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Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

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Taking advantage of the Stalinist trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary, the Catholic hierarchy in this country has taken the lead in creating an atmosphere of lynch-hysteria against "communism." Now American workers, including those misguided Catholic workers who have been lured into the "anti-communism" campaign, can better understand against whom and what this campaign is ultimately aimed. The real target is organized labor itself, its right to strike and picket, its basic democratic rights.

This was spelled out by Cardinal Spellman, supreme authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America, by his conduct in the eight week strike of CIO cemetery workers for the 40-hour week at two Catholic burial grounds in New York. Under the cloak of religion, Spellman has demonstratively mobilized priests and seminary students as scabs against these strikers.

The Cardinal went all out in lending the odor of religious sanctity to the foulest crime against the working people - strikebreaking. For when he boasts that he is "proud" to be called a strikebreaker and deems it a "thing of honor" to scab-herd against the CIO cemetery strikers, he is actually laying down a line of "morality" and conduct for 25 million Catholic communicants. He is demonstrating in action the policies and program of the entire Catholic hierarchy. He is revealing the real aim of the "labor" program which this hierarchy is trying to foist on the American unions through its more than 100 "labor" schools, its army of professional "labor" priests and its Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Even the ACTU Is Embarrassed

The striking workers - almost all devout Catholics themselves - have denounced the Cardinal as a strikebreaker in a resolution condemning "the union-busting tactics of any employer, including the Catholic Church, when it acts as an employer." Even the priestridden ACTU, the Vatican's power machine inside the American labor movement, has been forced to disassociate itself publicly from Spellman's actions lest the ACTU, too, be thoroughly exposed and discredited in the eyes of Catholic and non-Catholic unonists alike. The ACTU leaders seek to divorce the Cardinal's actions as

The ACTU leaders seek to divorce the Cardinal's actions as "employer" from his position as the authoritarian head of the Catholic "employer" from his position as the authoritarian head of the Catholic hierarchy in America. But he does not speak and act as an individual; I head head serve the full traight and authority of the Bo his words and deeds carry the full weight and authority of the Roman Church itself. That is what gives his strikebreaking its especially evil character.

In trying to break this strike, the Roman Catholic hierarchy trafficker in a thousand profitable enterprises from commercial real estate to sales of grave lots - has vast material interests at stake. It employs tens of thousands of lay workers, mainly non-union, at notoriously low wages and long hours. A victory for the cemetery workers would set an example for the others.

Emboldened by the "anti-communist" hysteria around the Mindszenty case, the Catholic hierarchy now feels free to fling "communist," as a deadly epithet, at any individual or idea that does not conform to its special interests, aims and dogma. Even Catholic workers, engaged in elementary union defense of their rights, are smeared with this label. And it does them no good to deny the charge - as the cemetery workers have done by their disaffiliation from their international union at the behest of the Cardinal. He has only sneered at them - "They're getting repentant kind of late" - and asserted that even if they are not "communists" then "their tactics certainly are communistic."



Cannon Pamphlet FEAR OF DEPRESSION IS **VOICED AT TRIAL OF 11 By Farrell Dobbs**

NEW YORK-Pioneer Publish-NEW YORK, Mar. 8 -- Mass fear of threatening economic ers, at 116 University Place in depression today walked among the jurors brought into the court-New York City this week anroom where the Stalinists are on trial. nounced the publication of a third

edition of "Socialism on Trial" A clerk employed by an eastern D by J. P. Cannon, Nat'l Sec'y of railroad wished to be excused be- company who walks a neighbor-

the Socialist Workers Party. This cause he couldn't be away from hood beat selling nickle-a-week new edition of the most popular his job for the long period of the policies and collecting premiums. pamphlet in the history of Amer- trial. He was willing to serve on the "Do you mean to say such a big jury if the judge would make the ican Trotskyism contains 120

ends

pages and sells for 35 cents. company can't find somebody else insurance company promise to put to do your work?" the judge him back to work when the trial Socialism on Trial is the official court record of Cannon's asked, The clerk replied that they testimony as a defendant in the famous 1941 Minneapolis trial of could and for that reason he didn't that?" the judge asked.

want to be away from the job. "It will be better for me, judge, the SWP leaders under the "They are already laying off a if you write a letter or telephone thought-control'Smith "Gag" Act. the company," he replied.

Cannon's testimony, in the lively lot of people," he added. A different approach was taken

World-Famous **Scientists** Aid **James Kutcher**

CIO Lawyer Seeks Call for Defense of Legless **Right to Attend Veteran in Civil Rights Case Veteran's Hearing**

CHICAGO, March 7 --- Five world-famous scientists and scholars, including Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and director of the U.S. War Research

.....NEWARK, Mar. 8-Sol Kapel- Atomic Bomb Project, today call-3sohn, official counsel for the New ed on their colleagues at the both the Sociological Society and Jersey CIO State Council, has University of Chicago to join them the American Council on Race petitioned the Loyalty Review in defending the legless veteran, Board of the U.S. Civil Service James Kutcher, in order to combat Their letter warns their col-

Commission for permission to ap- "a frightening atmosphere that leagues that "whether you know pear as "a friend of the Board" in cuts the nerve of independent it or not, you are involved in one the forthcoming three-man panel thinking." Kutcher is seeking re- way or another in developments. hearing at which James Kutcher instatement in his clerk's job in on the civil rights front. What is will ask for a reversal of his dis- the Newark Veterans Administra- happening often appears to be a missal from the Newark VA. The tion, from which he was dis- series of dull, legal events seemdate for this next step in Kut- charged last October solely be- ingly beyond the competence of cher's fight for reinstatement has cause of membership in the So- non-specialists in the field. But been set for Mar. 30, and the cialist Workers Party. behind this the whole fabric of hearing will be held in New York The five signers of the appeal. American justice is being tam-City. are:

In his petition in the name of Prof. Anton J. Carlson, former the New Jersey CIO Council, Mr. president of the American Asso- been and are dealing with govern-Kapelsohn pointed out that "a ciation for the Advancement of ment employees in procedures great many thousands of em- Science. ployees in various industries are Prof. Richard P. McKeon, dean of notice and hearing which are

members of the CIO, have served of the Division of Humanities and part of our tradition of due proin the armed forces of the USA former chairman of the American cess of law. People are being and are veterans in such service. Council of Learned Societies. fired from jobs and are being Many of them have employment Prof. Malcolm P. Sharp of the forced to suffer various inwith the Veterans Administration University of Chicago Law School dignities, not the least of which and with other federal governfaculty and noted authority on is impugnment of character. All mental agencies.' of this at the hands of adcivil rights. "Can't you find out about

"DIRECTLY CONCERNED" Prof. Harold C. Urey, winner ministrative officials and other He urges the Loyalty Board to of the Nobel Prize in chemistry non-juridical bodies proceeds grant the CIO the opportunity to and director of the War Research from the doctrines of 'guilt by participate in the Kutcher hear- Atomic Bomb Project (1940-45). association' and 'subversion' aror on the around that "the Prof. Louis Wirth, president of hitrarily defined

pered with in a severe way.

"Administrative agencies have

which violate the basic decencies

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

He Calls the Strike "Immoral"

Merely daring to strike and picket for the 40-hour week that has long been a legal standard for American workers — this is what serves as a simple and clear introduction to the principles and the Cardinal calls "communistic" as well as "morally unjustifiable." tactics of revolutionary socialism. Even the promoters of the Taft-Hartley Act didn't dare to go to such extremes. STRIKING CONFIRMATION

By his own strikebreaking, Cardinal Spellman has demonstrated Farrell Dobbs, one of the 18 just what program and service he is now offering, in the name of Minneapolis defendants who the Roman Catholic Church, to the American capitalist class. The served prison terms during the Catholic hiercarchy, fearful for its own vast properties and investwar, has written a special new ments, is showing what it can do for American capitalism in return introduction for the present edifor the latter's protection. By singling out a group of Catholic workers as the first victims of his open strikebreaking, Spellman has tion of Socialism on Trial. Dobbs, simply issued a voucher to the American plutocrats that he will draw who is National Chairman of the the line at nothing in aiding their assault on labor. SWP, explains the background of

The Eleventh Commandment

Are American workers now to be governed by what this hierers to the precedent-setting trial archy, linked by immense property interests to capitalism, chooses of the Trotskyists under the same to call "moral" or "immoral" in the way of union activity?

Smith Act and on similar charges. In the past 15 years, the American workers have established "This new prosecution," Dobbs their own standards of morality. They have added an 11th Commandpoints out, "is a striking confirment: "Thou shalt not commit strikebreaking." Whoever violates mation of Comrade Cannon's preit casts himself out from the respect and society of decent men and diction, in the Minneapolis court, women, be he private employer, government official or Prince of that the assault on civil liberties the Church.

American workers of all creeds, the leaders of organized labor, which began with the prosecution the unions of every affiliation should make known in no uncertain of the Trotskyists would be later terms their rejection and abhorrence of the latest violation of this directed against other organizations." 11th Commandment.

form of questions and answers during a court battle, covers the | by an agent for a big insurance whole range of Marxism and

> Minimum Wage Bill **Undergoes Surgery**

In the first stage of House action on the proposed new minimum wage law, the House Education and Labor Committee has approved amendments to exclude millions of the lowest-paid workers.

Agricultural workers, employes of retail and service esthe Minneapolis case and relates tablishments doing less than a \$500,000 annual business, home the government's present prosecution of the Communist Party leadnewspaper deliveries and certain categories of telegraph employes will continue to be denied minimum wage law protection.

These exemptions were adopted by a 13-12 majority of the Democratic-controlled committee. During the last election campaign, Truman and the Democrats had promised a broad extension of the minimum wage law coverage.

were excused, as were an accountant and a grocery salesman who feared they might be included in a lay-off while they were doing country, totaling many millions, jury duty.

SALESMAN WORRIED TOO Also excused were a number of lished by them."

salesmen working on commission who said sales competition is stiffer than it has been for a long while. They feared other salesmen would grab their customers to Kutcher's defense. while they were on the jury.

A stock broker was excused be-

Worry about "all the talk of recession" won dismissal for a corporation head who plans to tour his empire in order to "shape a new policy." At every stop on his tour the corporation's employees

who will get the axe. (See page 4 for a report on the selection of the jury for the trial

of the Stalinists.)

Both the clerk and the agen rights and interests of its mem bers in New Jersey, totaling up wards of 250,000 members, and Novack's Tour Schedule of the members of the CIO in this George Novack, now on tour

> to mobilize support for James are directly concerned in these Kutcher, will be in Toledo Mar. proceedings and the ruling to be 16-17, Detroit Mar. 18-23, Chimade and principles to be estabcago Mar. 25-29, Milwaukee Mar. 30-31. The remainder of

The New Jersey State CIO his schedule will be printed in Council, of which Carl Holderman a subsequent issue. See Page is president, was the first of the 2 for report on the beginning many labor organizations to rally of his tour.

cause he didn't want to lose close touch with the shaky stock mar-STALINIST SLANDER ON SWP

NEW YORK, March 8 - In a letter to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, Carey McWilliams, noted author and fighter for civil liberties, has refuted the slanderous statement about will no doubt be anxiously scan- James Kutcher and the Socialist ning the seniority lists wondering Workers Party attributed to him I was a sponsor of and actively

by the West Coast Communist interested in the case. "You can quote me as saying Party paper, Daily People's

World, in its Feb. 18 issue. In that I am deeply interested in be signed by faculty members addition, McWilliams strongly re- this case, not only because I feel protests the denial of genuine affirmed his interest in the Kut- that an individual injustice was freedom of association and freecher case and his support of the done, but because I disapprove of dom of thought in Kutcher's case fight to reinstate the legless the entire loyalty program. I can and urges that Kutcher be see no connection between this granted the public hearing he has veteran.

of course, this incompatibility is

The Stalinist article had malici

ously attacked Kutcher's defend-

ers as people who either want to

"disrupt the fight for civil liber-

"With best wishes

Carey McWilliams."

In the course of an attack on program, as it is being carried the defenders of Kutcher, the out, and any legitimate concern Stalinist paper quoted McWil for the national security of this Rights Committee to win justice liams as calling the SWP "a sort country. On the contrary, I be-

non-existent.

of international conspiracy for lieve this program is primarily the assassination of Joseph intended to intimidate opinion in Stalin." McWilliams answered this the United States. On all sides, to George Novack, national sec- acquiesce in the proposition that retary of the Kutcher Civil freedom is incompatible with Rights Committee, which read as security; that we must consent capitalists' complaint that the eight-hour day, if the young and follows: to inroads on civil rights in the name of national security. To me.

"Dear Mr. Novack: "The quote to which you refer

discussing civil rights in general, I made a specific appeal for support in the Kutcher case. I was MALICIOUS ATTACK

productivity and the approaching Kutcher's political views and the foreign policy. In doing so, I said ties" or to find "a convenient

that the organization to which escape from the battle, a safe civil liberties case on which they can speak up without fear of being tagged as Communists them selves." The ironic thing is that is shown by the announcement on more speed-up, more output from normal working day in all States relative to output, have declined what is a working day [or a a sort of informal conspiracy to McWilliams' speech, which he 20%. It is this widening gap be- working week] presents itself as bring about the assassination of delivered in many cities on his tween wages and output that is the result of a struggle between one Joseph Stalin.' It seems to be recent national lecture tour and

A century ago, the capitalists determined the "normal" work day by the extreme limit of a labor movement made a great day of the sold, and to unemploylabor, that is, the working class." Furthermore I pointed out that of Kutcher.

The letter links the case of Dr. Edward Condon with that of Kutcher, "a legless veteran of World War II who has decided to stand up and make a fight," as outstanding instances of this type of arbitrary treatment. "James Kutcher was fired from. his job in the Veterans Administration because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, a fact he openly acknowledges. Kutcher challenges the administration's right to deprive him of his job without a public hearing for himself and his party, and demands the right to defend himself against the administration's 'star chamber' proceedings which have condemned him without trial.'

The signers of the letter state that the Kutcher case "goes beyond sect or party" and "involves every type of man and group concerned with civil liberties and freedom of conscience."

An accompanying statement to asked for. It also supports the

efforts of the Kutcher Civil for the victimized veteran.

Next Week:

A new threat to civil liberties! The Militant analyzes the anti-Communist, thought-control bills now pending in Congress and state legislatures. Six men in a Trenton death cell. The shocking story of police brutality, stony justice and race hatred behind the conviction of six innocent Negroes in the "Northern Scottsboro" case.

"Four of the Unemployed" by Theodore Kovalesky. A column that packs a walloptwo who couldn't find jobs and two who didn't care.

"Which Plan to Build Homes in America?" by Milton Alvin. Is Walter Reuther's housing proposal as realistic as the plan suggested by the Socialist Workers Party? Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, for extra copies. Only 3c each in

bundles of five or more.

Is the 30-Hour Week Program a "Dream"?

By Art Preis

of the threat of mass unemploy-ment. This dismissal of labor's if the capitalist didn't work their eight-hour day. Those pioneer program of the 30-hour week at Walter Reuther recently poohkey programmatic answer to this wage-slaves seven days a week it fighters of American labor did 40-hours pay is a "dream" he poohed the program of the 30problem must be taken then as was because, as they claimed, not heed the Reuthers of their really means that it can't be sehour week at 10 hours pay as an attack on the soundness of the even the Lord had to rest from day who claimed that the eight- cured without a real fight. But if distortion on Feb. 26 in a letter now, we are being asked to "idealistic and a dream at this demand or its realizability. What His labors on the seventh day hour day was "idealistic" and a the weak, inexperienced labor time." Thus, the head of the CIO arguments can he raise? Only and they wanted to follow Him in "dream." Nor did they heed the movement of 1886 could win the United Auto Workers dismisses that the employers "can't afford" all His ways.

along with most other unions, had labor is too weak to achieve it. advanced some ten years ago as A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE the immediate answer to unemployment. Why is this decade-old

program a "dream" now? Certainly, it cannot be claimed

ment compensation offices in

are being besieged by thousands

D

er pay has been continuous from 10-hour day during the first six establishment of the legal 40-hour

today a program which his union, this program or that organized Karl Marx, in Capital, his scien- eight-hour day would be the far smaller CIO of 1936 and 1937 italist development, devoted a

The struggle for the shorter scription of the struggle of the CIO continued the battle for the achieve the 30-hour week at 40 work-week and work-day at high- English working class to win the shorter work week and won the hours pay-if it fights for it.

that unemployment is no longer a the earliest beginnings of the decades of the 19th century. He week under the Fair Labor Standmenace. The U.S. Census Bureau labor movement. At every stage told of the extension of this strug- ards Act. Was that battle "idealon Mar. 4 reported that the num- of this struggle, the capitalists gle to America, citing the resolu- istic" or a "dream"?

ber of jobless nationally rose by 550,000 last month to a 7-year against shorter hours on the Labor in Baltimore, Aug. 16, 1866: and work day has been accom-to a dictain the work week one put the issue of the foreign policy. In doing so, I said peak of 3,231,000. The unemploy- grounds that they couldn't afford "The first and great necessity of panied by ever increasing labor shorter work week on the order of it, that it would "ruin" them. the present, to free the labor of productivity. Since 1940 alone, the day. The outcome rests with Kutcher belonged and by reason Reuther's own state, Michigan, "More production" was their cry, this country from capitalistic the average worker in this coun- organized labor and its will to of which he was rated a bad even when millions walked the slavery, is the passing of a law try has increased his hourly out- fight. For, as Marx wrote over 75 are being besieged by thousands even when millions walked the slavery, is the passing of a law try has increased his hourly out-of laid-off auto workers. The trend streets—and by that they meant by which eight hours shall be the put 25%. But his real wages, years ago, "the determination of might be 'facetiously described as

Mar. 2 that the Hudson Motor each worker for the same or less of the American Union." Car company was laying off in- pay. A century ago, the capitalists THE FIRST NECESSITY definitely, affective Mar. 7, 4,500

workers in line with a 17% cut determined the "normal" work Twenty years later, the Amer- duction," the glut of goods that in production. . Reuther is undoubtedly aware physical endurance - anywhere leap forward in the historic 1886 ment.

tific analysis of the laws of cap- "ruination" of the economy. could triumph in the fight for the A half-century later the rising 40-hour week, then today's giant special section to a detailed de-industrial union movement of the and tested labor movement can

OUTCOME RESTS WITH US trying to make the point that The tremendous increase in there was no connection between

was from a speech in which,

Page Two

GEORGE NOVACK'S TOUR GETS OFF TO NOTABLE START IN PITTSBURGH

PITTSBURGH, March 7 - George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, opened up a six weeks' speaking and organizational tour on behalf of the legless greatest industrial city and port suppression as events incidental veteran by speaking to a luncheon

meeting of the American Civil members of his own union. He Liberties Union here last Satur- stressed the threat to unionism day afternoon. The meeting voted when the rights of free speech a resolution of support to the and free political affiliation are Kutcher committee's campaign denied.

and a collection of \$39 was taken. On Sunday Novack addressed Many prominent leaders of members of the Slovenian Hall labor, liberal and veterans groups on the case and led a discussion were present, including Hyman on local work with the members Schlesinger, labor lawyer and of the committee.

leader of the Civil Rights Con-LOCAL SUPPORT gress. Mr. Schlesinger spoke on

In conjunction with his visit, the basic issues involved and promised support to the local the local committee announced that the following organizations Kutcher committee.

Saturday evening Novack parhad endorsed its work: The Disticipated in a panel discussion trict Council of Electrical Workover Station WLOA on the signi- ers, representing 60,000 memficance of the Kutcher case. bers in Western Pennsylvania, Other speakers on the program | Local 601, 610, 623, and 526; the were Bob Kirkwood, business | Pittsburgh Fur Workers Union: agent of Local 610 of the UE, Teamsters Union, Local 609; the and Franklin Fried, secretary of Baptist Minister's Conference: the Women's International League the local Kutcher committee." Mr. Kirkwood pointed out that for Peace and Freedom; and the the same procedure used against | Terrace Village Chapter of the Kutcher had been used against AVC.

Additional Groups Support Kutcher

NEW YORK - Among the latest supporters recorded for James Kutcher are: Mechanics Educational Society

Petitions in N. Y. of America, Detroit. Slovene National Benefit So

ciety, Fontana, Calif. Detroit District of the Workmen's Benefit Fund.

Chapter 162 of the Workmen's secured a total of 1,414 signatures Benefit Fund, West New York, and collected \$112.70. The peti-N. J. tions were circulated in three

Local 119 of the UE, Philaboroughs of the city. Sympathy for the victims of the reactionary delphia. Local 506 of the UE, Lawrence

Park, Erie, Pa. UAW Local 212, Detroit.

United Rubber Workers Local plained the dangers of thought-61, Erie.

Local 71 of the Textile Workpetitions brought a collection of \$46.85. Complete figures are not ers, San Francisco. Local 1147 of the UE, Duluth. yet available.

committee's work.

control. During the week other

Shanghai Strike Indicates Growing Unrest in China

them to preserve order (which)

of its mortal foes.

SUMMARY EXECUTIONS

By Li Fu-jen

An event of great revolutionary significance, with an ex- means submission to Kuomintang- the milling street crowds. Hel- coalition government. China's Chiang's generals, Sun Li-jen, is week ended Feb. 19 when railroad and bus transportation workers at Shanghai - the country's D-

went out on strike and suf- to other developments in Shangfered brutal repression by troops hai. There can be no doubt, howof the local garrison commander, ever, that this-the first reported Gen. Tang En-po, one of Chiang action by any section of the Chinese working class in the Kai-shek's henchmen.

Though hemmed in by martial present political upheaval - is law, and an edict against strikes highly symptomatic of a growwhich carries the penalty of ing revolutionary situation. death for disobedience, these

proletariat and its tremendous the old repressive and exploitive of bus drivers and railway work-

HIGHLY SYMPTOMATIC Neither the immediate occasion action.

three demonstrating bus drivers. But the Communist Party, the court-martialed them summarily to the Kuomintang regime and to moved about freely and readied or the strike, nor its duration, were given in the press of this only supposedly revolutionary and executed them by firing country. The N. Y. Times of Feb. party widely known to the masses, squad for violating the anti-19 reported the strike and its holds the workers in check, tells strike proclamation.



Past a heap of uncollected garbage outside the Polish Community Center in Yonkers, N. Y., marches a picket of the American Federation of Musicians. How did he get in this picture? Some 500 AFL and CIO city workers went on strike in protest against the firing of sanitation workers who refused to cross this AFM picketline. City officials fired the 500 - but rehired them eight days later. Now City Manager Peterson says he will enforce Condon-Wadlin law that provides loss of seniority and of pay increases for public workers who go on strike in New York state.

Labor Union Trends History and Program of UE Opposition

force.

By Bert Cochran

bureaucratism and betrayal of THE FIGHT BEGINS

Electrical and Radio Workers. The Stalinists had it easy in Semptember 1941, where the fight was first thrashed out Murray broke his alliance with opposition gave up its paper and efforts, but they are under the trail of union affeirs; a detarmined fastening their dictatorial grip on the UE because in contrast completely overwhelmed by the to the auto and steel unions, Stalinist steamroller. Not only most UE locals were not built in did the Stalinists have a far the fire of battle, but were did the Stalinists have a far superior machine, but Carey and his supporters made a very bad were successful in preventing the impression on the convention and formation of any serious opposiantagonized the most progressive tion until 1941. Then James Unfortunately, they had learn- the auto union, it began ealling dissatisfied elements, the Carey- a Congress of Labor to fight for from members of the Militant monthly magazine Fourth In-Carey, at that time president of elements. ed nothing and forgotten nothing for Taft-Hartley-NLRB elections Block local leaders are not talk- the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Army. the UE, broke with the Stalin-Beyond demonstrating that the since 1941. The Stalinist sell- in all plants where it had in- ing the language of militant Act and for the passage of ists, with whom he had worked Stalinist leadership switched its outs of the war period? They fluence. Of course, this was a unionism. Their big guns in the necessary social legislation, as cheek-by-jowl up to that time. position on the war after the Nazi found no fault with that. Bureau-cratism? That was OK with them. But the fact that 9 times out of union democracy or militancy, signing petitions; for the forma-What was the fight all about? invasion of Russia, Carey and his supporters had nothing to Unfortunately, it had nothing Progressive union program? 10 the workers voted against the but the Marshall Plan, pro-Tru- tion of an independent Labor offer except flag-waving and redto do with Stalinist bureaucra-They had none. It was the same UE proves pretty conclusively man PAC policy, and the block- Party as against the pro-Truman tism, conciliation toward the baiting. Many independent proold story-wrapping themselves that the Stalinists had no real buster - "Support of National policy of Carey-Block' and the gressives figured that the Stalcorporations and class collaborain the American flag, plus anti- support in the ranks, that their CIO Policy." One can imagine Wallace Third Party adventure inists were nevertheless the tion on the economic and policommunism and red-baiting. The leadership had no legitimate better union builders and consetical fronts. Carey did not disaspiritual advisers of the opposi- basis in the membership. gree with any of this. It was the quently threw their support in tion were the "labor" priests of | The secession movement reachthat direction. That the opposiperiod of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. the Association of Catholic Trade ed alarming proportions. But tion was not an inconsequential And Carey, under strong prod-Unionists, whose sole interest is after the Portland convention of UE. ding from the Catholic Church, one, just the same, is seen by the kicking all radicals and militants the CIO in 1948, where Murray fact that Carey received 539 broke with the Stalinists because out of the unions, eradicating all rode roughshod over the Stalin- all reactionary. In a number of of the 1949 convention, that they were giving aid and com- votes for the presidency as manifestations of a class struggle ist forces, the word went down the local groups, as for example, would be a signal and important fort to the Kremlin, while Carey against 635 for the Stalinistwas lined up with Murray and backed candidate, Albert Fitz-backed candidate, Albert Fitz-a tame and harmless thing a tame and harmless thing. the Roosevelt administration in gerald. But a strong anti-Stalinist wind hopeful of getting' national CIO opposition includes progressive of the UE membership along This oppositionist flare-up died backing England. The fight bewas blowing up throughout the aid in ousting the Stalinists and tween the two sides was not over down shortly afterwards when labor movement at this time and the speech of UE President Fitzthe issue of keeping "outside in- Carey went to Washington to the UE leadership was getting gerald at the Portland convention fluences" out of the union, but assume his post as CIO Secretary worried. They determined to denouncing Molotov and Vishinky fact remains that the tone of the working with the existing opover which "outside influence" and the Stalinist leadership in the crush the opposition by main as "war mongers" set off specula- opposition is set not buy them position caucuses in the locals and force before things went too far. tion that he might split with the but by the ACTU crowd and the aim to set up a third caucus in In March 1947, the UE General Stalinists and head the opposition, Executive Board declared the op- following the trail previously position "a dual movement" and blazed by Curran in the NMU ordered it to dissolve. The UE and Quill in the Transport Union. dependents adopt in the battle tants are as yet too dispersed and Boston convention in September | Since the Portland convention, 1947 ordered the expulsion of the despite the lack of a national opposition forces if they did not organization or coordinating apcomply with the cease-and-desist paratus, and despite the fact that tionary. Can they nevertheless cohesion around a program, how-What can you do about the lay-offs? Millions of Amerorder. You have to go some to Carey, its titular leader, was find a way to work with the op- ever, they will have no difficulty ican workers today are asking that question as the threat of find a more brazen display of scarcely near the UE but running another depression looms closer. bureaucratism in a CIO union! | all over Europe selling the The answer can be found in The Militant. This Marx-But the convention adopted Marshall Plan - the opposition providing the basis for the forces and participating with ist weekly analyzes the basic economic and political trends this anti-democratic resolution has won victory after victory in rehabilitation of this union? with scientific precision, gives you the straight, unvarnished by a vote of 3817 to 596. The the local union elections. The The big trouble with the in- Stalinists, if it is possible to do so truth about what is happening and shows how the labor moveoverwhelming size of the vote is ACTU, which is the strongest dependent militants in the UE is on a correct minimum basis. ment can safeguard employment by taking action in time. not explained solely by the en-single force in the opposition and that they lack a commonly- Recent experiences of the labor Join in the struggle for job security in America by subtrenched power of the Stalinist knows more about the mathe- accepted minimum program and movement, particularly the evoluscribing to The Militant. Fill out the coupon today and mail it machine. Progressive independent matics of UE politics than any- any recognized spokesmen. They tion of the Curran group in the together with cash, check or money order to The Militant, elements throughout the union body else in the opposition block, lack, in other words, what the NMU after it ousted the Stalin-116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. were simply disgusted and fed up declares that "The recent vic- militants in the auto union always ists and took over the union adwith the red-baiting of the op- tories mean that the anti-red had, to one degree or another. ministration, and the reactionary position and wanted no part of it. | camp has practically doubled its | Therefore, the first task the UE | trend of the whole Murray bureau-Doesn't this vote indicate that strength and now represents about militants face is to work out a cracy, make it pretty clear that a big majority of the membership 140,000 members while the Stal- necessary program of action for it would be foolhardy for the was satisfied with the Stalinist inists retain the support of 280,- the UE and to solidify their independent militants to depend leadership? Nothing of the kind, 000, a 2 to 1 margin." (Labor forces around it. 🗇 \$1 Six months. 🖂 \$2 Full year. 🖂 \$4 in combination with as we will easily prove. As a Leader, Jan. 17, 1949.) The outlines for such a pro- for salvation of the UE. The first Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trot- matter of fact, conditions in the As a matter of fact, these gram are already at hand and thing that cries aloud to be done skyism. (Fourth International alone is \$2.50. You save 50c.) UE were rotten ripe for the figures under-estimate, if any- the main planks have been is the presentation in the union formation of a widely-supported thing, the full strength of the adopted at different times by of a sound militant program and opposition, because there was opposition, as many local leader- some of the local unions. They the fight for it.

to follow. Matles and Emspak | UE joined hands with Murray | much discontent in the member- | ships who have traditionally supwere for the Kremlin. Carey and Carey in all-out support for ship with the Stalinist sell-out ported the Stalinist international from locality to locality and "fostering anti-Bolshevist senti-Last week we went into the wanted to line up the union the war effort. Indeed, the Stal- policies of the war period. But machine, are now, with the shift ensure that any pension program ments," and ordered the eliminarecord of 13 years of Stalinist behind the U. S. State Depart- inists were even more frenzied the Carey-Block opposition was of the wind in the opposite direc- adopted will have industry-wide tion of the "discussion section" in their flag-waving than Murray. so discredited that independent tion, likewise in the process of application, and a worker will not where the article lauding Trotsky ago they helped him to slay the

After the war, the opposition progressives were afraid to have shifting their allegiance. in the UE came to life again anything to do with it for fear The opposition forces in the UE has to change jobs from one

an destrict in the second shall be also a marked the second state of an as

tremely ominous culmination, took place in China during the military rule, and to maintain meted soldiers with tommy guns ruling classes and their political directing a large military trainproduction (which is for the and fixed bayonets were seen representatives welcome this ing camp where "30,000 Nationalbenefit of the capitalist ex- throughout the city. The military lengthy breathing-spell and are ist soldiers are undergoing GIploiters). The Stalinists have police, wearing shiny helmets, making the greatest possible use style training with what United made themselves the protectors crowded into trucks and rumbled of it. Little did they dream that States equipment he (Gen. Sun) of bourgeois property. Thus the through the financial district on the very edge of the precipice, can procure." (N. Y. Times, Feb. proletariat, for the time being, is where bankers and merchants face to face with their doom, they 19). "I am not the kind of man politically disarmed in the face could see them." would be given another chancewho gives up," Gen. Sun told the by the "Communists." correspondent. "Now we need

"Armored cars moved through politicians for "peace" and a land of Formosa still another of

Gen. Tang En-po is stated to All of China south of the be in command of some 250,000 Shanghai is the economic troops in the Shanghai area. The Yangtse (except for small rural aid."

center and the revolutionary size of this "garrison" testifies pockets held by Stalinist guerrilla Chiang is also directing the It confirms what we have said heart of China. The tenseness of to the extreme importance which forces) is still under Kuomintang policies and moves of the rump workers nevertheless walked off before, namely, that China's the situation there is revealed the ruling class attaches to the control. This territory includes Kuomintang government at Canthe job, demonstrating once workers, like the rural toilers, are in the previously mentioned city. Yet most if not all of these the country's greatest and richest ton. And since it is the troops of again the fighting courage of the no longer prepared to tolerate Times dispatch: "With the strikes soldiers could be won over to the cities. From his place of "retire- his general, Tang En-po, which side of the people, to the work- ment" Chiang Kai-shek is work- are in control of Nanking (in power as a revolutionary striking order of things. They want to ers forcefully suppressed by the ers, if the Communist Party were ing night and day to firm up con-addition to Shanghai), he probably destroy Kuomintang - capitalist army in recent days, the fear had a revolutionary party pursuing trol of this vast area. He is in has more than a finger in the rule. They are ready to march arisen of mass disorders. Thurs- a revolutionary program and constant telephone communication doings of the "caretaker" govon to the field of revolutionary day night some soldiers seized policy. The soldiers are underpaid with his provincial generals, press and ill-fed. They remain "loyal" reports assert. Troops are being capitalist rule only because they for action.

are presented with no revolutionary alternative.

How shaky and unreliable is his garrison as a prop of the men. The triple cities of Wuhan remnants of the Kuomintang re- (Hankow, Wuchang, Hanyang) are held by large troop formagime is revealed in a N.Y. Times lispatch from Shanghai on Feb. tions under Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, time he can, he prepares a mili-7. Here it was reported that an old ally of Chiang. On the is-

Mayor K. C. Wu, another of Chiang Kai-shek's henchmen, was pressing merchants to contribute for Gen. Tang En-po to provide for Gen. Tang En-po to provide Reported Active in The Mayor gave threatening hints of possible dire results of Hungary, Germany addressed a gathering of merhants' representatives and was 'reported to have said that the troops were underpaid and to have added pointedly that they have been behaving well so far and had not as yet taken over any industrial premises." For the capitalists, the garrison certainly demonstrated its good behavior in smashing the bus and rail strike and killing militant strike demonstrators

taking place, the "Red" armies bank of the Yangtse where they side." have paused now for over two months while the Stalinist leaders dicker with "liberal" Kuomintang

include such policies as industrywide bargaining and common termination dates for all contracts in order to bring the full weight of the union behind its demands in negotiations with the employers, to equalize wage rates

lose credit for years served if he | had appeared.

ernment over which Gen. Li Tsung-jen (the Vice - President) presides in the former capital. Chiang is pursuing a clever Both Shanghai and Nanking strategy. Through the Canton are held by troops whose top government he bellows defiance commanders are Chiang's henchat the Stalinists. Through the Nanking government he plays at

negotiating with them. Behind the scenes, while gaining all the tary counter-stroke.

American moral and material

It is freely being predicted that in the not distant future Chiang will step forth openly on the stage again and take command of all he forces which he is now busily welding together. If Chiang can demonstrate his ability to hold the Stalinists and perhaps drive them back, and at the same time old South, China as a firm salient of capitalist - landlord rule by

According to a special N. Y. Times dispatch from Vienna, Mar. ruthlessly suppressing the masses, 2, a group of dissident Hungarian the American imperialists may communists are issuing a multiagain come to his aid. The present ground-swell of reactionary activity could easily develop into a tidal wave of counter-revolution. For the present ominous developments, for the bloody suppression of the workers at Shanghai, the Stalinists will bear full responsibility before history. They and they alone are making possible the reassembling and the Comrade Tito and 100.000 French cearmament of the nearly-defeated forces of capitalist - landlord

reaction. The crime of crimes for The Stalinists are also reported supposedly revolutionary party unning into unexpected difficuls the pursuit of a non-revoluties in the Eastern German zone. tionary, compromising policy in a According to an Associated Press evolutionary situation. This is dispatch Mar. 4, the official Stalprecisely what the Stalinists are inist newspaper, Neues Deutschdoing. land, recently carried an article

At the same time they are "praising Leon Trotsky's role in deliberately holding the revoluthe Brest-Litovsk peace negotiationary forces in check and giving tions of 1918." The Political Bureau of the German Stalinist parthe class enemies of the workers ty denounced its own organ for time in which to prepare a counter-stroke. They are helping Chiang Kai-shek to slay the third Chinese revolution as 22 years second.



While this repressive action was were sitting tight on the north and Italian comrades stand by our

THE MILITANT

Monday, March 14, 1949



Name	•••	•••	• • • •	••••	• • • • • • •	••••		•••••
Street		•••		• • • • •			Zone	
City .	•••	•••	••••				State	•••••

the Stalinists inside the CIO. | folded up temporarily as an or- over-all moral leadership of the trol of union affairs; a determined This time they went about it in ganized national caucus. Despair- national Murray machine of the campaign to eliminate incentive more serious and systematic ing of breaking the Stalinist CIO and under the direct sway plans, bonus plans, piecework and fashion. They formed a national grip by a frontal attack, the of its increasingly conservative all other speed-up schemes in the caucus called the Committee for ACTU crowd then worked up its policy. Even now, as an opposition plants; a real campaign of action Democratic Action and issued a "secession policy." In collusion putting its best foot forward and -not just lip-service-for the 30 national paper, The Real UE. with the Reuther leadership of catering to all varieties of hour week at 40 hours pay; for have met with a warm response seven copies of the Trotskyist

what they are going to do and of the Stalinists.

how they intend to conduct them-

elements who managed to inject correct lines. some worth-while ideas into the

"National CIO Policy" boys. opposition to both the Stalinists Now the big question is: What and to Carey-Block? Not at all. position should the militant in-For one, the independent milifor control of the UE? They are uninfluential for such an ambicaught in the cross-fire of two tious undertaking. Once they have powerful machines, both reac- achieved a certain amount of position in cleansing the UE of in working out a correct relationits Stalinist virus and thus ship with the existing opposition

them in the fight against the

on SEDITION TRIALS AND THE WAR DANGER

An analysis of the trials and purges in Stalinist-dominated Eastern Europe and the redbaiting trials and purges in the U.S. and their relationship to the preparations for on the Carey-Block leadership World War III.

Friday, March 18 8:30 P.M. MILITANT WORKERS HALL 1303 W. Girard Avenue

Recent Issues Meet lege students brought "very good results." Comrades Edith Bartell, With Warm Response Sarah R., Kitty Green and Betty Recent issues of The Militant Valey sold 17 Militants as well as ternational. Harry Ring, Bertha

J. and Leah D. braved a snow Mass., doubled its bundle order for the storm to try the response of workers entering a union meet-Mar. 7 issue. "Many good comments from ing. They sold 19 Militants in our friends on the about a half hour.

Event of the Week was an exposures of the Stalinists," write P. order from A Railroader in Minand J.; "also on the nesota for 400 copies of the issue exposure of the col- telling about the Greek puppet lusion between the government murdering a Jeho-UAW official and vahs Witness because his religious California employ- convictions prevented him from serving in the armed forces. ers. Let's have

notice in advance of "From time to time," he writes, oming important articles. We "I may send for a large bundle of find it good in contact work." certain issues." Detroit ordered an extra 200

Taking a bundle of extra copies copies of the Mar. 7 number for like this is in the crusading

tradition of native American Minneapolis took an extra 25 socialism. In Debs' time it was a "for concentrated work with universal practice to spread the Stalinist trade unionists and word about socialism by distributstudents," according to C.E.S. ing extra papers. This was one of "Some copies of these papers the means that gave the Appeal will be mailed out: others will to Reason a steady circulation of be handed out personally by comhundreds of thousands of copies. rades who are in touch with Stal-We hope A Railroader started inist workers." C.E.S. likewise something with his order. appreciates "the advance notice

Comrade Singman of Pine Bush, N. Y., came in with a subscription St. Paul similarly sent in for for a friend of his. "It pays to 25 extra copies of the March 7 advertise," this old supporter of issue "containing the articles The Militant told us. He left his copy of the paper on the table Literature Agent Harry Gold for visitors to see. When this of New York reports that an

friend saw the headline about the attempt to sell the paper to colkilling of the Jehovah's Witness in Greece, he said: "Pop. I want to get a sub to The Militant." Comrade Singman promised to end in \$2 to help get out The Militant even though the high cost of living makes it difficult to get by on the little he was able to save when he was younger. Bob D. of New York dropped in to let us know that a Jehovah's Witness distributing the Watch

> Tower was glad to see that The Militant "gave them a break by featuring the murder of one of their Greek members in a headline. Most newspapers played up the Mindszenty case but didn't have a word to say about this case of religious persecution."

If the militants would go to selves when and if they actually work and rally sympathetic work-

take over the leadership of the ers behind a program of this nature, and if this program would Of course, the opposition is not be voiced effectively on the floor

The opposition now grew more Pittsburgh and other places, the beginning for the re-education distribution.

Does such an approach mean local election contests. But the that the militants should reject

JOHN G. WRIGHT

of coming articles."

directed against Stalinism."

- PER



Subscriptions: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3. 1879."

Vol XIII - No. 11

TROTSKY

THE MILITAN Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Monday, March 14, 1949

editorials.

Bundle Orders (5 or more

copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c

Signed articles by contribu-

tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

These are expressed in its

each in foreign countries.

The processes of great changes must be measured by scales which are commensurate with them. I do not know if the Socialist society will resemble the biblical Paradise. I doubt it. But in the Soviet Union there is no Socialism as yet. The situation that prevails there is one of transition full of contradictions, burdened with the heavy inheritance of the past, and in addition is under the hostile pressure of the capitalist states. The October Revolution has shown only the first stages of its realization. Edison's first lamp was very bad. We must learn how to discern the future.

> Leon Trotsky, Copenhagen Speech, 1932 LENIN

The Foster-Dennis Statement

Stalin's efforts to counteract the completion of the North Atlantic Pact are undoubtedly at the bottom of the statements against the imperialist war plans by his foreign puppets -Thorez in France, Togliatti in Italy, Pollit in Britain and Foster-Dennis in the U.S. These statements came after the rejection by Washington of Stalin's bids to negotiate a new deal, and are not likely to be more effective than those "peace" bids were in preventing the continuation of Washington's war preparations.

The essence of the Foster-Dennis statement is the declaration: "If, despite the ef-" forts of the peace forces of America and the world, Wall Street should succeed in plunging the world into war, we would oppose it as an unjust, aggressive, imperialist war, as an undemocratic and anti-Socialist war, destructive of the deepest interests of the American people and all humanity . . . we [would] cooperate with all democratic forces to defeat the predatory war aims of American imperialism and bring such a war to a speedy conclusion on the basis of a democratic peace."

The significant thing about this statement is not what it says, but rather the fact that such a sensation could be stirred up by its being made. No informed persons would be surprised by a consistently Marxist party opposing the third imperialist war; such opposition would seem natural and logical if it came from a party which had opposed previous imperialist wars. But coming from the Stalinists, such a statement can produce a hubbub, even among their members and sympathizers, precisely because of their past record and their past violations of elementary

internationalist obligations - particularly their support of the second imperialist war, their spreading of nationalistic conceptionsamong the workers for many years, and their endorsement of the presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace, who openly stated during the 1948 campaign that he would support the government in any war it conducted no matter how reactionary he thought it was.

Least of all does this statement signify the transformation of the Stalinist Party into a revolutionary internationalist organization. What the Stalinists are now trying to palm off as "internationalism" is nothing else but blind adherence to Russian Stalinist nationalism. The Stalinists everywhere subordinate everything else to the Kremlin's temporary diplomatic needs. It was these that dictated the American Stalinist "opposition" to World War II in the days of Stalin-Hitler Pact; their switch overnight to support of the same war after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union; and the issuance now of their statement promising to oppose American imperialism in World War III. The very same needs, under different conditions in the future, can make the American CP leaders switch once more to support of American imperialism.

Stalinism flies in the face of what internationalism really stands for. True internationalism means opposition to imperialism not just some of the time (when it suits Stalin) but all of the time. True internationalism means not only opposition to imperialism but also to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which has strangled as many socialist revolutions in its time as even the American imperialists can beast of.

Truman and the Filibuster

Truman said on March 3, after the Senate filibuster was under way for several days, that he favors a closure rule to permit the ending of debate by a simple majority vote. This is a fine sentiment. But what is he doing to put it into effect?

He has allowed his own wing of the Demo

on measures Truman earnestly wants passed. In the case of the filibuster and closure, Truman has no serious intention of forcing the issue and making a real battle for ending debate by a majority vote. He is once again * merely making the record with a cheap

tual," to use his own terminology, Mills has evidently learned much from the ideas of Trotkyism. He sees clearly the inernal contradictions of American capitalism, the looming economic crisis, the drive towards war and world domination, the permanence of the war economy and the inevitably growing miliarization of America, the trend toward the integration of the labor bureaucracy into the state apparatus, the danger of fascism if the working class is unable to carry through a social revolution n a revolutionary situation, the American worker.

THE NEW MEN OF POWER by C. Wright Mills. Harcourt,

Brace and Co., 1948, 323 pp.

By Paul Schapiro

Sociology at Columbia Univer-

sity and director of the univer-

sity's Labor Research Division of

the Bureau of Applied Social

to show their collective physio-

An "independent left intellec-

The New Men of Power by

\$3.50.

social system.

LEADERS' DUAL SIDES

In his depiction of the role the abor bureaucracy plays on the ocial scene Mills too is more or ess directly influenced by Marxist analysis. His introduction graphically sketches this role and explains it in terms of how mions operate under the condiions of capitalism. He shows how he labor leader is at once a guerrilla chieftain in the class var and a parliamentarian intent n maintaining his elected post, political boss holding power by lispensing patronage and an entrepreneur selling the laborower of his members to the apitalists, a constant challenge o capitalism by virtue of the kind of organization which he neads and a stabilizing factor in capitalist society by virtue of his wn needs:

America's labor leaders Mills has "All the time that he is the succeeded only in drawing the eader of a live and going union, outlines for a portrait-although, the labor leader is in conflict to be sure, such a sketch is not with the powers of property. . without value In his timidity and fear and

WHERE HOPE LIES eagerness to stay alive in a hostile environment, he does not admit this . . . but the fact remains that he is. . . Yet even as the labor leader rebels, he olds back rebellion. He organizes made intellectuals," discontent and then he sits on it, combine solid trade union exexploiting it in order to maintain perience, preferably of militant harnesses that discontent to a In the remainder of the book self-awareness and wider con- a party is the party which the Mills presents the factual material sciousness associated with the Socialist Workers Party is buildhe has gathered from various best sense of the term intellec- ing.

One Democrat to Another

An Analysis of Union Leaders' Role



Senate majority leader Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) talks with two of his southern colleagues, Sénators Russell and George of Georgia, who are engaged in the filibuster to halt change in Senate rules on closing debate that would block filibuster on civil rights bills. Are they discussing the so-called "compromise" on civil rights that will give the Southern Democrats everything they want?

'self-made man," mainly of tual." The existence of such American stock, the way capital+ stratum of "union - made inists are supposed to be according tellectuals" would create a team revolutionary potential of the to legend but no longer are, and of power and ideas which would he has a good deal of the int change the nature of the leaderdividualistic psychology of the ship, set the labor movement on self-made man"). the right track and make it Steptoe and Johnson, is their Finally, Mills shows how the "capable of carrying out the prolabor bureaucrats think: their gram of the left," that is, of

stupefaction by the concept of achieving socialism. labor - capital cooperation and "Union-made intellectuals" worktheir lack of clear awareness of ing by themselves without a which lie ahead for labor and what it can do about them. things, however, Mills' book does not wholly live up to its promise. There is a certain lack of substance to it. The chapters are short, slick, journalistic summaries which require development and detail. One feels constantly centralization for carrying them the need for concrete illustrations out, if it is to lead the workers and instances from the internal life of the unions that would give olor and animation to Mills? facts and figures. In trying to draw a collective portrait of sap the militancy of independent

Firmly integrated in the unions, it acts as a constant leaven, opposing to the bureaucrats' ideas of class-collaboration and business unionism those of class The book ends, moreover, with struggle and the class solidarity a false conclusion. Mills finds of the workers, and rallying hope for the unions to lie in their around it all militants. And when producing a group of "union- the situation is such that the "men who bureaucrats can no longer hold back the workers' discontent, it character, with the degree of program to change society. Such

radical unionists.

CABINET-POST SHUFFLES TRUMAN AND STALIN

Who is Louis Arthur Johnson, to the highest posts under Stalin's Truman's choice for Secretary of patronage.

Defense to replace Forrestal? Like Forrestal, the corporation Vishinsky began his political lawyer Johnson is a multi-mil- career in the ranks of the Russian lionaire, a notorious reactionary. Mensheviks where he-played a There is one difference-Johnson minor role among the extreme is also a machine politician with right wing. Throughout the Oca 30-year record of subservience tober Revolution and the years of

A son of a well-to-do notary,

nage Three

to the Democratic Party bigwigs. His new job is a pay-off for personally underwriting Truman's 1948 campaign fund to the tune of \$250,000

Johnson knows how to make politics pay. As Assistant Secetary of War from 1937 to 1940, he was responsible for placing rmy orders. He campaigned for bigger air force, bigger bomers. Today he is a director of the Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Corporation.

During the war the Alien Property Custodian handed him the posts of director general of the Analine and Film Corp. and president of General Dyestuffs Corp. subsidiaries of the great chemical cartel, I.G. Farben. Johnson still serves as a director for both these

corporations, and his law firm, legal counsel.

SOLD OUT VETS

In 1932, Johnson was chosen of the Russian White Guards, National Commander of the fought arms in hand against the the dangers and opportunities revolutionary party cannot, how- American Legion. He pushed for- young Soviet republic. Vishinsky ever, accomplish this. Lenin long ward its red-baiting program and announced his "conversion" to ago showed by precept and ex- its opposition to recognition of communism toward the close of While origing all of these ample that the vanguard of the the USSR. Under his dictatorial the Civil War when victory was working class must be united in rule, two Legion posts were ex- assured to the Red Army. a party dedicated to the socialist pelled for having liberal tenden- Official Soviet biographies still revolution and organized as a cies. His last act as Legion Com- refer to his Menshevik past and combat force, with the fullest mander was to sell out the vet- date his party membership back democracy for arriving at deci- erans by accepting Roosevelt's to 1920. What they omit is that

> erans' pensions: to socialism. Such a party, with fast in the Democratic Party and for the next fiftteen years its cohesiveness and discipline, is ranks. He had become a member held various minor posts, remaina defense against its members of the West Virginia House of ing just one of a legion of toadies

> > delegate to the party's National the secret police. Convention in 1924. But he was relatively unknown. In 1936 howwhile helping Britain hold the Indian nationalists in check. Now his loyalty to Pendergast olitician Truman has put him in the Cabinet where he can still Street and the Democratic Party.



ANDREI Y. VISHINSKY

the Civil War he remained a bitter opponent of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. He played a minor part in the camp

sions and the highest degree of program for a 25% cut in vet- Vishinsky began by singing praises to Zinoviev. But he made From that time on, he climbed his shift to Stalin in ample time

succumbing to the forces which Representatives in 1917, and a who worked hand in glove with His close tie-up with the GPU became apparent when in 1935 ever he was chairman of the Vet- he received the appointment to erans' Advisory Committee of the the post of Public Prosecutor. Democratic Party, and in 1942 This was the year when Stalin was Roosevelt's choice for a mis- made the preparations for the sion to India. His task was to monstrous Moscow Trials and the secure supply bases for the U.S. multi-millioned blood purges of 1936-38. In all this a key role was played by this former White Guard. There are very few individuals in the USSR who are unaware of the ominous significance more effectively serve both Wall that attaches to the name of this modern "grand inquisitor." The second most important post | HATCHET-MAN

in the Soviet government is that In 1940, during the days of the of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Stalin-Hitler Pact. Vishinsky was elevated to a post of international prominence, becoming a deputy in the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. Since then he has attained the position of ranking Soviet diplomat, carrying out many important assignments for the Kremlin. His department included the special problem of the Soviet 'buffer zone" in Eastern Europe. In particular, in the execution of the Czech coup of a year ago, Vishinsky played an important behind-the-scenes role. It might be noted that a few weeks prior to his recent promotion Vishinsky was reported as "convalescing" in Czechoslovakia



cratic Party in the Senate to put forward the proposal requiring a two-thirds vote for closure. This stiff requirement would still make it almost impossible to end a filibuster by a determined minority.

We have seen how Truman acts on any measure he is seriously concerned about. On matters like the armaments budget or the Marshall Plan, or the North Atlantic Pact, Truman does not permit his political associates to put forward something different from what he wants.

On the contrary, he sees to it that an appropriate bill covering precisely what he has in mind is drafted and pushed in Congress with the full energy and weight of the administration and its congressional supporters. And he cracks down heavily on any legislator of his own machine who fails to toe the mark

pecial studies and from his own This has become standard technique with him. He maintains his reputation for liberal-

ism with verbal endorsements for liberal proposals that never get beyond the newspaper headlines, while his colleagues in Congress help to put over different and reactionary measures.

In this way, Truman provides a liberal smokescreen for the reactionary conduct of the political machine of which he is the acknowledged leader.

Union and Negro leaders who hail these platonic gestures are helping to play Truman's dirty little game. The political task for labor and the Negro people is to disperse Truman's smokescreen, expose the reactionary aims it conceals and organize a militant independent fight for civil rights and other needed measures.

Letters from Our Readers

research, mainly in the form of his analysis.

leaders (the CIO leaders are, among other things, younger and better educated); the reasons for the continued split (too much ower to be lost by too many eaders); the differences between higher and lower bodies (lower bodies are more militant); the reasons for labor racketeering (it lourishes in small-scale industries in the service trades, where the little businessmen welome and encourage it as the only means to form an industry-wide cartel to eliminate cut-throat competition); the social origins of the labor bureaucrat (he is a

if the powers that be haven't yet

been successful in launching the

L. K.

questionnaires sent to members of the bureaucracy, in the light of PHILADELPHIA COPS RAID He shows the differences be-tween the AFL and the CIO eaders (the CIO leaders on the CIO)

PHILADELPHIA. March 6 - Last night a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party warned a gathering of Negro and white workers at a private house party that police mishandling and framing of Negroes, will be 🤊

extended to all of them, unless it charge but that "we are out to is checked by mass protest. It did break this up."

The magistrate further declared not take long for them to see how that he was convinced "these peocorrect he was. ple are not acting in the best in-Less than one hour later, shortly after midnight, six policemen forced their way into the house, arresting 39 workers, including ten women, jamming them into three waiting patrol wagons.

Large quantities of SWP literature, "disappeared" in the raid, along with a collection of \$25 conly house! tributed toward the SWP's activ-

ity in behalf of Bayard Jenkins. NOT INTIMIDATED a 19-year old Negro youth of this city who is under sentence to the electric chair for a murder to giving further support to the which a white gravedigger has SWP's efforts to win justice for

confessed. Bayard Jenkins and the abolition The prisoners were locked up at of the police campaign to distwo ancient station houses with courage and break up interracial "black hole" conditions. The 29 social gatherings of workers in men were jammed into two cells, Philadelphia.

feet in size. The women too were SWP has announced plans for a incarcerated in small unsanitary meeting and a further campaign Sunday 2 p. m. Meetings The Philadelphia branch of the against all forms of police and

cells, guarded by male turnkeys. This experience was made even judiciary oppression of the Nemore terrible for the women by groes of Philadelphia, which it Walnut Park, Calif. the fact that in their cell, they charges is part and parcel of the found a young Negro girl lying capitalist scheme to keep the

> blood, her head wounds still gush- lines so that the exploitation of ing from a beating given her by both Negro and white will conthe guards before their arrival. tinue.

who had been denied medical

undermining democratic proare really totalitarians under

terest of the United States" because their literature (a pamphlet on the Jenkins case) criticized the police and judges of Philadelphia! LOUIS A. JOHNSON Thirty-eight of the defendants On Mar. 5 Stalin appointed to were discharged, but the host for this key post 66-year old Andrei the party was held in \$500 bail on a charge of running a disorder-

Y. Vishinsky. This individual who figures so prominently in the sudden reshuffle among the Kremlin have indicated their intention of from among those who have risen



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READ

Fourth

All of the victims of the raid obscure and sinister personalities



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ST. PAUL-540 Cedar St. Phone Gar-field 1137. Open daily. Bookstore.

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Favors Relief for cbjectors]. It is because I have A thought occurred to me which the fight for civil rights in an-**Cemetery Strikers** entered the pioneer ranks of I believe could be proven. I think other few days. Jehovah's Witnesses, and since we that American labor gets less of James Kutcher, pioneers serve without pay, I do what it produces than the work-Newark, N. J. After considering all the facts not have much money any more ers of any other country. If the as related in the daily press, I

expect to resume my activity in

suggest that union workers every- Liked Article on tery workers in New York and Jehovah's Witness provide them full strike relief (in Editor:

money) and thereby keep "straw boss" Spellman where he is indeseveral dollars per month for said and main article concerning us. nationality. F. S. relief to the strikers who have It was excellently and timely shown the courage to go against written. It served its purposes, the wishes of their "spiritual" and it will bring results. There

A Railroader, overlords. Minn.

where support the striking ceme

Editor:

Jim Kutcher Thanks 'Militant' Readers Editor:

said article.

I have recently permitted my four 8-hour days in plants hav-I would like through The Mili- subscription to The Militant to ing continuous operation. In other tant 'to thank the many readers lapse, but that doesn't mean I plants where operations would of our paper for their thought- have ceased to have respect for not be affected, workers should ful expressions of sympathy in those men with whom I became be allowed to vote on whether the letters sent me while I was acquainted while at Sandstone they work four 71/2-hour days or in the hospital. I have left the [the prison where Trotskyist de-] five 6-hour days. Three 8-hour hospital, am practicing walking fendants in the Minneapolis Trial days would be more in keeping again on my artificial limbs and were imprisoned during the war, with the productive capacity of

to spend as I please. I am sure give - away,- to - foreign - counthat those of you who are ac- tries - programs were stopped, quainted with our work will you would soon see what I mean understand. I would be glad to join the Although I can see that it is

ranks of the SWP if it wasn't third world war. not your desire or purpose to for my so-called Christian confinitely and also keep his crew of strikebreakers working at this useful occupation. And although eteering and selfish religions ranks; I simply want you men hood of Railway Trainmen and of this world, nevertheless, I fully to keep on being honest and connot affiliated with either the AFL appreciate and understand the siderate to all men regardless of or the CIO, I would gladly donate purpose of your Feb. 21 headline race, religion so to speak, or

along with many conscientious | American industry.

will be no peace on this earth Workers Should Vote until this planet is rid of demonized religion and its cohorts, the

express my sincere thanks for The program to make jobs for

On Work-Day Length

warmongers. I hereby desire to Editor:

the unemployed should ask for

typographical errors which completely distorted the meaning of the final paragraph in last week's editorial on Minneapolis, Minn.

"Liberals and the North Atlantic Pact." The paragraph croachments on the democratic

the skin.'

should have read as follows: "The old-time liberal, with all his weaknesses, was at least a principled defender of the people against any en-

processes. Today's liberals and Social Democrats are termites gathering.

cesses and the already limited constitutional safeguards against abuse of governmental power. Such 'anti-totalitarians'

They forgot their own worries as treatment. THEIR "CRIME"

The basis for the raid became evident at the hearing this morning before Magistrate John F

Daly. The police based their charge of disorderly conduct on the basis that it was a "mixed"

When questioned by attorney disorder or trouble, the magistrate interrupted that he was not particularly concerned with the

on the floor within a pool of working class divided on racial NEWARK

they tried to help the young girl

Spring Frolic SATURDAY MARCH 19

423 Springfield Ave. DANCING GAMES **DOOR PRIZE**

9 P. M.

Saul Waldbaum, a well-known union lawyer, who represented the 39, as to any actual evidence of

CORRECTION The Militant regrets the

A Matter of Opinion

– By James Kutcher –

When I met with Attorney General Clark in his Washington office last September to protest my dismissal from the VA, I think I offended him by asking what assurances we had that a new Attorney General appointed after the Nov. 2 election might not have different ideas than he has about what is subversive. It wasn't my intention to offend him: I was only trying to show the arbitrariness of a blacklist system that rests on the opinions of just one man.

I remembered this because on March 3 the Phi Betta Kappa Association of Essex County held a dinner in Newark where Thurman Arnold strongly denounced the "loyalty" program. Among other things he called it "a reign of terror," in which jobs and reputations are destroyed "by an unconstitutional process, through secret evidence, association and hearsay.'

Now Thurman Arnold is a former U. S. Assistant Attorney General, and for a long time it was believed that he was slated to succeed Biddle as Attorney General. Yet his attitude to the government purge seems to be the opposite of Clark's although they hold essentially the same political views. Isn't that a good illustration of how arbitrary the purge really is?

But that isn't my main point. After Arnold finished speaking, another man at the dinner got up to answer him. His name was John Kirkland Clark, and he happens to be not only a national Phi Betta Kappa official but also a member of the Loyalty Review Board, which is in charge of the purge. He said: "I don't think there is any consideration fairer than that these [lovalty] boards give these cases. Whether or not it is desirable to have people working in our government who are against the government is a matter of opinion."

By people "who are against the government" he means those who favor a form of government different from that advocated by the Democrats **How Jury is Being Selected** and Republicans. People like myself, for instance, who favor a socialist form of government rather than a Big Business form. Leaving that side, however, I want to emphasize his amazing statement that it is "a matter of opinion" if such people should be retained in their jobs or purged If it is a matter of opinion, then it is not a matter of law, and therefore there is no legal sanction for the purge in general or my dismissal in particular!

If that is the case, what right has the Trumar administration to fire workers with differing opinions? What right has Attorney General Clark to issue a "subversive" blacklist? What right has the Loyalty Review Board to publish its Memorandum 32 making it mandatory to purge members of the SWP and other organizations?

I am a great believer in freedom of opinion and expression. I am in favor of letting Tom Clark For Detroit Press and John Clark have their opinions about what is and what is not subversive. But I am decidedly not in favor of letting their opinions become substitute for law while at the same time they deny me and other government employees the right to have our opinions.

My appeal, asking for the restoration of my job and the abolition of the blacklist system, is scheduled to come before the Loyalty Review Board on March 30. I hope John Clark will be there and repeat what he said at the dinner in Newark. And then I hope he and the Loyalty Review Board as a whole will try to square this to obtain 1949 press cards. statement with the contention of the party in power that it has the right to blacklist an opponent party and fire its members out of government employ.

Police Boss Sets Ominous Pattern

VOLUME XIII

By Howard Mason

DETROIT - Facing almost solid resistance from Detroit newspapermen, Police Commis-

sioner Harry S. Toy (dubbed Headline Harry by the papers) has partially retreated from his original adamant stand requiring Detroit reporters to sign non-communist affidavits in order

In January, taking his cue from the national red-hysteria drive. Toy issued the order requiring the affidavits, with no exceptions permitted, not even the Hearst paper. Last month he announced he had stationed armed guards at Police Headquarters, and that all newsmen who had not signed the affidavits would be barred from entering between the hours of 6 P.M. and 8 A.M. Later, finding that no reporters from the three main daily papers in Detroit had

signed, he relaxed the order to the extent that he would accept the personal word of the editors of the three newspapers, Free Press, Times and News, as to the loyalty

of their employees. The reaction of the reporters to the required oaths was expressed by Norman Hull of the

Windsor Star when he said, "I know what we'd do if the Windsor police told us to do that in order to get a press card. We'd tell them to go to hell."

Toy's "backing down" in regard to the three main papers s in a sense a retreat. But it also is an action that sidesteps a fight against those men who are in the best position to fight his actions, ecause of the great circulation of the papers they write for, in order to better press the fight

DANGEROUS MOVE

This attack on the freedom of

does.

lity towards the neonle to attest



THE MILITANT

MONDAY, MARCH 14, 1949

Francis Cardinal Spellman, Roman Catholic archbishop of New York, directs scabs recruited from a seminary in digging graves in an attempt to break the eight-week strike of CIO cemetery workers at Calvary Cemetery run by St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City. The striking workers, all Catholics, demanded a 40-hour week with overtime pay for Saturdays.

PLACE ON BALLOT WON BY OAKLAND CANDIDATE

OAKLAND, March 5 — The campaign to spread the program of socialism is picking up full steam in this city now that Filomena Goelman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Coun-

cilman-at-Large in the forthcoming election, has been officially ers, CIO, Local 76. I now belong placed on the ballot. Almost three to the International Association times the number of necessary of Machinists, Lodge 1566, and petitions were collected for her am an active member of the National Association for the Ad-Already the SWP candidate has vancement of Colored People.

"I am a member of the Socialist eceived more newspaper publi-Workers Party which carries on ity than any other candidate in the councilmanic election. But her | a daily fight in the interests of campaign supporters are not go- working people and advocates a ing to rely for publicity only on Workers and Farmers Governthe press, and it is just that, for the capitalist press. The SWP ment in this country. I will camof the men who gather news for and wide by a series of speeches For a 30-hour week at 40 hours the papers, has a very conscious before the trade unions, Negro pay; a broad low-cost city houspurpose. For one, Toy seeks to es- organizations and women and ing program; end city sales taxtablish the practice of making youth groups. An attractive new es; for an FEP Ordinance; exall men in a position of responsi- campaign headquarters, located panded and improved school and at 1408 Webster, in the health programs; city ownership heart of

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Mar. 9 - So far three jurors called for the thought-control trial of the Stalinists have been dismissed for bias against the defendants; one because he knows two

members of the indicting grand Carol King, etc.? Or Congressman jury; another for bias caused by Vito Marcantonio, Rev. William membership in the Catholic Holy Melish or Paul Robeson? Or Alger Name Society; and a third who Hiss, Whittaker Chambers or loudly proclaimed his "absolute Elizabeth Bentley? contempt" for the Stalinists.

Have you read any Communist Another 87 jurors were ex- Party newspaper or book? Do cused on the ground that jury you know any Soviet diplomat? duty in the long trial would im- Have you had any association pose a hardship. One was a Chi- with organizations on Attorneynese, employed by the FBI as a General Clark's blacklist (which is read in full, including the So-

NUMBER 11

Among the hardship pleas was cialist Workers Party)? that of a prospective bridegroom **DEFENSE QUESTIONS**

who thought the jury box a poor Then comes the defense quesplace for a honeymoon. Amid uptions. Do you know Louis Budenz, roarious laughter, the judge ex-Sidney Hook, Michael Quill, etc.? cused him with a wave of the A Stalinist lawyer passed up a

Since Judge Medina over-ruled note and the judge asked, do you the defense challenge of the jury know Farrell Dobbs? system, there is much intrest in Have you had any association the composition of the panel from with the NAM, American Legion,

which the trial jury will be drawn. ACTU, Liberal Party, ADA, etc.? A check of the 87 excused jurors Have you read any books by gives a partial picture. Budenz, Gitlow, Kravchenko, Martin Dies, etc.? JURY COMPOSITION

Next the judge reads the Smith The 87 include 21 junior and Act and the indictment, asking if senior corporation executives, 14 any juror is prejudiced against small businessmen, 12 salesmen, that law. Then he inquires if any 9 engineers, 8 housewives, 5 salesinter is biased from exposure to managers, 5 clerical workers, 3 the press and radio, or from asstock brokers, 3 architects, 2 sociation with any organization private secretaries, 2 manual or from any statement he has workers, an editor, a teacher and heard or read. a translator. Two of the 87 are Twelve jurors now seated in the Negroes.

jury box claim they have formed Jurors are called to the jury no opinion about the case and box in groups of 12, while scores would render a verdict solely on of other jurors sit in the courtthe basis of the evidence. room listening to the question-

ing. All questions are asked by When the questioning has been the judge who permits the lawyers completed, those jurors not disto pass him suggestions in writmissed by the judge will be subject to peremptory challenge by

After checking to find if the the prosecution and defense. Howjurors know any defendant, deever, only 16 challenges are fense lawyer or prosecutor, the allowed-ten by the defendants, judge puts the prosecutor's ques- six by the prosecutor. Thereafter, tions. Do you know such lawyers the judge's decision in the selecas Lee Pressman, O. John Rogge, tion of jurors is final.

Main L. A. Election Issue--Who Should Run the Govt.?

By Lois Saunders

Two Million Lost Childhoods

By Ruth Johnson

"The golf links lie so near the mill That almost every day The little children at their work Can see the men at play."

Just an echo of the past? Not at all! I remembered the poem and the whole struggle against child labor when I came across an article in the February issue of Woman's Home Companion. The author, Edith Stern, shows that "one out of every six of our 14 and 15-year olds is now at work," and over two million boys and girls had jobs during the last school year.

That's a slight improvement over the height of this crime-wave against youth. During the Second World War, with the agreement of the labor bureaucrats and the blessing of the patriotic "liberals," as many as five million children were employed. Under the pretext of speeding the war effort, the states watered down the protective laws won through decades of union struggle. The states promised, of course, to restore the laws when peace returned. But like the wartime pledges of full employment, decent homes and the four freedoms, these promises to repair the child labor laws are ignored.

"Five states have extended wartime relaxations of child labor restrictions supposed to expire in 1945," Miss Stern warns. Nine states have killed proposed bills that would have set even the inadequate minimum of a 16-year working age during school hours. Texas has favored the cannery bosses with exemptions that allow them to work 15-year old girls more than 54 hours a week. And so on! In the canneries; in the huge "factories in the

field" owned by agricultural barons; in department stores, laundries, bowling alleys, and delivering newspapers for the boss press, children do man-sized jobs while parents swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Deprived of all chance to play and grow, the boys and girls are put at tasks beyond their strength. Their health is undermined. They suffer twice as many permanent injuries through industrial accidents as adult workers do. Forced to accept less than adult wages, they in turn depress the living standards of the whole working class, and force more parents to send more children to work to feed the families.

For all who thought capitalism would at least wipe out this blot on its record of oppression, the last few years should be proof that free enterprise will not reform. From its first years, as Marx proved in Capital, the profit system has thrived on the misery of children. It squanders future generations as not even slave-holders could against the smaller papers of afford to do — for under capitalism even the Michigan. afford to do - for under capitalism, even the young are "free."

Socialism alone will wipe out the tragedy of that little quatrain. It will take all children out of the mill and give them at last a place in the sun. it limits the actions and beliefs program will also be spread far paign on the following programs:

Sidney Hook--Then and Now

By George Breitman

Most of the intellectuals who were attracted to movements of rebellion against capitalism by the crisis of the Thirties have signed their separate peace with Big Business and entered into its service. Hypnotized by the power of capitalism in its last real stronghold and blind to the potentially greater power of the working class, they devote themselves nowadays to defending the same reactionary practices and institutions which they used to oppose ten or fifteen years ago. A good illustration of this transformation is afforded by the leading article in the Feb. 27 N. Y. Times Magazine, written by Sidney Hook. head of the Philosophy Department of New York University and contributing editor of the Social Democratic New Leader.

As part of the cold war against democratic rights in this country, the ruling class has decided to drive from the schools all teachers in any way critical of Wall Street's preparations for war and world domination. The signal was given with the purge at the University of Washington, and while many educators are reluctant or truly puzzled about what to do, the Social Democrats have jumped into line.

Over 90% of Hook's article is an aggressive defense of the witch-hunt, along the following lines: Purging "communist" teachers is in accord with the best and highest tradition of academic freedom, rather than a violation of it, because they are under the pressure of their party's discipline to preach its views and therefore are not free to teach the objective truth. (What about all the other teachers who are subjected to pressures and prejudices, social and ecomonic as well as political, which drastically impede their presentation of the truth? Hook can't seem to get worked up over them, especially when their concepts of the "objective truth" jibe with the interests of capitalism.)

To the objection that this is an attack on the right of teachers to hold dissident political opinions, Hook replies that the purge is warranted because membership in the CP is "an act, not merely an expression of opinion." But what good is the right to hold opinions if you cannot express them effectively, if you cannot exercise this right in organizational as well as mental terms - that is, by association with other people sharing your opinions in a party which, after all, it is still legal to belong to in this country? Teachers harboring "dangerous thoughts" can still keep their jobs in the Soviet Union so long as they don't express them; is that "academic freedom" too?

Hook's zeal in logic-chopping leads him to denounce even the "civil libertarians" who cling to the old-fashioned notion that all teachers, regardless of political affiliations, "must be judged by their individual actions in the classroom.' Their position has "two fatal difficulties," he says: 1. It would "require spying in every classroom to detect the party line, and disorganize or intimidate. . . the entire faculty." (Thus academic thought-control turns out to be really just a laudable bulwark against intimidation of ALL teachers!) 2. It would be "very difficult" to decide when a teacher defended a conclusion because he "honestly believed it" and when he was merely

"difficulties" when a purge is so much simpler?) | smaller newspapers of Detroit | campaign. involved 'question" of the "fellow-traveler." Furparty teachers from the academic community seems justified in principle, this by itself does not determine whether it is a wise and prudent

action in all circumstances. . . If removal of Communist party members were to be used by other reactionary elements as a pretext to hurl irresponsible charges against professors whose views terfered with the freedom of the they disapprove, a case might be made for suspending action.

In other words, Hook recognizes the very clear and present danger that the witch-hunt against men misusing freedoms guaran-the Stalinists will be extended to encompass other teed by the Constitution?" he re-facing working people. A former

dissident elements. He wants a purge but he wants | plied, "I won't answer that." it regulated so it won't hit at teachers who couple their support of capitalism with criticism of some of its aspects. And he even suggests a solution: "If the execution of the policy were left to university faculties themselves, and not to administrators and trustees who are harried by pressure groups, there would be little ground for complaint.' In short, let the purge be conducted under a bastardized form of "workers control" - control by the teachers, who have control over nothing else in the universities - and then it will be a nice, safe, effective purge, with little ground for complaint.

What accounts for these reservations? For one thing, a few anti-Stalinist teachers, including some of Hook's own blood-brothers, have already felt the axe in the purge's first stages. But something else is worrying Hook, something of a more personal nature, and here is what it is:

In 1934-5 the Hearst press ran a rabid redbaiting campaign to clean the "subversives" out of the colleges. And one of Hearst's specific targets was Hook himself. (At that time Hook was a member of the organization led by A. J. Muste, which merged with the Trotskyists in December 1934 to form the Workers Party, a forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party.) Hearst's campaign became so virulent that a mass meeting denouncing it was held under the auspices of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense in the Central Opera House, New York, on Feb. 3, 1935, with Hook as one of the main speakers before an audience of 2,500.

Hook is still haunted by that memory. Although he long ago gave up all pretence of being a revolutionary Marxist, he knows there is no telling where a witch-hunt in high gear will stop, and he is thinking about his own neck. But his reservations don't change the fundamental nature of his position - namely, that he is now proposing in the name of "anti-totalitarianism" to do to his political opponents precisely what Hearst tried to do to him in the name of jingo-patriotism. And his pleas for special privilege will have no effect at all in retarding the machine of reaction, whose engine he has fueled and whose wheels he has greased.

their loyalty to the government. downtown, has already been ob- of transportation and utilities, For another, he seeks to make tained. From all indications, it controlled by the workers who

candidacy.

But the most interesting thing about Hook's (the Communist Party publishes Filomena Goelman appeared ministration in Oakland." article is its conclusion, advancing some mild and a state paper in Michigan). Per- before the Oakland City Council tentative reservations to an all-out purge. He is haps most important of all, he is on Mar. 3 to present the SWP not satisfied that the proper formula has been attempting to establish the no- statement of policy on FEPC. found for dealing with "the more difficult and tion that any man who does not She is scheduled to appear bebelieve in this "free enterprise" fore the CIO-PAC Mar. 7 and thermore, "Although the exclusion of Communist | system should not enjoy the same | before the Negro Ministerial Alrights and privileges as one who liance Mar. 8. She is also scheduled to speak Mar. 12 at the

The attitude of Detroit's Mayor, Eugene Van Antwerp, is typical of capitalist politicians. Ask- land SWP headquarters to the ed if he thought the order "in- public.

press," he replied, "I don't know." SWP candidate appended the fol-When asked further, "Had there lowing statement:

been any instances of newspaper "I come from a working class

on the unions: for a workers' ad-

"Meet - the - Candidate Social" which will open up the new Oak-

In filing for the campaign, the

member of the United Auto Work-



LOS ANGELES, Mar. 5 — The mayoralty race here bubbled merrily this week, with one candidate, Ellis E. Patterson, following the party line. (Why bother with such difficult the functioning of the will be one of the best in the run them; for a Labor Party based suspending his search for buried pirate treasure in the Cocos Islands to reach out for another

pot of gold-the \$18,000 a year the government represent? Is it mayoralty job. to be their government or ours?

ing.

Patterson, backed somewhat In contrast to all other candidates, hesitantly by the IPP Wallaceites, Myra Tanner Weiss, in her camhas issued as yet no program paign speeches as well as in her dealing with problems of Los SWP platform, now being widely Angeles workers, but seeks sup- distributed, stresses the need for port on the basis of his "progres- the independent political action sive" past. The IPP platform in- of workers and minorities. In Los cludes planks on FEPC, slum Angeles, as elsewhere in our counclearance, abolition of the loyalty try, only this can begin to solve oath, all of which are whole- the burning problems facing the heartedly supported by workers. working class today.

But like all the other parties | This basic fact-the need for except the Socialist Workers electing labor's own representa-Party, what the IPP shies away tives-has been stressed by Comfrom is the fundamental issue rade Weiss. But it is either not now facing the workers and the understood or purposely evaded minorities, namely: Whom will by the IPP. Neither the IPP nor,

the Stalinists seem to have learned anything from their dismal experiences in the past. They continue to run after "liberals" in the capitalist camp.

In the recent 19th district election for Congress, Chet Holifield was their choice. Today, their committee men in Flint a day befair-haired boy is Patterson. The IPP, after carefully pointing out that he is not a member of their

fight to change the leadership but Patterson's 10-year record in ers or minorities. He has shopped

In the local contests the picture around quite a bit, starting out is as follows: Buick progressives as a Republican in the State Astrail in the primary but are in the sembly, then switching to the runoffs. This is a loss over last Democrats, and in 1940, during year. The Chevrolet opposition is the Stalinist era of the "Yanks in the runoff for the shop com- are not coming," breaking with mittee and two board posts, re- the Roosevelt New Dealers. More ceiving 40% of the vote. Bob recently he lost out in the race Carter's group in the AC local for U.S. Senate, and still more was defeated by a narrow mar- recently he apparently forsook gin of 300 votes out of 3,000 cast. politics temporarily to hunt for

CAMPAIGN TALKS

Myra Tanner Weiss, meanwhile, is taking the SWP platform to the workers.

year he fell short by light votes. Campaign meetings are being held weekly in four working class The Reutherites still control sections. Militant readers are the region but it is clear that a urged to attend them and to help year of their administration has bring out a large Weiss for Mayor not materially strengthened their vote. Campaign headquarters are hold on GM workers. A small shift located at 1008 S. Pacific, San any attempt at defense by refus- deliberately by the capitalist press Trotskyists or led by them. Reu- from right to left could change Pedro; 124 W. 6th St., Room 325; and 1653 Longwood Ave.

By Emmett Moore

ing to authorize strikes.

Just prior to the local elections, eve of the voting. They heralded poses the wage cuts are reds. the four top international officers Reuther's press statements with In a meeting of officers and

FLINT, Mar. 7-Once again the printed a statement of policy in banner headlines. CIO Auto Workers Union here is the official union paper, minimiz- The opposition insisted through- fore the voting, Reuther bluntly a battleground between the tight- ing the speedup problem. In spe- out the campaign, as it did last told the opposition that constiknit Reuther machine and the op- cific reference to Chevrolet, they year, that negotiations be handled tutional changes would be made organization, hasten to add that position forces. Election returns admitted there was a wildcat on an industry-wide basis. They at the next convention to prevent they will give Patterson "enerfor local union offices, while not strike but did not mention that it insisted this was the only way them from opposing his policies getic" support "to the extent" that complete, indicate that Reuther occurred only after they had re- GM workers could be brought into in the union. He said he didn't he deals with issues of importance will retain control of this largest fused to authorize a legitimate the struggle for pensions this oppose their right to criticize and to the people of this eity.

Heated Elections in Flint UAW

concentration of GM workers. But strike which the membership de- year. the opposition still represents manded by a 7-to-1 vote, with Reuther and his representatives they didn't have the right to fight and out of public office is not one 40% of the members in the area. some 8,000 workers voting. They rejected this necessary tactic and against policies of the interna- to inspire confidence among work-This campaign has opened the concluded the Chevrolet incident proposed again to renew their in- tional executive board. eyes of an ever-widening group of by saying everything was settled effective "one-at-a-time" straworkers to the true character of satisfactorily. tegy.

the Reuther group. It stands ex- The statement of policy is an With the capitalist press workposed as a conservative caucus, outright lie. For every Chevrolet ing full time for Reuther, it was devoid of principles, grasping for worker knows the fight was lost. a simple matter to turn on the immediate advantages. In Buick, To this day the workers are turn- spigot of red-baiting and smear its leaders accused the opposition ing out the increased production the whole opposition. The Buick of anti-unionism because their demanded by the company. leadership was banded as Commembers turned down strike Reuther attempted to stifle the munist-controlled, the Chevrolet action last year, while in Chev- complaints and bitterness over opposition as Trotskyist. rolet the opposition is accused of speedup by a national wage and The militants who politically wanting to lead industry-wide pension program — and red bait- support the Democrats or Wal- Thus, there is no change in Chev- pirate's gold. lace recall with bitterness how in rolet and AC over last year. Fishstrikes at every opportunity. ing. GM locals in this area are seeth- The GM contract is closed to 1937 they defended Reuther's er Body No. 2 was carried by the

ing with dissatisfaction over economic demands until 1950. This right to be a "Socialist" when he opposition. Larry Finnan, head of speedup. It is almost as bad as in created a problem for the Reu- was under attack by George Boy- the left wing in Fisher Body No. pre-union days. In Flint, par- therites who were advocating sen, head clubman for the GM 1 was defeated by six votes. Last ticularly Chevrolet, the opposition pensions this year. Reuther gave vigilantes. took the leadership in the fight his forces a formula with which Reuther "anti-ism" campaign

against the speedup and brought they could deceive the GM work- was revealed as an attempt to the facts to the attention of the ers. He contended that public suppress all militant opposition. whole union. The Reuther admin- opinion would force the company Don Chapman, regional director, istration did nothing to defend to negotiate this year. wrote that those who were fightestablished standards. It stifled This deception was bolstered ing speedup in Chevrolet were

for three consecutive days on the ther claim that any one who op- the picture substantially.

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