

Political Apathy In Union Ranks Worries Leaders

By Fred Hart

Reports from both the CIO Political Action Committee and AFL Labor's League for Political Education reveal keen anxiety among the top union officials about the "apathy" of the union rank and file toward the coming congressional elections.

Both organizations started early to whip up labor support for Truman Democrats. In a growing number of key states and large cities the CIO and AFL are engaged in joint political action.

But the results in recent primary elections have caused the union officials grave concern. This has been heightened by the decidedly unenthusiastic response to financial appeals by the PAC and LLPE.

PAC's latest quarterly report showed only \$30,000 in its treasury. The LLPE has received contributions totaling about \$250,000—an average of 3 cents per AFL member in its campaign for minimum individual contributions of \$2.

PAC CONFERENCE

CIO President Philip Murray and PAC National Director Jack Kroll called a special Washington conference of 300 PAC leaders from the 48 states on June 16 to try to steam up PAC's campaign and find out why it is lagging so badly.

The conference was held in "closed session," with the press barred, so it is not known what was said there. But, from past experiences, it is safe to assume

that there was a lot of breast-beating on the part of the delegates and much verbal chastising from Murray and Kroll.

It is unlikely, however, that they went beyond putting the blame on the rank and file for the poor showing. The easiest way out for bureaucrats is to attribute everything to the "apathy" of the members who just "don't know what is good for them."

If there was any attempt to seriously analyze PAC's own political program and policies for a clue to this "apathy," we have not heard about it. But a little discussion on this side of the matter at the PAC conference might have shed real light on why the workers aren't as excited as the union leaders about the congressional elections.

EXPECTED SOMETHING

A lot of workers have come to the conclusion that there is no basic difference between the Democrats and Republicans—or at least no difference worth sacrificing their hard-earned dollars for. They figure, quite correctly too, that getting a few more Democrats in place of Republicans in Congress won't mean very much so far as labor is concerned.

In November 1948, these union members turned out a record labor vote to return Truman to the White House and put a Democratic majority in the House and Senate. They didn't expect to get a big deal out of it, although that's what their leaders promised, but at least they expected to get something.

They got nothing. The Taft-Hartley Act is still on the books. Truman's civil rights program was dumped into the ash-can. And the difference between the two parties on rent control has boiled down to this: The Republicans want to bury it on June 30 while the Democrats want to entomb it and keep its remains on view until after the elections.

The top union leaders can (Continued on Page 4)

High Price of A 'Humane Act'

Edwin Richardson of 3041 Arlington Ave., St. Louis, recently performed "the humane act" of taking a Negro family into his home because of the almost unbelievable conditions under which they were living," the St. Louis American reports. Since then, "he has been fired from his job at Fisher Body Co., his house windows have been smashed with large rocks, bombs have been thrown into his windows and his garage has been set afire."

JURY WHITEWASHES MOB VIOLENCE AT PEESKILL

By Albert Parker

It was a foregone conclusion that the grand jury "probing" the attacks on the Robeson concerts near Peekskill last summer would emerge with a whitewash of the guilty hoodlums and a condemnation of their victims. But even so, the crassness of the whitewash job came as a surprise to many people.

The facts in the case were extremely simple and widely known. On Aug. 27, 1949 a Civil Rights Congress-sponsored open-air concert near Peekskill was assaulted by an organized band of vigilantes incited by, but pretending to act independently of, officials of reactionary veterans organizations. The police were summoned but deliberately remained away until the hoodlums had broken up the concert, beaten and stoned concert-goers, wrecked automobiles and burned chairs and other equipment.

The sponsors of the concert then scheduled another gathering for the following week. They asked for protection from the Westchester County and state

authorities, and organized a defense guard to surround the concert and make sure that the hoodlums would not break it up. As a result of this measure, the concert was actually held this time. But when the audience left the area, they were assaulted savagely by the hoodlums in the presence of the police, who did nothing or virtually nothing to stop the violence. Hundreds were injured, some of them seriously, as the cops winked and "looked the other way."

THE MAIN TARGET

And this is what Gov. Dewey's grand jury came up with on June 16, after meeting since last Oct. 3:

The most important—and outrageous—aspect of the entire affair, according to the grand jury, was the defense guard at the scene. (Continued on page 4)

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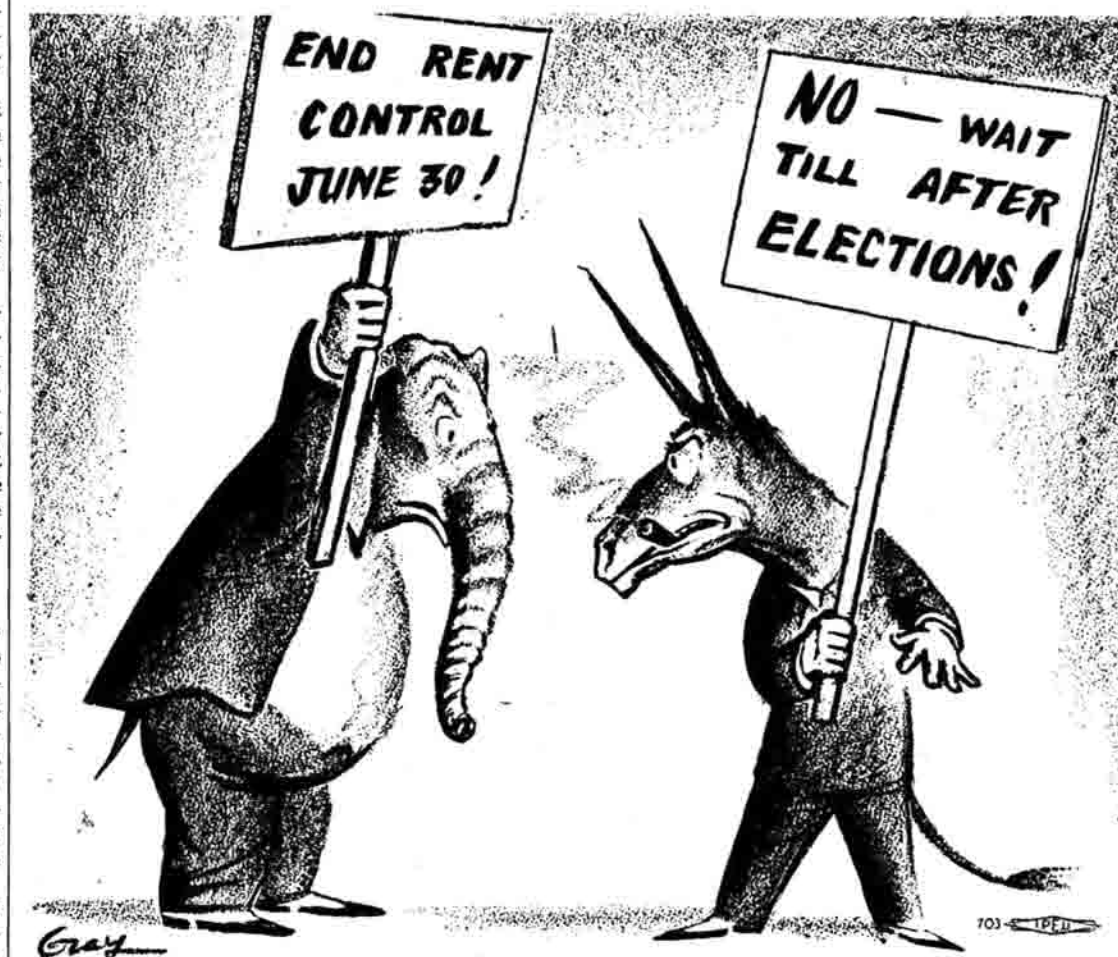
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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite!

The Big Difference



'World-Telegram' Strike Holds Firm In Second Week

By Fred Newman

NEW YORK, June 20—The strike of the Newspaper Guild against the New York World-Telegram and Sun entered its second week, and Sun is yielding on either side. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, after several sessions, has been unable to make any headway. The only concession made by the publishers has been to submit some of the minor issues to arbitration.

The company now offers to arbitrate a general increase and higher minimum wages, higher night differentials, a five-day week for tabulators, duration of the contract, and ratio of employees in the Guild. It refuses to arbitrate the questions of economy firings and the Guild shop. The Guild has remained firm in its original demands: 10% wage increase or raising minimums to \$40 and \$120—which ever is greater; night differential of an extra hour's pay a night; Guild shop—9 out of every 10 editorial and business employees to be members of the Guild; job and union security; arbitration of any layoffs ascribed to economy; and a one-year contract.

WON'T CROSS LINE

Members of eight AFL and independent craft unions still refuse to pass through the picket line. These unions are the Typographical, Pressmen, Stereotypers, Photoengravers, Mailers, Deliverers, Machinists and Electricians. They show up at shift time and gather across the street from the mass picket line maintained by the Guild.

In the meantime, another situation was brought to a head by (Continued on page 4)

SWP CONVENTION TALKS BY DOBBS, HANSEN TO BE HEARD ON ABC, CBS

NEW YORK, June 22—Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, and Joseph Hansen, SWP nominee for U. S. Senator from New York, will speak over national radio

networks which will broadcast proceedings of the forthcoming National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrade Hansen is scheduled to speak over the American Broadcasting Corporation's nationwide chain on Saturday, July 15, from 4:00 to 4:15 p.m. (EDT). His topic will be "World Empire or World Socialism—Foreign Policy in the 1950 Elections."

Comrade Dobbs will talk over the Columbia Broadcasting System national network on Monday, July 17, from 11:45 to 12 Midnight (EDT). His subject will be, "The Socialist Program for America."

The SWP National Office here today announced that arrangements for a convention broadcast by the Mutual network are being completed and that the speaker will be announced next week. Negotiations are also proceeding with the National Broadcasting Company.

Joseph Hansen ran as the SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from New York in 1948. He is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets on domestic and international affairs. His most recent pamphlets, "American Workers Need a Labor Party," and "What It Is, What It Stands For," have had a widespread and enthusiastic reception.

Farrell Dobbs was the SWP's presidential candidate in 1948. During the thirties, he was one of the leaders of the famous Min-

Hunger Still Faces Aged in Pension Bill

NMU Hiring Hall Compromise Hits Rotary Shipping

By R. Bell

NEW YORK, June 21—The compromise hiring hall agreement reached last week between the CIO National Maritime Union and East Coast shipowners strikes a mortal blow at the principle of rotary shipping, the main bulwark of protection for union militants in the maritime industry.

The compromise hiring clause provides that in the hiring of unlicensed personnel the company "will prefer competent and dependable applicants who have been previously employed on vessels of one or more of the companies under agreement with the union." This is the so-called "seniority clause" originally cooked up between Senator Robert A. Taft and Seafarers International Union president Harry Lundberg, which purported to get around the anti-closed shop provision of the Taft-Hartley Act.

In exchange for the fake seniority clause the companies agree to procure all unlicensed personnel, with the exception of certain key ratings, "through the employment offices of the union, provided that the prospective employees are satisfactory to the company." This clause is further amplified by giving the company the right to reject anyone "deemed unsatisfactory to the company," with the union obligated to ship prompt replacement or leave the shipowner free to use any other sources of employment available.

CLOAK FOR BLACKLIST

Under the rotary system of hiring, men registered on the shipping list get first choice of jobs, depending on the length of time they are on the beach. Every seaman is issued a Certificate of Efficiency by the U. S. Bureau of Inspection and Navigation, certifying his qualification, after examination, for filling the particular job called for by the rating on his certificate. All this mumbo-jumbo, therefore, about furnishing "competent, dependable and satisfactory" personnel is a cloak for a shipowners' blacklist against union militants.

With the vicious blacklist in operation, rotary hiring becomes a fiction. It is the rotary shipping feature of the hiring hall that (Continued on Page 2)

Senate Measure Will Merely Restore Low Level of 1939

Millions of America's needy aged will still face semi-starvation even if the best version of an improved pension bill now before Congress is passed.

The Senate bill enacted on June 20, like its House counterpart passed last year, is designed merely to restore the purchasing power of pension payments to the hunger levels of 1939.

Federal social security payments last year averaged about \$26 a month for single persons and \$41 for couples. For those now getting pensions, the Senate bill would raise the averages to \$48 and \$78 respectively.

Since even the doctored government cost-of-living index shows a 70% increase in the past 11 years, the proposed pension increases will provide the aged with the present pensions when adopted in 1939.

STARVATION STANDARD

Under the new bill, a worker who pays social security taxes for 40 years on an average wage of \$200 a month would be able to retire at the age of 65 on the meager federal pension of \$65 a month, \$15 a week. The present cost of food to maintain one person a week in good health is estimated by government bureaus at between \$20 and \$25.

Hundreds of thousands of those now receiving pensions have been able to stay alive only by getting supplementary relief, part of which has been coming from federal funds. Most of these will be cut off relief and forced to live entirely on their pensions once the new pension bill is passed.

Thus, at the same time the government will appear to be

giving more to the aged, it will actually be taking some of their present benefits away from them.

None of the pension increase will come as a gift from the "welfare state." The Senate bill will increase social security taxes from the present 1½% on wages to 2% in 1956, 3% in 1965 and 3½% in 1970.

AT CORPORATION BEHEST

Actually, the bill was pushed through the Senate at the behest of the corporations who have been forced by the unions in the past 12 months to pay company-financed pensions. Most of the industry pension clauses, however, permit the companies to reduce their payments in proportion to increases in federal pensions. With federal pensions raised, the corporations will be relieved of part of their pension costs, which the workers instead will pay in the form of increased taxes for higher federal pensions.

It is significant that the Republicans and Dixiecrats voted just as strongly for the Senate pension bill as the Trumanite "welfare staters," only two senators voting against. We can judge how much "welfare" and "security" this bill will provide when even the most open reactionaries voted for it.

It will be just as hard for the Trumanite union leaders to find a difference between the Democrats and Republicans on the pension bill as on FEPC, rent control and all other vital issues.

TROTSKYIST STATEMENT ON THE CZECH TRIALS

PARIS, June 16—The International Secretariat of the Fourth International today issued a public statement on the recent trial of 13 in Czechoslovakia, in which one of the defendants, Zavis Kalandra, was sentenced to death.

Who could believe that Zavis Kalandra, who had devoted his entire life to the workers' movement, would have uttered without constraint the following words reported by the Prague radio: "I regret the acts I have committed out of a malicious hatred of the working class and socialism?"

FRAMEUP TRIALS

"As in the Rajk and Kostov trials, the Kremlin and its Czech flunkies have utilized in Czechoslovakia the technique of framing up alongside of genuine agents of imperialism and Stalinist provocateurs, those militant workers and revolutionists who are opposed to the bureaucratic-police regime which the Kremlin has imposed on the various people's democracies in the name of socialism."

Saluting the intervention of many intellectuals who have already protested against the death sentence imposed on the old antifascist refugee Zavis Kalandra, the International Secretariat closes its statement with an appeal "to all workers and democratic organizations and all the honest intellectuals to intervene energetically against the execution of Z. Kalandra; and to demand a review of this trial and another trial in the presence of an International Commission of workers and intellectuals that will be given full opportunity to communicate with the accused and carry on a real inquiry into his case."

"The conditions under which political trials take place in countries under the control of the Soviet bureaucracy are such that no credit whatever can be placed in the 'confessions' of the accused, especially of those who were revolutionary militants hostile to

'Welfare State' -- Or Socialism?

First of a Series
By Art Preis

Taking a tip from the advertising hucksters, Truman and the Democratic Party have given their political merchandise a name with "customer appeal." They call it the "Welfare State."

Their product is not new. It has been marketed under other names, like "New Deal" and "Fair Deal." But they figure few can resist the promise of universal benefit implied in the label, "Welfare State."

Even some staunch Republicans are trying to peddle "welfare statism," offering it at bargain prices too. "Everybody wants welfare and security," said Thomas E. Dewey, unsuccessful Republican candidate for president. He complained "it must have been a very clumsy Republican" who handed the GOP's competitor the "Welfare State" tag.

The "welfare staters" are of many shades and often disagree on specific measures. But they all agree on one thing: That capitalism—the profit system based on the private ownership of the means of production and distribution—must be preserved at all costs. The most liberal Trumanites stand with the most reactionary Republicans in contending that capitalism can and must be "made to work."

CIO President Philip Murray, defending the "concept of the 'welfare state'" in the March 27, 1950 New Repub-

lic declared, "I believe firmly in free enterprise." Speaking on "Freedom and the Welfare State" in April 1950, AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany said that if "the New Deal or the Fair Deal were actually damaging to private business, we would be among the first to object."

Even Henry Wallace, head of the ill-conceived Progressive Party, has pasted a "Welfare State" label on his program of "progressive capitalism." He claimed on Dec. 4, 1949, "We in the U. S. will continue with our capitalism but we shall gradually modify it to make it serve the welfare state."

Nothing Socialist About It

Truman himself, addressing the Democratic Party's Jackson Day Dinner last February, derided those Republicans who say his "welfare state" is "socialistic." "How in the world can the Republicans persuade people that all you Democrats at all these dinners are socialists?" he asked the 5,300 business men and politicians who had paid \$100-a-plate to dine with him. "Of course this program is not socialism. It is based upon a firm faith in the strength of free enterprise."

In the 1950 Congressional elections, both parties are campaigning on their claim to be the best defenders of capitalism and most effective opponents of socialism. The

Republicans raise the slogan, "Liberty or Socialism." The Democrats, in effect, cry, "Welfare State or Socialism."

Since 1932, the majority of the American people have shown by their votes that they believe the government is obligated to ensure their welfare and security. But the big question remains: Can any "welfare state" assure full employment, decent living standards, life-time security and peace under the capitalist system?

We of the Socialist Workers Party say, "No!" We charge that Truman's "welfare state" is a fraud to fool the people into "buying" a decayed capitalism. We say that Truman's capitalist "welfare state" can lead only to unemployment, degraded living standards, dictatorship and the unutterable horror of H-Bomb war. We tell the people that the only way they can achieve real welfare and security is by abolishing capitalism and building socialism.

A "welfare state" government, presumably, is one that devotes at least a major part of its functions and activities to promoting the well-being of the people. In this sense, just how much welfare does Truman's "Welfare State" aim to provide?

We don't have to guess. We know in exact dollars and cents. Truman himself told us on Jan. 9, 1950 in (Continued on page 2)

European Notebook

European Capitalists and the American Empire

By Ernest Germain

Six months ago, authoritative spokesmen of the European capitalist class started publishing articles expressing an equal distaste toward the USSR and the USA. This was something of a sensation, for ever since the launching of the Marshall Plan the European capitalists have been busy boosting the magnanimity and glory of Uncle Sam. It came as a shock to American observers, and the Paris correspondent of the N.Y. Times went out of his way to report some of the arguments which a couple of French academicians, Andre Siegfried and Francois Mauriac, had used against the USA. This started a long polemic in European newspapers, which is far from exhausted at this moment.

American public opinion, which hoped at least to be paid by gratitude for the dollars which have been bolstering up European capitalism, had still more unhappy surprises around the corner. On the first anniversary of the Atlantic Pact, the European press started a serious self-examination and came to the conclusion that it had been fooling its readers all during the past year.

Jean Servan-Schreiber, one of the most intelligent contributors to the leading French newspaper *Le Monde* explained that the Atlantic Pact, far from having increased Europe's security, had only increased the military obligations imposed on the old conti-

nent, without making it a bit stronger to withstand a hypothetical Russian aggression. And another academician, Emile Gilson, frankly explained in the same newspaper that after drawing a balance sheet of the American alliance, European statesmen couldn't fail to come to the conclusion that it would be more favorable to take a stand of complete neutrality between the USSR and the USA.

MILITARY FACTORS

There are military as well as economic factors which explain this surprising change of opinion. One year of open American military assistance to the capitalist powers of Western Europe has not in the least modified the relationship of forces on the European continent. On the contrary, the production of the first atomic bomb by the Soviet Union has rather accentuated the decisive military inferiority of all the Western European powers as against the USSR. American supplies delivered under MAP are outdated and inadequate. The European capitalists feel that the Atlantic Pact may draw them into a war which could start somewhere outside the old continent, without increasing their chances of resisting Russian power on that continent itself.

This negative balance sheet of the Atlantic Pact provides a neat frame for the negative picture of

the Marshall Plan, second phase. The first phase of the Marshall Plan was fully successful. It was nothing else than the continuation of previous relief activities (UNRRA, etc.) with the aid of which the American taxpayer created a big foreign market for the American industrial monopolists and the wealthy agricultural interests.

COMPETITION REVIVED

European industry was quickly equipped with the necessary raw materials and some new machinery, and production increased everywhere. But by building up European industry, American capitalists had only built up their own competitors. As soon as the different capitalist countries had again reached a "normal" prewar level of industrial activity, there started again the universal grab for markets which had characterized the prewar economic world situation.

And the markets which could be divided and carved up among the various capitalist powers were rapidly shrinking in comparison with 1938, because the standard of living of the European masses was far below the prewar level and because the Eastern European and Far Eastern countries were to a large extent cut off from the world market.

Far from showing gratitude toward their American benefactors, the European capitalists became

increasingly suspicious of all American plans related to Europe, as soon as the economic scene became dominated by sharp international competition. Today, the European capitalists' first demand is not for dollars; it is for markets.

EUROPE'S PLAINTS

The British capitalists feel that the American policy tends to take away some of their markets either for the benefit of American, or for the benefit of Japanese and German industry. The Benelux and German capitalists are hostile to the American blockade against Eastern Europe because they have big markets waiting for them in the buffer countries. The old colonial powers resent the invasion of their empires by American capital. All the capitalist powers of Europe are opposed to the American military plans which tend to impose an ever increasing burden of military expenditure on the national budgets of these powers.

"Economic stability will be destroyed by rearmaments costs!" "What is the use of spending huge sums of money against the foreign communist danger, if these spendings will disorganize our economy and thereby create a communist threat right inside our own countries?" These are some of the big worries of the European capitalists, a thousand times repeated in articles in the press or speeches of responsible politicians.

European capitalists clearly don't like the plans of an American Empire mapped out by the Pentagon and the State Department. They are jealous of the strength and reserves of American imperialism built up as a result of the decline of their own power. They feel that they have become mere instruments of an American master. They hate the arrogance and insolence with which American "specialists" — often totally ignorant of the matters they are to handle—order them around in every field of activity.

But they have no choice. Ours is not simply an age of increased competition among capitalist powers. Ours is an age in which the very existence of capitalism in Europe and in the whole world is mortally threatened. The European capitalists know that without the constant support and "protection" of American imperialism they might as well commit suicide right away. Therefore they have to bear the cross of that protection, grudgingly and under constant protest, but bear it nevertheless.

And the meaning of this grumbling is very simple. Decayed and rotten European capitalism would like to be supported, equipped and protected by American imperialism—without paying anything at all in exchange! They would like to receive more dollars, to export more goods to American mar-

kets, and at the same time to limit to the extreme American goods invading their own markets. They would like to receive more military equipment, better and more up-to-date planes, tanks and artillery—and at the same time to limit to the extreme their own military expenses.

WHAT THEY WANT

They have to follow this course, not because of childish lack of realism, but because otherwise they remain just as shaky and vulnerable as before, American imperialism taking away with the left hand what it gives them with the right hand, lending them dollars but taking away their markets, giving them military assistance and increasing the military pressure which bears down on them. On a much bigger scale, and without the sordidness of outright personal corruption of the ruling classes, the relations between the European capitalists and US imperialism repeat the familiar pattern of the relations between Chiang Kai-shek and Washington.

And just as Chiang Kai-shek, despite all his denunciations and accusations, is sitting in Formosa waiting for some new form of American aid, so the European capitalists are using anti-American press campaigns and whipping up public resentment as blackmail to get American aid—more of it and at a cheaper price!

MILITANT FUND NEARS TWO-THIRDS MARK WITH THREE WEEKS TO GO

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Another branch of the Socialist Workers Party went over the top. This week in the campaign to raise \$10,000 to help publish *The Militant*, St. Louis made its goal with a \$35 payment. Comrade Oscar hopes the branch "wins a Militant Chorus record," and says he is "sure more money will follow to boost our percentage over the 100% mark."

St. Louis gets one of the records. It is the third branch to fulfill its quota. Pittsburgh and Flint were the first to catch receipt of the record containing 4 revolutionary songs by the Militant Chorus—Whirlwinds of Danger, The Locomotive, To Labor, and May Day Song. The seven more records to be awarded will go to the next seven branches to complete their quotas in full.

Flint stepped way out this week with 107%. Comrade Genora challenges: "Move over Pittsburgh! You pushed us out of the first place too suddenly and we can't get used to that second-place berth!"

Chicago is moving fast toward the finish. \$83 this week brought them up to fourth place on the scoreboard.

New York Local is also spurring ahead. They want a Militant

Chorus record to use at public meetings. Now fifth on the scoreboard, their chances to win the coveted award are good.

Buffalo and the Twin Cities branches are tied in sixth place with 73%.

San Francisco made up delays with a \$75 payment and is now right on schedule in the campaign.

Both Newark and Philadelphia sent in good payments and are running neck and neck with 70%.

"Things are beginning to look up in Detroit," says M. Baker. This note accompanied a \$144 payment.

Youngstown is picking up speed. They sent in two payments during the week totaling \$37. Los Angeles sent in \$72.65, Boston \$22. Comrade Dennis of Boston says: "With four weeks remaining before the campaign ends, I feel quite certain that our goal will be achieved."

These are the branches that boosted their percentages during the week, but how about those branches which haven't been heard from for a few weeks?

Friends of *The Militant* are doing what they can to make the campaign a success and thus assure the regular weekly printing of America's only genuinely socialist newspaper. Their contributions have put "General" ahead of schedule in the campaign.

C.H. of Empire, Oregon, contributed another \$20 making a total of \$40 he has sent in for *The Militant*.

F.B.F., Los Angeles, mailed in \$1; W.S., Minneapolis, \$1; a group of Militant readers below the Mason-Dixon line pooled their resources and sent \$65 to be applied to the "General" quota.

To make this campaign a 100% success, every quota must be completed by July 15. That's only a little over three weeks. Let's step it up!

Municipal Politics in The Post-Hague Era

Last week the City Commission in Jersey City held a public hearing on an ordinance to license house-to-house canvassers at \$2 per yr. A woman arose, announced she represented the Communist Party and asked for permission to speak against the ordinance. Mayor Kenny consulted with the other commissioners and then said, "Speaking for myself and my colleagues on the commission, we are definitely against anything the Communist Party stands for." So she was denied the right to speak at this "public" hearing, and later the ordinance was adopted.

'Welfare State' Or Socialism?

(Continued from Page 1)

his proposed budget for the fiscal year, July 1, 1950 to July 1, 1951.

Truman asked Congress for some \$42.4 billion. This is no mean sum. It is about 20% of the national income; five times the government expenditures of 1939. It could buy a lot of welfare for the people—but not the way Truman wants to spend it.

He himself said that "as in all recent years," the budget for 1951 is "dominated by financial requirements" of wars, past and in preparation. "Estimated expenditures for these purposes are 30 billion dollars, or about 71 per cent of the total budget." (Our emphasis)

The United Press observed that the "cold war... took the biggest bite—\$19,173,000,000. This was broken down into \$13,545,000,000 for national defense [direct war preparations], \$4,711,000,000 for foreign affairs [financing and arming reactionary capitalist regimes abroad] and \$817,000,000 for development of atomic energy [piling up A-Bombs]."

All costs of government not "war-connected" are to get little more than \$12 billion. How much of this is going for welfare and security? Truman's budget message tells us that too: "The budget proposes total funds of 2.1 billion dollars for social welfare, health, and security, and 434 million dollars for education and general research, about one-sixteenth of total federal expenditures." (Our emphasis)

Declining Proportion for Welfare

Truman, in his Jackson Day Dinner speech, pointed out the declining role of welfare in his "welfare state" program. Stressing again that more than 70% of federal spending is "war-connected," he admitted that "our other expenditures are less than one third of the budget and less in proportion to the national income than they were ten years ago." (Our emphasis)

The national income is three times greater today than in 1939—at least in inflation dollars. It will therefore shock those who have swallowed the "welfare state" propaganda to learn that the government spent more dollars in 1939 for social welfare and security than Truman proposes for 1951.

The 1939 budget allocated, under the heading of "Social Welfare, Health and Security," the sum of \$3,949,000,000. Under the same heading, Truman calls for \$2,714,000,000—one-third less than before the war.

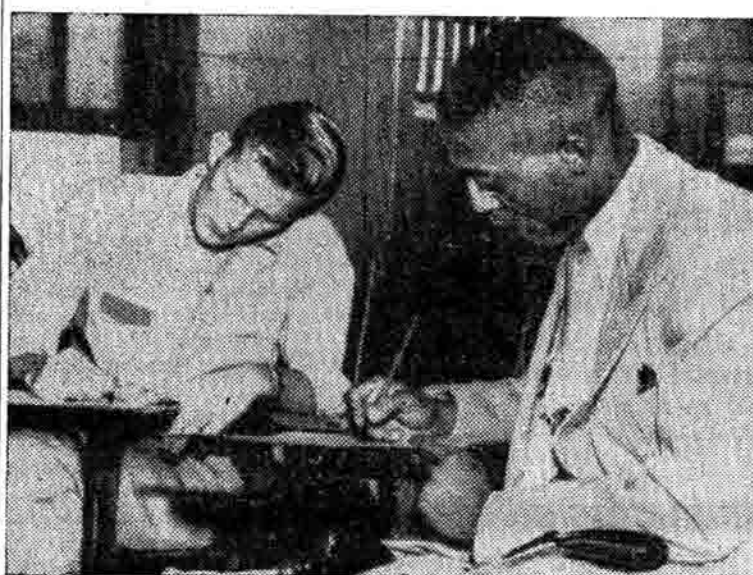
The following figures compare the proportions of the 1939 and 1951 budgets allocated for war and welfare:

	Total Spending (In billions)	War (In billions)	Per Cent	Welfare & Security (In billions)	Per Cent
1939	\$9.0	\$1.0	12%	\$3.9	44%
1951	\$42.4	\$19.1	45%	\$2.7	6%

These figures tell at a glance the direction of the capitalist "welfare state." They show an almost exact reversal of the percentages of federal spending from welfare to war. In 1939, 44% of the budget for welfare; in 1951, 45% for war. In 1939, 12% for war; in 1951, 6% for welfare.

Would you call this a "welfare state"—or a warfare state?

Admitted in Texas



John Saunders Chase enrolls at the University of Texas at Austin, the first Negro ever admitted there. But because the Supreme Court refused to revoke the "separate but equal" doctrine, the overwhelming majority of Southern Negroes remain segregated in education as well as other fields.

Leaders Link Yugoslav Struggle to 1917 Revolution and Internationalism

In important speeches which vigorously refuted the Kremlin slander that their country was joining Western imperialism, two of the top Yugoslav leaders, Marshal Tito and Milovan Djilas, linked the struggles of the Yugoslav peoples with the October 1917 Russian Revolution and with the international workers' movement for socialism.

"The truth about us is breaking through the darkness and penetrating into all parts of the world," Tito declared at last month's celebration of the eighth anniversary of the Yugoslav air force. "Our peoples did not believe that, in their striving to realize a better future, they would encounter the obstacles that have been placed in their path. The Soviet Union, after the great October Revolution, was encircled by the capitalist world, but enjoyed the sympathies of the proletariat of the entire world."

"New Yugoslavia has found herself in a worse situation. Instead of enjoying the full support of the great Soviet Union and the working people of the whole world, she has experienced the fate of having not only the Soviet Union rising against her, but also of having it incite others against her."

"But today more and more progressive people in the world view our struggle with sympathy. Today progressive people in the world are asking why Yugoslavia has not yet joined the imperialist camp. They visit our country and see exactly the opposite here. And what they see for themselves in our country constitutes the weightiest argument."

A few days later to a crowd of 30,000 people at Prokuplje, Serbia, Tito said: "We are today the only neutral and independent country, having no obligations either to East or West... We know our path. We have no other road except the road to Socialism, and we are prepared to die to the last man if necessary were anyone to try to negate the achievements of our great liberation struggle." Referring to loans received from the West, Tito said: "Rest assured, comrades, that we shall

NMU Hiring Hall Compromise Hits Rotary Shipping

(Cont. from page 1)

the shipowners and their agents are most determined to eradicate. To clear any doubt on this score, Senator Taft rushed into print a few days after the announcement of the NMU-shipowner hiring agreement with the warning that under the Taft-Hartley Act, no employer should be able to bind himself to "reject non-union men," nor "should he be able to contract to accept men on a rotary-hiring basis."

In the three years since the Taft-Lundberg hiring formula was incorporated into the Sailors' Union of the Pacific agreement, NMU President Joseph Curran declared over and over again that there would be "no compromise" on the union hiring hall. With each adverse court decision Curran would emphatically reiterate the "no compromise" declaration. Being irrevocably on record in speech and print against any compromise, Curran had to resort to some remarkable double-talk to square the deed with the word.

CURRAN'S PROMISES

The three year struggle, he says in his weekly column in the NMU Pilot, "has now drawn to a close. The union hiring hall is safe. The rotary system of shipping which has provided a democratic and equal chance for jobs for our members, is preserved."

"Now," he adds, "that the agreement has been made which preserves hiring through the hall—and it is even more explicit that the old agreement was—we can turn our attention to consolidating our organization and begin to straighten out the many economic questions that our membership faces day to day."

This is the type of upside-down logic which Curran learned so well during his long sojourn in the Stalinist camp. Every defeat is hailed as a great victory. For three years, he says in effect, the union has been diverted from the economic struggle by the fight to preserve the hiring hall. Now that rotary shipping has been "preserved" the other problems can be tackled.

But three years ago Curran condemned the Taft-Lundberg formula. He boasted that the NMU did not and would not accept any compromise. He could have had the same hiring formula three years ago. If it is a victory now, why wasn't it then?

The truth is, that a few more such "victories" and the seamen will be back where they started, shipping out of crimp joints providing "competent, dependable and satisfactory" hands to greedy and voracious shipowner parasites at a "reasonable" price.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

With the campaign for \$10,000 to help print *The Militant* coming down the home stretch, we ask our readers and friends to join in a subscription campaign which is planned for the month of July.

The aim of the one-month subscription campaign is to put *The Militant* in as many workers' homes as possible, so that they get America's leading socialist weekly throughout the election period. That's a favorable time we think to introduce new readers to the program of socialism.

The feature of the campaign will be a three-months trial subscription for fifty cents. We have asked all Literature Agents and branches of the Socialist Workers Party to decide on goals for their area. These will be announced next week.

Literature Agent Marj Deck of Los Angeles writes that sales continue good on the campus. "Shirley M. has been selling at Los Angeles City College one evening each week for about an hour. She averages about eight Militants."

"Ruth and I hit the University of California for an hour or so around lunch time each week. We push the Fourth International here and usually sell five to seven. In addition last week we sold Socialism on Trial and five Militants. We work this campus as a team."

"Students invariably ask questions and start a discussion. When one of us is involved, the other makes a point of selling unless we think we have a real find. This way we make contacts and try to win friends."

"Babe went to Compton Junior High with the May 8 issue and got a very good response. She sold nine copies and was asked a lot of questions."

"We had 13 sellers out for a

Harry Bridges meeting. The crowd was largely Stalinist, yet using pro-Yugoslav slogans, we sold 39 Militants.

"Last week Sarah, Ruth and I spent an hour and a half in the Watts neighborhood and sold 50 copies. We use the individual approach here."

To make sure that a bundle of extra Militant ordered by someone doesn't waste time in a mail box or branch station over the week-end, we now take the package up to the main Post Office in New York. Even then there's no guarantee you'll get your Militants on time as the "economy" regulations forced on the Post Office by a government with atom bombs on the brain seem to have taken us well back to the delivery schedule of the Pony Express.

Climbing the stairs up to the entrance with a bundle last Saturday, we paused for breath and again read that legend carved the whole length of the Post Office above the pillars holding up the roof: "Neither snow nor rain nor heat nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds."

We were stirred by that proud claim as we are every time we read it and have to admit that's what it really says. However, now we wonder. Is it strictly ethical? To make it honest advertising, shouldn't the Post Office add: "—Congress permitting."

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Monday, June 26, 1950



TROTSKY

"Socialism would have no value if it should not bring with it, not only the juridical inviolability but also the full safeguarding of all the interests of the human personality. Man-kind would not tolerate a totalitarian abomination of the Kremlin pattern. The political regime of the Soviet Union is not a new society, but the worst caricature of the old. With the might of the techniques and organizational methods of the United States; with the high well-being which planned economy could assure there to all citizens, the socialist regime in your country would signify from the beginning the rise of independence, initiative and creative power of the human personality."

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



LENIN

A Trade Mark of the Police State

"Loyalty" oaths are a trade-mark of police states. Every regime that fears its own subjects, that rules by fiat and force, demands repeated and ever louder assurances of "loyalty" from the people. To be silent and submissive is not enough. You must get down on your knees and servilely swear that not in deed nor even in thought will you ever oppose the regime or its policies.

Nothing better reveals the state of democracy and civil liberties in the United States today than the spread of the "loyalty" oath. Starting with employees of the federal government, the "loyalty" system is spreading into every sphere of American life—to teachers, lawyers, doctors, garbage collectors. Unions are denied government recognition unless their leaders take "loyalty" oaths; corporations are demanding contracts giving them power to fire workers who refuse to take "loyalty" oaths.

How deeply the "loyalty" oath trade-mark of the police state has already been stamped on this country is seen in a recent example from Los Angeles and Hollywood. Earl C. Anthony, owner of radio station KFI in Los Angeles, two weeks ago instituted the first "loyalty" oath demanded of radio workers in this country and has already fired one em-

ployee who refused to submit. Anthony, who is also a Hollywood auto dealer, further announced he would fire any of his 300 salesmen who won't sign affidavits swearing they are not "communists."

Ironically, the first person Anthony fired was Mrs. Charles Aumach, the KFI network traffic manager, a conservative-minded Republican. She refused to sign as a matter of principle involving her personal liberties. After she was vainly asked to resign, she was dismissed for "failure to cooperate."

Mrs. Aumach correctly pointed out that "loyalty" oaths aren't very effective in revealing "communists." But that is not the purpose of such oaths. Their purpose is to cultivate the habit of submission and servility, to intimidate free thought and expression of opinion, to turn the populace into fear-stricken cravens drowning out dissent with their clamorous protestations of "loyalty."

Any regime that demands "loyalty" oaths, that squeezes them out of the people by threat and force, is a regime that knows it cannot command real loyalty and support. The spread of the "loyalty" oath attests how aware the capitalist rulers of America are of the feeble hold their system has on the true loyalty of the American people.

ism's allies. This bill would empower the President to expend 10% of the amount wherever and however he sees fit "in emergencies."

On June 22, a joint conference of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees approved plans to increase the Air Force from 48 to 72 groups. The same day, the Senate cleared the way for quick enactment of a three-year extension of the military draft.

None of these "peace" moves would be complete, however, without new action to obtain more fiendish weapons of mass obliteration. Hence, it has been announced that the Atomic Energy Commission, with Truman's support, has asked for an additional \$300 million for "a further giant expansion of atomic, or hydrogenous, production facilities"—hydrogenous referring to the hydrogen or H-Bomb, a thousand times more deadly than the "old-fashioned" A-Bomb.

"Peace" to the imperialist means only the interlude between wars. Only to the working masses does peace mean harmonious, cooperative relations between nations and peoples. When the workers and farmers take the power in their own hands to decide war or peace, then only will war and threats of war become a mere memory of man's barbarous past.

By Paul G. Stevens

A statement of policy on "European Unity," issued as a pamphlet by the National Executive Committee of the British Labor Party, created an uproar on both sides of the Atlantic last week. Coming unexpectedly on the eve of negotiations between France, Western Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg for the merger of coal and steel production in these countries, under a plan suggested by French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, the statement opposed any "supra-national body" set up for that or similar purposes. "Such an authority," the pamphlet flatly stated, "would have a permanent anti-socialist majority and would arouse the hostility of the European workers."

The Labor Party statement, although otherwise couched in familiar opportunist language, a mixture of reformism and British insularism, thus threatened to upset a number of appraisals. It aroused the unanimous fury of the capitalist rulers and their apologists everywhere. Particularly incensed were the Wall Street sponsors of the Schuman Plan. Even more significantly, it put the Labor Government itself on the spot and revealed the brewing crisis within the Labor Party. Prime Minister Attlee and Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin had declared their general sympathy for the Schuman Plan, while declining to join it until they saw what concrete shape it would assume.

ATLEE EMBARRASSED

The pamphlet was issued to the press by Hugh Dalton, a lesser cabinet minister and chairman of the party's International Affairs Committee, who is reported to be aligned with Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, in the Left Wing of the official leadership. In the House of Commons, Attlee maintained complete silence when he was badgered by Churchill and other Conservative M.P.s as to how he and Bevin stood with regard to the party statement. He would only reiterate the government's previous stand. The discrepancy between this position and that of the Party Executive he merely waved aside, saying the party was one thing and the government another. It was obvious that Attlee's embarrassment reflected deep dissension within the Laborite leadership.

The full text of the controversial pamphlet and direct reports from England are not as yet available. But from excerpts in the press and accompanying comments a general picture can be pieced together.

1. The Schuman Plan, although put forward by a Frenchman, is really the brain-child of the Wall Street bankers. It is designed to set up a vast super-trust or international cartel for the coal and steel industries that would leave ownership firmly in private hands, regulate production so as to assure the greatest profits for the small clique of international financiers and "level out" wages and living standards in all countries affected. By a strong centralized authority, it intends not only to impose a circuitous form of control over nationalized in-

dustries, but also upon obstreperous national capitalist groups. Marshall Plan credits, which have done the spade work in reestablishing "free enterprise" in Europe, are to be replaced after 1952 by private Wall Street loans which are to finish off the job—and involve England in the process.

2. The British capitalists, while none too enthusiastic about further knuckling under to Wall Street, are not averse to seeing some instrument like the Schuman Plan set up which they could utilize temporarily against the Labor movement, economically as well as politically. In fact, Churchill has from the first been a leading light in the "Council of Europe" as part of a scheme to outflank Labor in Britain with a capitalist all-European organization proposed up by American financiers.

GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

3. The Attlee government and the official leadership of the Labor Party, under constant pressure from Wall Street, would like to come to terms with the American creditors, call a halt to nationalizations and hang on to as much of its reform program as possible under the circumstances. It faces a particular dilemma with the problem of steel nationalization, which has been enacted

into law and is to enter into force next October. The Schuman Plan could serve as a device to get around the dilemma by giving the government an excuse to postpone steel nationalization.

4. The official left wing led by Dalton and Aneurin Bevan, on the other hand, is uneasy about postponement of steel nationalization and the whole policy of retreat it entails. One of the Fabian "brain-trusters" of the Labor Party explained why, in a book he wrote several years ago:

"Any retreat by the Government on the question of iron and steel would certainly be regarded as a betrayal of their election pledges by the great majority of the Party's supporters both in the House and in the country." (John Parker, *Labor Marches On*.)

Steel nationalization is universally regarded as the test of whether the Labor Party means business about nationalization because of the predominating effect of steel on the whole of England's industrial production. A retreat, therefore, means a break with the masses. The official Left Wing does not want to risk such a break.

Hence, the pamphlet on European unity, with its sharp statement that while international planning was the key to economic unity, planning for private profit would be worse than useless. Hence, the scarcely veiled attack on the "anti-socialist" majority of European governments permanently controlled by Wall Street. That is also what accounts for the muffled challenge to Churchill, and indirectly also to Attlee:

MUFFLED CHALLENGE

"No politician has the right to support such changes—joining a 'supra-national authority' such as the Schuman Plan, or any similar all-European body—unless he has the honesty and courage to present them for the verdict of his own electorate."

This is also what accounts for the way in which the National Executive Committee, under temporary sway of Dalton and Bevan, embarrassed the Prime Minister, who is a member of it.

The Dalton-Bevan "coup" is a distorted expression of the resistance of the British masses to the pressure of American imperialism and to the planned betrayal of the Labor leadership. The "socialism" of these "Lefts" is cloaked in the language of British nationalism. It does not speak out courageously against Wall Street, it does not issue any call for international solidarity. The Daltons and Bevans cannot be given the slightest shred of confidence by the British masses in the crisis that faces them.

But at the same time, the rift the pamphlet has created in the Labor Party leadership opens the doors wide for a genuine left wing leadership to rise from the ranks that will carry through the struggle for a socialist policy consistently and firmly, that will declare its uncompromising hostility to imperialism and capitalism, that will call upon the workers of all countries to rally to the support of a revolutionary Britain. This prospect, more than anything else, accounts for the uproar over the pamphlet, for the fury of the American press attacks, for the rather restrained debate by the Tories in Parliament and for the embarrassed silence of Mr. Attlee.

British Labor Party And the Schuman Plan

Yugoslavia Today

By Vivienne Goonewardene

II: Reconstruction and Agriculture

As you travel through Yugoslavia you see the ravages of war — the villages burned or destroyed. But alongside, new settlements and new houses are springing up. Near every mining project and factory, model workers' towns with storied apartments are being built, complete with schools, libraries, cinemas. Yugoslavia is one vast building site — feverishly building apartments, factories, schools, libraries, cinemas, theaters, etc. And this means that in Yugoslavia there is absolutely no unemployment, which exists in the highly industrialized capitalist countries.

A good transport system is a vital necessity for the development of the economy in any country. The Serbian bourgeoisie had neglected many areas in Yugoslavia such as Macedonia and Montenegro — and foreign capitalists too had not given much attention to this problem. Over 64% of the country's railways had been damaged during the war. One of the primary tasks that the National Liberation Committees carried out was this reconstruction of the lines and bridges. When that was completed by 1945, new construction was embarked upon. While pre-war Yugoslavia had not built more than 50 kilometers of railway per year, the new Yugoslavia was building an average of 340 kilometers per year, a large part of it by youth volunteers.

Given their food and overalls by the state, the volunteer brigades worked with a new confidence, an unmistakable enthusiasm, born of the belief that they were no longer at the mercy of a few profiteers but were masters of their own lives. It was particularly the voluntary service of the youth in repairing communication lines, cultivating land to avoid post-war famine conditions, laying new roads and bridges, that made a speedy reconstruction and rehabilitation of this country possible.

Achievements of the Youth Brigades

To mention a few examples of this enthusiastic loyalty: When Belgrade, after liberation, was vitally in need of fuel for hospitals, institutions and homes, it was the youth from every republic of Yugoslavia who started a tree-felling drive, felling 6,068 cubic meters of wood in 15 days and building the Bos Cri Vih railway line to transport this fuel. When the country was faced with famine, it was these volunteer youth brigades that irrigated, ploughed, sowed and reaped the countryside to produce the much-needed grain.

The Breko Banovic railway, over 90 miles long with 247 bridges and tunnels, the Belgrade Zafret highway, the Samac-Sarajevo railway, which was 237 kilometers long with 2,000 meters of tunnel and an 800 meter bridge over the Sava and four bridges over the River Bosina — all these are a magnificent tribute to the enthusiasm and capabilities of the youth of Yugoslavia who achieved engineering feats without mechanized equipment or training.

In the sector of agriculture, it is no exaggeration to state that the goal is a complete socialization of land. Today only 22% of the cultivated land is under the socialist sector, but in 1947 there wasn't more than 2%. State farms, collectives, cooperative farms and small peasant ownership exist side by side. The Yugoslav Communist Party had learned from the mistakes of the Russian example, where in opposition to Trotsky, who wanted the basis laid for an agricultural machine industry before collectivization, Stalin embarked on a forcible collectivization which ended disastrously with the state destroying the lives of millions of peasants.

Transformation of the Countryside

By electrification and irrigation, by mass production of tractors, seed drills, threshers, seed-dryers and other necessary machinery, the basis is being laid for a mechanized agriculture which alone will eradicate peasant poverty and improve the yield per hectare. Collectivization and cooperative farming are both completely voluntary, but the acreage that is permitted for private ownership is limited to 30 hectares. (A hectare is approximately 2½ acres.) The agrarian land reform which liquidated the big landowners of the laity and the Church alike and also the rich peasant, and the distribution of land to poor peasant cultivators, which abolished by decree all peasant debts to the state and private capital, set the forces moving toward a socialist transformation of the countryside.

The state stock-breeding farms, fruit nurseries and orchards, bee-keeping centers, agricultural workshops and tractor stations, were demonstrations of the productivity of socialized farms. The experimentation on new seed crops and soils and manures and the opening up of new agricultural colleges from which students went into collective farms to instruct the members of cooperatives, assisted in the general movement toward collectivization. The loaning of tractors to cooperative farms; the low credit facilities available to cooperative farmers; the system of tied-trading whereby the producers obtain a money price and coupons which entitle them to obtain goods at special cheap prices; the progressive taxation and state collection of grain — all these achieve in practice a control of the acquisitive instincts of the peasant.

The cooperative centers are centers of economic and cultural life of the village. While they attend to the economic needs of the members, they have large warehouses, tractor stations, workshops and machines for processing agricultural products, and handloom and carpet weaving looms to encourage local crafts. We visited a cooperative in the autonomous region of Vojvodina where the president of the cooperative, a husky, kindly farmer, was also an elected deputy to the Federal Assembly. In this province the socialized sector of agriculture alone accounted for over half of the agricultural products of this province. The president described to us the method of farming and animal husbandry in that farm. He informed us that at one time over half the members of the cooperative had resigned and taken to private farming. But finding that they had attained a better standard of living within the cooperative, they returned.

(Continued next week)

Perspectives Developing Out of the Crisis of World Stalinism

By Michel Pablo

In the pre-war years the capitalist world was able to maintain a relative equilibrium, which was buttressed by the successive defeats suffered by the world proletariat. Stalinism likewise achieved a degree of equilibrium. In the USSR the bureaucracy had succeeded through the Moscow Trials and purges, in finding itself of one conscious oppositional elements and, within the bureaucracy, the Thermidorian faction became strengthened.

Abroad, the movement influenced by the Soviet bureaucracy, the various Communist Parties, vegetated in mediocrity after suffering one defeat after another. The Stalinist church, purged of all heretics, scrupulously safeguarded the status quo, but its peace of mind continued to be disturbed by fears of the war it knew was unavoidable.

The war came, the equilibrium was shattered on every level, and the world finds itself today plunged into the greatest maelstrom in history. Stalinism finds itself thrust into new conditions, which must be analyzed correctly.

THE PRE-WAR SYSTEM

When we spoke of Stalinism in the past, we meant the worldwide

system of Communist Parties assembled in the Third International, led and controlled by the Soviet bureaucracy to serve its own special interest, particularly the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy. The unity in the Stalinist system was not the result of a unified ideological outlook, of common views and program freely arrived at by each component element of this system, but rather it was the result of a subordination, of a bureaucratic dependence of the national leaderships on the leadership of the Russian CP, master of the Kremlin, master of the USSR.

This was possible because the chief source of strength of the Communist Parties among the masses derived from the authority of the Kremlin, regarded by the masses as the unchallenged representative of the October Revolution, of Lenin's Third International and of the USSR, the first socialist country. No Communist Party could lay claim to any independent strength and its communication by Moscow meant its disappearance as a mass party.

A relatively long period of concrete experience with Stalinism was required before it was possible to pass beyond this stage; also required was a change in the

objective conditions, the opening of a new period of upsurge of the revolutionary movement, surmounting the mass conservatism and demoralization which are highly favorable for the maintenance of bureaucratic inertia inside the labor movement.

NEW CONDITIONS

Such a period of upsurge now prevails as a result of the war and its aftermath. Stalinism, previously a relatively shut-in system lacking great mass support, as it was in 1938-40, experienced a stormy growth thanks to its ties with the resistance movements in Europe and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies. The USSR, profiting from the rift in the imperialist camp and the extreme enfeeblement of the possessing classes of Europe, emerged victorious from the war and extended its effective control over a considerable part of Europe and Asia. This made it possible for several Communist Parties to come to power.

All these changes, introduced in the Stalinist system on a gigantic scale compared to the pre-war situation, produce results whose tendency is not solely to strengthen Stalinism, that is, the control of the Russian bureaucracy over the labor movement.

Direct and absolute control is actually much easier to establish in periods of demoralization and retreat in the labor movement than at a time when this movement is rising.

TWO POLES OF ATTRACTION

On the other hand, to the degree that the Communist Parties acquire their own strength, whether by leading a revolutionary mass movement or by exercising the state power in a given country, or as in some instances by doing both, then to the same degree these parties, no matter how bureaucratized their leadership, become subject to mass pressure and find themselves caught between two poles of attraction: on the one side, the Kremlin, on the other, the tendency to play an independent role. Any yielding to the latter implies unleashing a movement to break free from Moscow tutelage with all the consequences that this entails.

For the first time since the imposition of Stalinism upon the workers' movement, we are witnessing and shall continue to witness the unleashing of centrifugal tendencies and even the breaking away from the Kremlin of a whole party (Yugoslavia) as a consequence in one way or an-

other of the organic growth of these parties, of their genuine ties with the revolutionary mass movement and of their conquest of the state power, especially where they take the power with their own forces.

TROTSKYIST ANALYSIS

In our opinion this conclusion is of great significance for understanding Stalinism in general, its crisis and its perspectives. It is based on the analysis of the nature of Stalinism made by Leon Trotsky and our international movement and is, for example, diametrically opposed to all theories which look upon Stalinism as a tendency simultaneously both anti-bourgeois and anti-proletarian, operating inside the labor movement, without being a part of it.

(Max Shachtman develops this conception in an article entitled "A Left Wing of the Labor Movement?" in the Sept. 1949 *New Internationalist*.)

The chief defect of such a conception of Stalinism is that it lumps together the control exerted by the bureaucracy over the revolutionary vanguard in other countries with this vanguard itself; and it leads to a deeply pessimistic and reactionary theory of omnipotence of this bureau-

cracy and a denial of the role of the masses in determining the historic future.

In fact, were the Communist Parties to be judged — as, for instance, Shachtman does — solely by the program and leadership imposed by Moscow; if the mass movement and the rank and file on which they rest are of no account whatever; if this proletarian base and this revolutionary mass movement were not capable, under certain conditions, of bringing about a differentiation and even tendencies toward independent action inside these Communist Parties, then the attitude towards these parties would have to be entirely different from the one we actually have toward them, namely: to struggle side by side with the rank and file in every anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist action; to follow attentively and understandingly their internal evolution; to support every tendency toward breaking free from Stalinist tutelage; not to mistake the victories they are capable of achieving themselves in the struggle for power for a pure and simple victory of the Soviet bureaucracy.

MORE POWERFUL

Our movement bases its revolutionary perspectives on the fol-

lowing conception: The dynamic of the revolutionary mass movement, itself in the last analysis conditioned by the evolution of the objective situation, will prove to be more powerful than any bureaucratic machine, and it need only reach a certain level to break through any obstacles which the latter may erect in the way of the free development of mass consciousness and the revolution.

We have tried to show in these articles that this conception is now being confirmed in life both by the crisis of Stalinism especially in the buffer zone, and also in the situation which is unfolding in China and in certain Asiatic countries now shaken up by the mighty anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial masses. Consequently, the expansion of Stalinism does not signify merely the expansion of the control of the Soviet bureaucracy over the world labor movement. In reality this expansion is dialectical and introduces new ferment and centrifugal forces into the world of Stalinism. It creates new situations which act and will continue to act to aggravate the general crisis of Stalinism, towards the dislocation of the entire system, starting with its periphery.

It is naturally of the utmost importance for a deeper comprehension of the present situation of Stalinism and of its evolution, to take into account the shifts that have taken place within the ranks of the Soviet bureaucracy itself since the war, the relationship of forces between the various layers, the direction of their tendencies and the dynamic of these tendencies. Such a study still remains to be made, and it must be made.

It appears to us, however, that in the foreseeable future the crumbling of Stalinism will generally take place along the periphery before the center itself becomes seriously affected. And there is every chance that in the coming years we shall witness the process predicted by the Transitional Program of our international movement: "There are many signs that the Comintern's downfall, because it does not have a direct base in the GPU, will precede the downfall of the Bonapartist clique and of the entire Thermidorian bureaucracy in general."

(This is the last in a series of four articles on the crisis of world Stalinism.)

Two Peas in a Pod

By William E. Bohannon

Foreigners are always asking: "But what is the big difference between the Democratic and Republican Parties?" And somehow they never get a clear or satisfactory answer. I know that when I went to high school, I never got one from my teachers either; all I recall of their explanations is some vague remark about tariffs. But of course there is a difference, as anyone who closely follows the proceedings in Congress can show.



The congressional debate over rent control is a case in point. The Republicans want to end it now, the Democrats want to end it after the next election. We may not think it is a big difference, or a difference in principle, but we must admit that one exists. The Democrats claim there is enough of a difference to justify their re-election; they say their policy will save some money for tenants by postponing the flood of rent raises that is sure to come when controls are lifted and evictions are threatened. But don't think they have a monopoly on "liberal" and "humanitarian" arguments. One Republican (Rep. Jesse Wolcott of Michigan) said: "I should think it would be much more pleasant sleeping on the grass in June than on the snow banks in December." Looked at from that viewpoint, the difference between the two capitalist parties shrinks even further.

Or take the case of FEPC. Both parties have repeatedly pledged to adopt legislation that would outlaw discrimination in employment because of race, religion, nationality, etc. Yet, somehow, no matter which party has control of Congress (the Republicans 1947-48, the Democrats 1949-50), it doesn't seem to get enacted. Here, we are told (by both sides), it is a question of sincerity. The Republicans aren't really sincere, say the Democrats, otherwise they would not have voted to take the teeth out of FEPC by making it a "voluntary" measure in the House last February. But the same objection can be made of the Democrats, whose leaders don't really try to push through closure so that the Senate can vote on the bill, and whose boss in the White House has said that even if a compulsory FEPC bill is enacted, he will not administer it in such a way as to interfere with the right of Jim Crow em-

ployers to run their business as they see fit. There is a difference here too — but only over what is the best way to evade election platform promises.

Despite the bi-partisan policy, Washington has been the scene of a long and bitter squabble over foreign affairs, especially in Asia. The Republicans want China defended, or at any rate Formosa. The Democrats reply that it appears hopeless to try it any longer; that the Chiang Kai-shek regime is corrupt; that the people of China are in rebellion against their backward past and on the move to take their fate into their own hands, etc. Perhaps this, then, is a difference in principle? The very question dies on your lips when you examine the Truman administration's policy in Indo-China. There too is a corrupt regime; there too the people are revolting against imperialist domination and the conditions of colonial backwardness. And there the Democrats are now busy (to the applause of the Republicans) funneling in money, arms and planes to keep the people from deciding their own fate. The "big" difference here is that in Indo-China the Democrats still believe their efforts to turn back the clock by imperialist intervention are not yet hopeless. Even peas in a pod are not exactly identical (especially in size) but for all ordinary purposes they can be regarded as alike.

We could go up and down the line — the witch-hunt purge and "subversive" blacklists, Taft-Hartleyism, taxation, housing and all the other important issues in the 1950 campaign and we would find the same situation prevailing. We are reminded of that ancient anecdote about the woman deputy in the French parliament who was discussing some social legislation affecting women and said, "After all, there is only a small difference between men and women —" and who was interrupted by the shout of a male deputy, "Vive la difference!" The difference between the two capitalist parties is smaller than the one referred to in the anecdote, but Democrats and Republicans alike have good reason to shout "Hooray for the difference!" — no matter how small or how artificial. For it is one of the principal weapons they and the labor bureaucrats have used to keep the workers in this country from forming a Labor Party which would really differ from the old parties because it would represent the interests of the working class and oppose those of the capitalist class and its political agents.

Spellman and McCarthy

By Joseph Keller

A glimpse of the Roman Catholic hierarchy's deep involvement in American politics and its powerful influence on Washington affairs is offered by the recent luncheon get-together between Francis Cardinal Spellman and John E. Peurifoy, U. S. Undersecretary of State, who himself is an Episcopalian. Peurifoy met with Spellman at the latter's invitation.

Peurifoy has been the principal spokesman of the State Department in answering the charges of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, the Wisconsin Republican and Catholic who has been embarrassing the Truman administration by turning the White House-sponsored "loyalty" purge and witch-hunt against the administration itself.

Cardinal Spellman's friendly gesture toward Peurifoy was a demonstrative political act which can be understood only in the light of the Catholic hierarchy's connection with McCarthy's campaign. The strong evidence of this connection was presented in the May 22 Militant.

By his gesture toward Peurifoy, Spellman was clearly indicating that the hierarchy now intends to take no more responsibility for McCarthy and to give him no further support.

Naturally, Spellman and Peurifoy claimed they had discussed the McCarthy affair "only in the most casual manner." But it must certainly have been plain to the Cardinal that his mere invitation to Peurifoy would be publicly interpreted only as a demonstration of the hierarchy's position with respect to McCarthy. And why should Spellman have felt impelled to make this demonstration if the hierarchy were not intimately involved in the McCarthy campaign, but now felt the necessity to pull out from under?

As Joseph C. Harsch, chief of the Christian Science Monitor's Washington News Bureau, points out: "No matter how 'casual' may have

been the mention of McCarthy at the luncheon, the meaning is plain that the hierarchy led by Cardinal Spellman has decided to divorce itself from the McCarthy case."

The immediate practical effect of Spellman's gesture, Harsch adds, "is to make it safe for non-Roman Catholic politicians to criticize Senator McCarthy without being considered anti-Catholic by Roman Catholics."

Whether or not the Catholic hierarchy had directly put its imprimatur on McCarthy, both the Washington politicians and the Roman Catholic faithful had been led to understand that opposition to McCarthy was not looked on with favor by the hierarchy.

Peurifoy had to be "cleared" by Spellman himself in order to answer a political attack by a McCarthy without being deemed a "red heretic" and "enemy of the Church" by Roman Catholics. Such is the power wielded in American politics by the Catholic hierarchy today.

Why does the hierarchy now sidestep responsibility for McCarthy? Possibly for several reasons. McCarthy himself has a smelly personal record, a lot of which is just coming out, including \$10,000 he once received from the Lustron Corporation which got big RFC handouts. There has been a big kick-back, even from Catholics like Democratic Senator Chavez of New Mexico. Finally, the McCarthy campaign may have served its immediate purpose for the Catholic hierarchy, such as pressure on the administration for renewal of diplomatic representation to the Vatican.

But even if McCarthy is dropped overboard, it does not mean the end of McCarthyism. The McCarthy affair has already given a terrific further impetus to reaction and intensified the witch-hunt, which will take on forms cast in the McCarthy mold.

Whitewash of Peekskill

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and concert! Civil rights were violated, people were brutally beaten up—but all that shrinks into insignificance in the face of the fact that the targets of fascist-like violence dared to organize to protect themselves.

And so the grand jury reserved its strongest words of condemnation for the defenders of the second concert, whom it castigated as "the shock troops of a revolutionary force which is controlled by a foreign power," etc.

ATTACK ACLU

Almost as "scandalous," in the view of the grand jury, was the pamphlet issued by the American Civil Liberties Union, "Violence in Peekskill," whose findings were endorsed by such organizations as the NAACP. The grand jury didn't like the facts that the ACLU cited, and complained that its pamphlet was "based from the start on a biased assumption as to the underlying causes of the disorders" and accepted "gossip, rumors and unverified stories of prejudiced persons." (To the grand jury, the testimony of those who were beaten up by the hoodlums was naturally "prejudiced" and untrustworthy.)

All of the grand jury's indignation was consumed in denouncing the victims of Peekskill and their defenders. For the really guilty parties, it offered only tolerance, sympathy and alibis.

Thus, it says of the attack on the first concert that there was "no evidence that it was organized for any purpose other than the expressed one of an orderly protest against communism," and

naturally it has nothing but praise for the purpose. (On the other hand, it held that "The leaders of the Communist Party in the New York area went far beyond a reasonable protest of the events of Aug. 27.")

SYMPATHY AND ALIBIS

The violence? It "did not result from planning or organization on the part of any individual or groups of people to incite or foster such disturbances." Apparently the whole thing was spontaneous combustion, although the grand jury hints that it may have been set off because the master of ceremonies at the second concert was heard to "refer to the veterans as 'un-American filth'" and this "inflamed many who heard it."

The cops and the authorities who were supposed to maintain order and protect civil rights? Apparently they acted in a splendid manner. True, the grand jury notes, at the second concert "the police were told to stand their ground and not to leave their posts. This strategy necessarily enabled hoodlum elements in some instances within the sight of the police, to harass and stone cars and buses leaving the concert areas." But that was all right too because "had those in charge of the policing not followed this plan, more serious violence, and possibly mass killings might well have occurred."

The anti-Negro and anti-Semitic tone and character of the attacks? A lot of bunk, said the grand jury, indignant once again. The whole thing, it insists, was "conceived and executed as pro-

tests against communism, and communism alone." Its emphasis on this point makes it plain that the grand jury sees extenuating circumstances in violations of civil rights that are committed exclusively under the banner of "anti-communism."

Anti-Semitic leaflets? Yes, but they were "traced to the activities of two professional anti-Semites from other parts of the state," says the jury assuringly. The burning of a fiery cross? Yes, that was "an unfortunate prank by a few teen-age boys and had no relation to the Ku Klux Klan or any other anti-social or anti-religious organization." Anti-Semitic and anti-Negro expressions were hurled at the concert-goers? Yes, but such expressions were "isolated" and anyhow, "The concert-goers in turn shouted derogatory remarks at the spectators."

Finally, there may be found, dug away in the center of the grand jury's report, a sentence or two administering a verbal slap on the wrist of the hoodlums for their "un-American, unwarranted and lawless acts of violence." That's not the best or most effective way to fight communism, the jury admonishes them like a parent chiding a favorite child. And it goes into a lengthy list of recommendations on the "right" way to combat this "serious potential menace to the community."

In dismissing the grand jury after it had filed its findings, New York State Supreme Court Justice James W. Bailey commended its members. The forces of American fascism should do the same.

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Panel Discusses Women's Role in Class Struggle

By Carol Pelham

LOS ANGELES — "We cannot make a socialist revolution in America without the active participation of the women in the coming struggle for power." This has been the theme of the panel discussion which has been presented six times during the past few weeks in this area.

Various entitled "Modern Woman Is Obsolete" and "Women and the Class Struggle," a panel consisting of four young socialists has presented the problems facing women in the present chaotic period of world capitalism. In her role as chairman of the panel, Vivian Haven stated that the position of women today reflects the extreme contradictions of modern society. She pointed out that the majority of the women are in the home. Denied a role in production, these women are isolated, lonely and frustrated. Their isolated position makes it most difficult for them to organize and to struggle for a better life.

Marjory Deck traced the historical development of women from primitive communism to present day capitalism. She explained how the mode of production of a particular society determines the position of women in that society.

HOUSEWIFE'S POSITION

Selma Winn, the third speaker, represented the housewife and mother, the most oppressed section of women. She stressed the loneliness, boredom and lack of creativity in the life of the housewife, and her economic and emotional dependence upon her husband. Mrs. Winn explained that the role of the housewife is merely an extension of the man's role in production; she must prepare her man for the labor process.

Julia Merrill, a factory worker, described the reactions of women to factory life. She read numerous verbatim statements made to her by women with whom she had worked. All of them agreed that even the hard demanding life of the assembly line was preferable to the dull monotony of housework. These women all found that their work had made them more independent of their husbands and had improved their relationships with the men.

Vivian Haven concluded the discussion with a presentation of the socialist solution to the woman question. Socialism, she stated, will make it possible for all men and women to develop freely and naturally, and for all women to participate equally and creatively in planning the new society. Children too will benefit from life in a secure and challenging environment.

The panel discussion has been presented to two audiences of U.C.L.A. college students interested in the Marxist Student Forum, to a group of high school youth, and to various branches of the Socialist Workers Party. The response has been generally enthusiastic and more discussions on the woman question are being planned for the future.

POLITICAL APATHY OF RANKS WORRIES PAC, LLPE LEADERS

(Continued from Page 1)

exhort and coax and threaten all they want, but that won't convince the ranks that they should be enthusiastic about a political program that has led to greater and greater political reaction instead of the promised "Fair Deal."

They've been through all this before, in a half a dozen elections. And every "victory" has somehow worked out to the advantage of Big Business rather than the people. Murray himself, in his recent New Republic article, confessed: "Since 1938, Congress has taken a leave of absence from social welfare legislation."

"LESSER EVIL"

Nobody can get worked up to high enthusiasm about a "lesser evil." The choice between Democrats and Republicans, between "good" and "bad" capitalist politicians, is like a choice between a slower-acting and faster-acting poison. The "lesser evil" poison will kill you just as dead in the end.

Maybe the workers will again decide to take the "lesser evil" course, seeing that their leaders

After White House Parley



Top Democratic congressional bigwigs leave White House after conference with Truman. L. to r.: Senate majority leader Lucas (Ill.), House speaker Rayburn (Tex.) and House Majority leader McCormack (Mass.). The 81st Congress is expected to adjourn around July 31, with a record in no way better than the "do-nothing" 80th Congress.

REUTHER'S BOARD BACKS GOSSER ON ALL CHARGES

TOLEDO — June 17 — After a five day meeting, two of which were held here and three in Detroit, the UAW International Board issued a statement completely absolving Vice President Gosser of

This revelation plus the Board's failure to deal with the question of union democracy and its complete endorsement of Gosser's administration reduce its statement to a factional document supporting a part of the national right wing caucus which has run into difficulties. Even though the Board labored for five days to get this statement out at 4:15 in the morning of the last session, a fact which some observers interpret to mean there were serious disagreements among them, the unanimous final decision can only mean that factional considerations overcame any desire to do something to restore union democracy in the UAW in Toledo.

AFTER-EFFECTS
The Board's action is serving to mark out more clearly a differentiation in opposition circles. Those elements who based themselves upon the financial charges in the main are now left with no perspective. Their reaction to the Board's decision has been bad. They are denying that they seek any office for themselves in Local 12 and are even considering leaving the local by asking for separate charters.

However, another section of the opposition made its case before the Board on the issue of union democracy and physical assaults upon those who disagree with the administration. The Board statement does not deal with the issues brought forward by this group.

REVEALING ACTION

During the Board meeting it was announced that President Reuther had suspended Orville Beemer, a leader of the right wing, who is charged with assault and battery against two opposition leaders. Just how much this suspension is worth was revealed this week when it became known that Beemer is active in union negotiations with the Dura Division of the Detroit Harvester Company.

Regional Director Ballard, when questioned on this, admitted the union had accepted Beemer's services despite his suspension. The meaning is clear: The only action of the Board which might have been interpreted as a warning to the right wing administration to stop intimidating and beating its opponents is being openly flouted.

One of the principal charges made against the administration by the old opposition at the time of the last Local 12 election was that they had weakened the union by their regime. The Board's statement, in attempting to lay the background for the events in Toledo, states, "Gosser refused to water down the union's demands or surrender in the face of management's ultimatum." It further states that Gosser "has refused to yield to the organized pressure of the employers and their newspaper mouthpiece." These statements are not true.

The current fight with the companies started nine months ago over the issue of an area-wide pension plan to include 125 companies in this region. In recent months not a word has been heard from union leaders on this plan. To date, a pension plan has been won in only one small plant and the union leaders have not come to grips with any of the larger companies on the pension issue.

THEY HAVE FAILED

The truth of the matter is that the leaders have watered down the union's demands, that they have failed to rally the membership behind them in the fight against the local corporations and that they have resorted to physical intimidations of opponents to silence all criticism.

The union has to be regenerated and the militant spirit that built it in the 1930's has to be revived in order to defeat the efforts of the Toledo millionaires to destroy it altogether. This is what the opposition should aim at. This is the message it should bring to the rank-and-file who will settle the question in the end.

Rift Appears in Wallaceite Party In Washington

By John Black

SEATTLE — The recent Washington State Convention of the Progressive Party offered additional proof of the growing rift between the Stalinist and non-Stalinist wings in the Wallaceite movement.

The State Board came in with a resolution to delete two paragraphs from the "peace platform" adopted at the national Chicago convention in February, which had blamed both the Kremlin and Wall Street for the cold war. The Stalinists had supported the platform in Chicago, but now they demanded that the party change its position.

Tom Rabbitt, notorious for leading a goon-squad raid on a Quaker peace gathering during the war, led off the attack by demanding the elimination of all areas of disagreement from the party's program. In effect, his line was that anyone who raises issues opposed by the Stalinists is a disrupter of the "peace front" and an enemy of "unity."

The Stalinists were in full control. Speaker after speaker got up to support the motion to eliminate any criticism of the Kremlin, and only two delegates spoke in favor of "Wallace's peace platform."

PRO-SOCIALIST GROUP

Another significant development at the convention was the introduction of a resolution by the delegates representing the Campus Progressives at the University of Washington, who called for a change in the party platform from "progressive capitalism" to socialism.

The convention resolution committee refused to bring this resolution to the floor for debate, and the students ran into a stone wall of opposition from the group usually known to follow the Stalinist line and some of the right wingers. However, a watershed resolution calling for support to all victims of the Smith Act was passed without discussion.

The Campus Progressives were regarded with considerable suspicion. Their delegation even had some difficulty in getting its credentials approved although this group is among the more active sections of the Wallaceite movement in Washington. Fair Taylor, Progressive Party office manager and state treasurer, told them they were "in trouble" because they had a "Trotskyite" with them.

This was not the first time that

the pro-Stalinists had clashed with the Campus Progressives. Previously, in Seattle, the downtown group of the Young Progressives took action on a Stalinist-initiated motion to exclude from membership anyone who belonged to the Socialist Workers Party. (This, by the way, is in violation of the national YPA constitution.)

A number of the Campus Progressives appeared at the meeting and registered their emphatic opposition to this action, which was carried by only a two-vote margin after a long discussion that witnessed some hysterical Trotsky-baiting speeches.

Among the students who opposed this motion were Lyle Mercer, a candidate for office on the Progressive ticket in the last election and a sponsor of the James Katcher rally in Seattle, and Bob Craig, who had been chairman and sparkplug of the Students Organization for Academic Rights, which led the fight against the victimization of the University of Washington professors.

Since then the Campus Progressives and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party have collaborated in friendly fashion in an effective campaign, sponsored by the Students Committee Against the Mundt Bill, to mobilize student opposition to that police-state measure. Joint teams distributed several thousand leaflets around the campus of the University of Washington and collected several hundred signatures from students against the Mundt Bill. The downtown group of the YPA did not participate in this campaign in any way.

The emergence of the Campus Progressives as a new tendency in the Wallaceite movement is being watched with considerable interest. So far it is marked by its stand on two important questions. It counterposes a program of socialism to the People's Front concept of "progressive capitalism"; and it stands solidly for genuine "cooperation on the left." They are not Trotskyists and have only recently heard of the Trotskyist movement, but most of them seem willing to read and learn more about the program of the SWP.

GUILD STRIKERS HOLD FIRM AGAINST WORLD-TELEGRAM

(Continued from Page 1)

This strike. The New York Typographical Union No. 6 has been negotiating with the Publishers Association (representing 11 major newspapers, including the World-Telegram and Sun) for about eleven months. At the last meeting on Thursday, the union met with the "angriest group of negotiators we have ever encountered," according to Francis Barrett, president of Local 6. The publishers definitively broke off negotiations, charging that Local 6 deliberately violated an agreement not to support a strike outside its own ITU membership. They characterized as futile any effort to reach agreement on a new contract which they "feared might be treated with similar irresponsibility and disregard."

To this, the union responded that it had in no way violated its contract; it had never contracted "to send its men through a no-man's-land"; that "there is no provision in its contract to take care of the family of a printer, should he be killed or injured"; and that it is not responsible for the shutdown.

At a regular meeting of Local 6 last Sunday, Thomas J. Murphy, executive vice president of the Guild, was given a standing ovation by the enthused membership when he appeared to give a report on the Guild strike and to thank the members for their cooperation. Local 6 voted unanimously to grant relief to its members in the World-Telegram for time lost because of the Guild strike.

COOPERATION OVERDUE

For years prior to this strike, cooperation among members of the various newspaper unions was unknown. The publishers have received an unexpected jolt which they still cannot fathom. Their statements reflect their disbelief that this workers' solidarity will

last: "Strike Again Bars World-Telegram" and "Strike Prevented Publication Today"—as though each day they expect a break in this solid front. They cannot understand why workers who refrained from striking for eleven months on their own behalf are now supporting a strike of another union, a CIO union at that.

This cooperation between the unions started about a month ago when officers of the various newspaper unions in New York held weekly meetings for the purpose of considering ways in which they could be of mutual assistance, within the legal limitations imposed by the Taft-Hartley Law. The publishers, taking full advantage of the Taft-Hartley provisions, had been increasing their pressure on all these unions, not only refusing further concessions but making every effort to wipe out previous union gains. This all-out drive compelled the various unions to seek allies in their battle against a common enemy.

Lack of unity among the newspaper unions have caused recent strikes to be prolonged. The strike in Chicago lasted almost two years; the Miami newspaper strike is still on, after about a year and a half. These long drawn out struggles have taught the workers a most valuable lesson. They see the need for a united front of all workers in the newspaper industry, though they do not yet recognize the need for an industrial union set-up.

New York is showing the way to the rest of the printing industry throughout the country, as well as to the craft unions in other industries. Only through this cooperation, the first step to a later unification into a single union comprising all workers in the industry, can the working and living conditions of even the skilled workers be maintained and improved.