Union Oil Company ships after CIO National Maritime Union men had walked off in support of the Oil Workers strike. According to the code of cannibal unionism, veteran union fighters are expelled while strikebreakers are rewarded with union books.

The practice of using permenitmen to do the dirty work for the SIU-SUP officials has been reduced to a system. There is nothing "voluntary" about these so-called "organizers." In the SIU, for example, almost half the membership are permenitmen. The last membership figures recorded in the Seafarers Log, Feb. 27, 1948, shows a total of 20,069 members, divided as follows: Book members, 11,003; Permenitmen, 8,637; Trip Cards, 429.

A permenitman has no rights in the union. He can get a job only when no book member wants it. He is limited to one trip or sixty days on a ship and then has to get off. He pays all dues, assessments, and "contributions." His permit can be taken away at any time without charges or trial. And, according to the rules:

"Any permenit man desirous of becoming a Union member shall be allowed membership only subject to the recommendations of the Organizers."

Some are kept on the permit list for years. Others are "allowed membership" after a few days or weeks. It all depends on the officials. If there is a dirty job to be done the permenitmen are given the choice of following orders or losing their permits. Loss of their permit means virtual elimination from the industry.

From beating up members who oppose or criticize the officials to breaking strikes, the permit man follows orders — or else.

The "volunteer organizers" who crashed the Oil Workers picket line were recruited from this group. And when an old-time member, a veteran of the 1934 strike, objects to this practice he is branded an enemy of the union and expelled. Through the permit system the bureaucrats pit one section of the membership against another. Old timers are weeded out to make room for those who have demonstrated their loyalty to the officials.

In addition to the division between boom men and permit men, the SIU officialdom further divides the membership along color lines. The SIU is the only seafaring union which maintains a Jim Crow hiring hall in the Port of New York. Recently a drive has been initiated to drive the Puerto Rican members out of the union. Twenty-nine Puerto Rican permit men had their permits taken away without reason. With no recourse within the union they took their case to court.

The Oct. 7 Seafarers Log gloats that the judge threw the case out of court because as permenitmen they had no rights in the union. The SIU hall in Puerto Rico has been shut down and a measure adopted prohibiting any member from paying off a ship in that American territory. According to law a seaman can pay off in any American port. Many Puerto Rican members have their wives and families in that country. But if they pay off a ship there, they are subject to charges, fine or expulsion.

And the hard-bitten bureaucrats of the SIU-SUP have the cast-iron gall to point the finger at the Trotskyists as "enemies of democratic unionism."