Bethlehem Pact Follows Pattern **Of 'Fact-Finders'**

Bethlehem Steel's acceptance of a version of the gov-Vol. XIII - No. 45 ernment's "fact-finding" board report marks an important turning point in the month-old steel strike and probably augurs a settlement in the in-

dustry as a whole. A number of ficialdom and finally by their

0

In its broad, strategical meaning, the settlement with Bethlehem signifies a setback for the arrogant steel barons. For the third time since the end of the war, they were forced to retrea from their plan to provoke a labor movement. They yielded to showdown struggle with the the wage-freezing formula that unions and to cripple or weaken can become the basis for wage the workers' organizations after cuts in marginal industries wit a long drawn-out strike.

Each time, a trifling difference separated the workers' demands

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

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

New Contract Is Formally Accepted By Ford Workers ers' social security tax.

The pension plan itself is some-The new UAW-Ford contract what more liberal than that rehas been approved by the memceived by the Ford workers. It bership. The vote at the Ford River Rouge plant was 32,392 for ceiling on benefits. It covers and 7,130 against. Of the 48 Ford workers reaching the age of 65 locals, only two rejected the new with 25 years service in contrast agreement.

The Reuther leadership claims after 30 years of service and that these results constitute an provides for the discharge of em-"overwhelming" endorsement for (Continued on page 4) its new "history making agree-

ment." The actual vote simply reflects the success of ' the Reutherite leadership in intimidating the Ford rank and file with the threat of a "sixmonth" strike.

Far from constituting an allout-endorsement for the Reutherite machine, the results of the Ford-UAW contract mark a turning point in the developments

the surrender of fourth - round wage demands.

Murray and Co. not only sacri-ficed the struggle to raise the living standards of the entire weaker unions, and foregoes in advance a fifth-round wage crease for 1950.

CONTRACT DETAILS

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

Although announced as a noncontributory pension plan, Bethlehem workers will actually

pay a part of the pension because the total pension includes federal social security. Like the Ford delegates. The executive board of pension, an increase in federal that body will take up the social security benefits will_not increase the total Bethlehem pension, but will reduce Beth-ficers have indicated favorable ehem's share of the payment and action.

At the public meeting other speakers called for support of his case. City Councilman J. B. Simmons Jr., outstanding Negro leaders, likened the persecution of begins with \$100 but places no Kutcher to that of the Negro people. He denounced those liberals who in private deplore what is going on in this country to the Ford plan, which starts but "won't stick their necks out"

great concern over the current vave of witch-hunting.

editor of the AFL Toledo Union Leader and a member of organized labor for 63 years, called for a sustained fight to restore Kutcher to his job. He described how the government had tried to remove him from a mail carrier's

job because of Social Democratic activities many years ago.

Workers of the World, Unite ! THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1949

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

augurs a settlement in the in-dustry as a whole. A number of other steel corporations have re-sumed negotiations and U. 8 Steel is apparently preparing to do the same. In its broad, strategical mean-After Expulsion of Stalinists

Kutcher Wins New Supporters During Visit to Toledo

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

The high point of his union ap pearances was at the CIO Industrial Union Council where he was very warmly received by 100 question of financial support at ficers have indicated favorable increase the amount/of the work-

in public. Simmons expressed

Walter C. Guntrup, 79-year-old

By Michael Bartell SWP Candidate for Mayor

ONE YEAR OF THE 'FAIR DEAL' Nov. 2, 1948 Nov. 2, 1949



WP Finishes Effective **N.Y. Election Campaign**

highly doctored figures relating he mumbled that he had always under Communist Party dominto homes, schools, hospitals, etc., been in favor of the separation of ation, pulled out of the convenallegedly built under his ad- church and state. But despite tion and, in effect, proclaimed NEW YORK, Nov. 2 — The allegedly built under his ad- challenge after challenge by their withdrawal from the CIO.

CP Crimes Used to Obscure **Real Causes for Split in CIO** BULLETIN

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

By Art Preis

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

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

Instead of fighting on the convention floor here against these anti-democratic amendments, the Stalinist leadership of the United Electrical Workers, largest union

James Kutcher, is being presented to the CIO convention delegates here through a special display table placed prominently in the convention hall lobby among the various ClO exhibits. Kutcher himself is in attendance at the display, hand-

ng out literature on his fight

for civil rights and discussing

his case with numerous dele

gates who show keen interest

and sympathy. Kutcher was

fired from his VA job, in Tru-

man's "loyalty" purge, for

membership in the Socialist

Arrangements for this Kut-

cher Civil Rights Committee

display were made by Irving

Abramson, CIO Eastern Re-

gional Director who has been

active in Kutcher's defense.

Workers Party.

Kutcher Presents

Case to Delegates

At Cleveland Meet

CLEVELAND, Noy. 1 - The

Case 'of the Legless Veteran,

RESOLUTION ADOPTED

inside the auto union. The ferment and indignation against the Reutherite leadership among the GM workers and elsewhere throughout the industry is not being lulled by the formal vote of acceptance at Ford. On the contrary, the opposition will tend to grow as more and more militants recognize the conservative character of the Reuther leadership which has masqueraded so long as a "militant" and progressive" force.



YOUNGSTOWN CANDIDATE

HARRY BRAVERMAN (Story on Page 4)

lems Cochran brings many years break with the Kremlin is grow- of their 11 deputies was reelected

original CIO organizational drive; Norwegian Stalinist party where, the defeat and the purgers

served as international represent- from many indications, a minority acknowledge that the dissidents

ative of the UAW in Ohio, 1936- has expelled the dissident ma- had conducted their activities for

Central Committee, the titular

37 and as the head of the WPA jority. Out of 15 members of the at least the last ten months.

BERT COCHRAN TO MAKE NATIONAL TOUR FOR SWP

Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Commit- bodies took is not known yet. tee of the Socialist Workers Party, will begin a national tour on Nov. 18 starting with St. Louis and covering all party branches and locals.

On this tour, Cochran will de- Cochan tour, including a sched-- liver public lectures dealing with ule of the cities he will cover, the problems and prospects of will appear in subsequent issues gold tie-clasp and cuff-links en-

the American labor movement and of The Militant. embracing such key issues as the emergence of a new labor bureau-'Titoist' Majority Expelled from Norway CP cracy; the decline of Stalinist influence; the Mohawk Formula in 1949; problems of modern strike strategy; the struggle for a new Left Wing and a Labor Party in this country.

To his discussion of these prob-

Department of the UAW in De-

pearances, he will hold a number

problems of the local party or-

This tour is the second in the

planned series of national party

tours which was launched on Oct.

In addition to his public ap- missed."

PARTY DISCUSSIONS TOO

troit in 1938-39.

ganizations.

the Kremlin.

New York mayoralty campaign. Rev. Gordon M. Jones made a now in its last week, has given stirring appeal not only for Kut- the workers of this city an excher's civil rights but for every- cellent opportunity to watch all one's regardless of political af- the parties in action and see for filiation. Prof. Willard A. Smith themselves what they have to of Toledo University acted as offer. It has been quite a chairman. The meeting adopted a spectacle. resolution addressed to President CAPITALIST STRATEGY Truman, asking for justice for Kutcher and a public hearing for

All the contestants recognized the Socialist Workers Party at, the decisive role of the labor vote and made their bid for it. But the which it could answer the charges Socialist Workers Party ticket of "subversiveness." The audience had little difficulty in sharply responded generously to a plea for differentiating its working class financial assistance.

program from all the others of-Kutcher also spoke at meetings fered to the workers. The original campaign strategy

of the AFL Building Trades Council, Electrical Workers Local cooked up for O'Dwyer by Tam-245, Boilermakers Local 85 and

MESA Local 4. What action these At a social affair held in

Jimmie's honor by the Toledo

Branch of the Socialist Workers Party he was presented with a

Street. It meant his trying to get graved with his initials.

a crusade against "corruption and sin." His "sensational" exposures, which are common knowledge to every local resident.

of red-baiting.

resulted in a police dragnet that brought in six bedraggled bookies. NO DIFFERENCE

Unable to differentiate himself

from O'Dwyer on a single issue

of real concern to labor, Newbold

Morris, Republican and Liberal

Party candidate, chose to wage

Playing the subway fare issue ings, the SWP candidates carried to the hilt, Marcantonio, candi-their revolutionary socialist date of the ALP, laid down a message and their principled smokescreen of demagogic pro- fight for civil rights to tens of mises, hoping in this way to duck thousands of workers.

This was unquestionably one losing the Catholic vote in his of the most effective campaigns

district, this "fearless fighter for ever conducted by the Trotskyprinciples" kept silent on the ists in this city. It proved in ac-Barden bill, for weeks after the tion that there is one party that can be depended on to carry on an

Finally, after I had publicly uncompromising fight against be kept in prison pending their They were embarrassed because by with a dreary repetition of challenged him to declare himself, Wall Street and its supporters.

confine himself to citing his own record. This of course did not mean his real record of strikebreaking,

many Hall and his local "labor statesmen" was to avoid controversy with his opponents and the really vital issues. Fearful of

which exposes him for what he other candidates had taken a is - an anti-labor stooge of Wall stand on it.

Socialist Workers Party candidates waged a clear-cut campaign around the slogan of putting a labor administration in City Hall. Over the radio, on television, at large election forums, at street rallies and at union meet

opponents of the Stalinists.

CLEAR-CUT CAMPAIGN

stages of the campaign his brain myself and others, he has con-Late this afternoon, just betrust decided to switch over tinued to dodge the issue of civil fore adjournment of today's CIO convention session at Public Auhastily to the familiar strategy rights for Trotskyists and other ditorium here, the mechanical majority commanded by CIO President Philip Murray overwhelm-In sharp contrast to the mumboingly passed the first constitutional provisions in CIO history jumbo pretenses of the other candidates that they would to fix discriminatory political represent "all of the people," the qualifications and limitations on

CIO members and unions. The first amendment bars any-

one from holding office in the national CIO or serving on the Ex-(Continued on page 2)

COURT REVERSES GOVT. FREES ELEVEN ON

NEW YORK, Nov. 3 - The 11 leaders of the Communist Party convicted at Foley Square were ordered released on bail today by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in a ruling that rejected the ad-

ministration's request that they Act used against the CP now. appeal to the Supreme Court, or they themselves had cheered the hat their bail be fixed at a mil-Roosevelt administration for

ion dollars. persecuting and convicting the The Appeals Court set a figure Trotskyists because of their poliof \$30,000 each for four of the tical views.

lefendants, and \$20,000 each for Their criminal conduct toward he other seven - a total of the Minneapolis case arose to \$260,000. The money was furn- haunt them again in the Nov. 1 shed by the Civil Rights Conhearing on their plea for bail.

raises a 'substantial question'."

The international crisis of Stal- | setback in recent parliamentary | Reports continue of further pur- | hand of the local Stalinists | inside and outside Europe are beinism resulting from Yugoslavia's elections when not a single one ges in Bulgaria and Poland. The against any possible rising tide coming more outspoken in the gress. current purge in Czechoslovakia of opposition. At the same time American capitalist press. Thus Freedom on hail is allowed as of experience in the trade union ing in scope and intensity. Last to office. The expelled Norwegian shows no signs of abatement and border incidents are becoming Sul'aberger, N. Y. Times foreign

When Department of Justice Attorney Shapiro argued against rule whenever a substantial granting them bail, he cited "the question of law is involved in Dunne case" as one of the prece-"position is correct and that the rulings of the trial judge [Meconstitutionality has never been dina] are correct on the constiruled on by the Supreme Court. tutional question." The administration's efforts to

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

Havng falsely claimed at the The Appeals Court explained |outset that the first application of the Smith Act against the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers perhaps approached their full "conceded that the appeal herein Party had nothing in common with their own prosecution, the All through the trial, the Stal- Stalinists are evidently deterinists were embarrassed to find mined to keep up with this themselves confronted in the pretense to the bitter end.

courtroom and in the press with | But at every stage events fly to be in progress. The Norwegian long ago, announced that it had keep up hostile pressure on Yugo- Balkans. At the same time, so determined to crush the Yugo- neapolis trial of the 18 Trot- contention and play into the hands the precedent set in the Min- in the face of this fraudulent skyists under the same Smith of the prosecutors.

ranking members have been "dis-Sweden where sympathies for the struggle of the Yugoslavs have Furubotn and his followers, up likewise penetrated deeply into of internal party discussions with to now considered as unquestion- Stalinist ranks. Belgrade has conmembers in the localities, involv- ingly obedient to Stalin, have sistently claimed considerable

leader of the Norwegian CP, blow to the Kremlin. Similar

Peder Furubotn, and seven other developments are expected in

fairs as well as the work and stituting a "Trotskyist bourgeois- Sweden. **OTHER PURGES**

Meanwhile, the Kremlin is redoubling its "preventive" measures Expulsions of other prominent among its satellites in Eastern

The Norwegian split is a serious

1 with the coast-to-coast public Norwegian Stalinists have like- Europe. On Oct. 21 the Albanian lectures of Morris Stein on the wise been reported and a large- government, which had been conconflict between Yugoslavia and scale purge in the ranks appears vulsed by a severe purge not so for a twofold purpose: (1) to other Tito" elsewhere in the world machine. That is why he is

Further details concerning the Stalinists suffered a crushing "throttled an attempted revolt." slavia, and (2) to strengthen the speculations on repercussions slav in blood.

ground.

nationalistic Titoist center." Furabotn was a prominent figure in the Norwegian wartime under-

Several new divisions have once

members (from the Stalinistdominated General Confederation "information was exchanged" and quite prominently.

Yugoslav borders have increased. and Hungary. They may be there discounted the chances for "an- folding internal crisis of his

SPECULATION CONTINUES

A semi-official report of this diplomatic gathering was worded

movement. He participated in the week news came of a split in the "Titoists" are being blamed for the name of Vladimir Clementis, more provocative. Belgrade has correspondent, cabled from Paris, officially denounced an 8-hour Oct. 21, that the extension of the an appeal, as it is in the Stalinist dents that the prosecution's Czech Foreign Minister now attending the UN sessions, keeps bombardment of its frontier by "ideological dispute" between the case because they were convicted recurring as a possible scapegoat. Hungarian border patrols. This Yugoslav dissidents and the under the Smith Gag Act, whose Belgrade is seeking to build up international support by inviting scale and without any casualties. significant "international propordelegations from labor and liberal Foreign chancelleries, especially tions."

ing a general review of party af- been openly charged with con- support both in Norway and of Labor) is now touring Yugoslavia despite the French Politbureau's ban on such visits.

Soviet troop movements along

again been sent into Rumania very cautiously and presumably

bedies. Italy and France are re- the U.S., are following the devceiving special attention. A elopments very closely. American soon spread to the Far East, in their appeal were in such flagrant French delegation of more than diplomats to the USSR and East- particular China. According to viclation of this general practice two score party and trade union ern Europe have concluded in Sulzberger, "the Yugoslavs them- that even a friendly court felt it London a two-day session in which selves are regarding China with could not comply with the ad-

especial interest," and he con ministration's request. the Tito-Stalin break figured cludes that the split with Tito

for Moscow that have not yet the prosecution attorneys had

realization.

disastrous implications of the un-

reportedly took place on a local Kremlin is beginning to assume Sulzberger hints that it may

is politically "replete with dangers that it had granted bail because

Stalin is quite aware of the

THE MILITANT

Monday, November 7, 1949

21% of Quota Collected Stalinists Expelled from CIO In Party Fund Campaign | Stalinists. It was Reuther, Quill, | Harry Bridges of the Longshor (Continued from page 1) cutive Board "who is a member Curran, Rieve, Potofski and Bal- men and several other Stalinist of the Communist Party, any fas-

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

Page Two

The three-month campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to raise a \$12,000 Party Building Fund has reached the one-third mark. But only six branches are on schedule. Other branches are slow in sending in payments; some still appear in the zero column. As a result, the national campaign is lagging 12%, with a total of \$25.49 paid to date. Flint Branch still holds first place in the campaign with 62% of its \$200 quota.

New Britain held second place with 40% of its \$30 quota. The other on-schedule or better branches are St. Paul-Minneapolis, Worcester, Buffalo, St Louis.

EXEMPLARY BRANCHES

These exemplary branches accepted their quotas without being sure they could make them by the campaign deadline because of unemployment, the steel strike etc. But at the same time they accepted their quotas with a determination to overcome these handicaps. And they didn't allow any grass to grow under their feet. They launched their local helping the branch meet its better.

RUSH FUNDS

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

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

\$65 of their total paid "represents, who succeeded in escaping to resistance to the fascists. Western Europe. Several Socialcontributions from party symist newspapers there have publishpathizers." She adds that "the ed Rajk's autobiography. response of the New York Local to the urgent financial needs of of authenticity and throws conthe party warmly demonstrates siderable light on a man, who the firmness of our ranks and the like countless others, made himwillingness to sacrifice at a time self a tool of Stalin and remained when the economic needs of our worker comrades are not rendered trial and up to the gallows. less acute by the adverse economic situation.' ALL HIS LIFE



SCOREBOARD	FOD CI	ND F	IINN
JUVALDUAND	IVA J		unu
Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 123	62
New Britain	30	12	40
St. Paul-Minneapolis	. 900	335	39
Worcester	40	15	38
Buffalo	500	183	37
St. Louis	75	27	36
Cleveland ,	250	67	. 27
Boston	200	52	26
Newark	350	91	26
Pittsburgh	150	3.9	26
San Francisco-Oakland	800	207	26
New York	3,000	735	25
Toledo	75	18	24
Philadelphia	600	115	19
Detroit	1,100	' 198	4 18
Los Angeles	1,500	275	18
Chicago	400	30	8
Youngstown	400	20	5
Akron	100	0	0
Allentown	50	0	0
Lypn •	75	0	0
Milwaukee	250	0	0 `
Morgantown	25	0	0
New Haven	25	0	0
Seattle	100	0	0
General	805	7	0
TOTAL through Nov. 1	\$12,000	2,549	21

eampaign and urged their com-rades and triends to cooperate ir THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY weekly pledge on time. That's OF LASZLO RAJK

By Charles Hanley

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

and accused and hanged as "Trot-Stalin's secret police and "true skyist - Titoist - imperialist spy." Several months before his trial communists" of the Rajk stripe. he therefore wrote a short auto- that worked behind the lines to biography to prove that he had destroy the workers and peasants always been a loyal servant of committees and their military the Kremlin. Rajk entrusted this organizations, murdering the document to a friend, another revolutionists, paralyzing and for New York Local, reports that veteran of the Hungarian CP, drowning in blood the heroic

While the Spanish workers and peasants were desperately fighting at the front, Rajk and his colleagues, under orders from Moscow, sabotaged their struggle and organized man - hunts against Trotskyists, Anarchists and other political opponents. The servilely obedient throughout his task of tasks, was, as Rajk says, to "annihilate them all," and if

some escaped it was through no fault of the Kremlin's loyal

Rajk, like so many others, were

unable to foresee that one day

SWP Attitude to SP, SDF, ISL Statement

- because of its strong material

establish an enlightened world so-

tion establishes as its lowest

tion. Dobbs' letter, dated Sept. 12, simple 'anti - Stalinism.' It does demns only the crimes of Stal-

fully agrees with the proposition lel with the fight against Stalin- American capitalism practiced

a letter replying to the invita- common political denominator political declaration which con-

"However, we cannot agree to

At the trial Rajk did everything killers. he was told, abjectly confessing Rajk is a model product of the to deeds he never committed and monstrous Stalinist machine, the accepting a death-sentence with school of political gangsterism. expressions of gratitude. Chief Men like Rajk represent not among his confessions was that "true communists" but those who he was a "Trotskyist." His auto- voluntarily degraded themselves, biography reveals that all his life extinguishing completely their he had been a professional anti- conscience, their scruples, their Trotskyist, a trained killer of ability and desire to reason and Trotskyists and of other political grow politically. They replaced revolutionary will and Marxist opponents of Stalin. The central revelation in Rajk's thought by a blind, cynical devoautobiography concerns his as- tion to the "infallible, beloved signment to Spain as one of the Chief," who is actually a renegade Comintern agents during the from Communism and the con-Spanish Civil War. He tells why structor of a monstrous machine he was sent there: Not to help of oppression and deception. They the Spanish workers and peasants replaced political principles with to fight against Franco, but to lies, and slander, treachery and

cist organization, or other totali- putting over the bureaucratic nice-sounding speeches in the abtarian movement" or who even amendments. It must be said the stract about trade union democra-"consistently pursues policies and activities" that might be alleged the alleged target. The pursues did not have to reactivities" that might be alleged target. The purgers did not have to re- ties coming from their lips. Ev-

to aid in achieving the programs of such movements. This amend- sort principally to red-baiting - eryone knew the record of Stalinment could readily be interpreted although they did their share of ist "democracy" in the unions to apply to anyone who dares to it. Rather they were able to ridi- they have dominated and could differ with Murray's policies on cule the Stalinist pretensions recite cases. foreign affairs and domestic pol- about "democracy" and "mili-

tics. Two other amendments give the crimes the Stalinists have speak of the Stalinist crimes In addition to the long or let Murray's Executive Board power committed against the working against labor as the reason for to refuse to seat or to remove class here and abroad. from, office any Board member

UNDENIABLE FACTS who is found to be "ineligible"

Baldanzi, secretary of the con under the ban and to revoke the charter or expel any affiliated union that does not carry out that the amendments were de- cy. They have committed the "the objectives and policies" of signed "to implement" the anti-same kind of crimes themselves. ray bureaucracy. Specific action ciples" passed in the Nov. 1946 THE REAL REASON to expel at least some of the Stalinist-led unions at this convention will take place tomorrow.

CONVENTION DEBATE.

itics.

on the key constitutional amend- the war. They recited case after case of ments revealed not only the tremendous hardening of the bureau- ruthless Stalinist bureaucratism cratic crust stifling union democ- in unions under their control racy in the CIO, but the miserable and the facts could not be denied. incapacity of the Stalinists, even Reuther, fresh from the miserable faced with complete decimation, settlement he had just made with to put up any kind of effective and Ford, could even proclaim that ing was truly pitiful.

himself, the entire attack on the have destroyed every real concept Stalinists was waged by ex-radi- of the left." cals, Social Democrats and ex- Ben Gold of the Fur Workers,

Worthless Pilots

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



danzi who did the dirty chore of putting over the bureaucratic ince-sounding speeches in the ab-mendments. It must be sold the

By Art Preis

CLEVELAND, Oct. 31 - CIO President Philip Murray today released his official report to the CIO's Eleventh But it was equally hypocritical Constitutional Convention, which opened at the Public

In addition to the long-ex- economic penetration of American

controlled unions in the CIO, it American imperialism and the reiterates the pro-imperialist, of aiming at a "retrogressive pro-capitalist political policies dictatorship" and piously claims of the Murray machine in both that "we are not and never will foreign and domestic affairs. Murray uses every stick he can makes our movement the slave find to beat the Stalinists in his of a dictatorial state apparatus." In his speech which wound up report — and the Stalinists He assumes, of course, that endorsement of the Stalinists the debate, Murray was a bit present numerous exposed areas slavish conformity to the dictates themselves. Curran, Reuther and more frank than his lieutenants. for his blows, as when he states of Truman's State Department Quill rubbed it in about the Stal- He pointed out that the real rea- they have a "program of destruc- and the militarist program of

Today's five-hour long debate a five-year no-strike pledge after can no longer live in the same ed in terms of pseudo-militancy." But he uses these arguments ment." union house is because the Stalinists refuse to support Truman's also to cover his own delinquencies, particularly in the Scarcely a breath of the real events leading up to the steel attacks on the labor movement

has reached this convention — ponents of "carping, unjustified gress to enact the social legislaproblems of wages, unemploy- criticism" of the Murray leader- tion promises by Truman. But it ment, discrimination, price and ship that is "diabolical, pre- is likewise a cover-up for the principled struggle. Their show- the Stalinists are "not left-wing- rent increases, destruction of civ- judiced and ill-founded" and the role of Truman and the Truman ers, theirs is the phony left, the il rights. The keynote of this "most flagrant approach to Democrats who made no real With the exception of Murray morally-degenerate left, they convention has been: Either sup- union strikebreaking" in CIO effort to put through the measures port Wall Street's State Depart- history.

ment or get out. That was symbolized yesterday any criticism of Murray's reliance shortsighted coalition of Repubby the presence and speech of on the capitalist politician Tru- lican reactionaries and Southern Secretary of State Acheson who man and his "fact-finding" board Democrats."

of the Murray machine. It will be further symbolized tomorrow when Chief of Staff Omar Bradley will speak to promote the militarist program of American imperialism and the Big Brass. Murray himself, in his opening

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

"CIO POLICY"

foreign policy.

In all the discussion so far about "CIO National Policy," what stands out is that this reof Truman and the "cold war." No "CIO National Policy" is being laid down for protection of Worcester Leads in the workers from rotten contracts like Reuther concluded with Ford; November Campaign no "CIO National Policy" was For 'Militant' Subs

the present expulsion campaign. pected formula for the expulsion monopoly capital into the colonial They tolerated all these crimes so of any or all of the Stalinist- and semi-colonial countries.

Murray accuses the Stalinists be committed to a policy that inist proposal, made in 1945, for son why these two bureaucracies tion" for American labor "couch- Wall Street is somehow the earmarks of a "free labor move-

> On domestic issues, the report is full of complaints about the problems of the CIO members strike. Thus, he accuses his op- and the failure of the 81st Conthey had promised. Everything It would appear from this that is blamed on the "devilish and

was there to put Washington's and of Murray's acceptance of As far as a program is constamp of approval on the course the board's wage-freeze recom- cerned, Murray puts first emmendation, is "strikebreaking." phasis on a continuation of the However, all these new attacks bankrupt policy of supporting on the Stalinists are just thrown "labor's friends" - that is, in for extra measure. As Allen mainly Truman Democrats. Even Swim, CIO News editor and Mur- after the conclusive lesson of the ray's publicity director remarked Democratic-controlled 81st Con-

to me Saturday afternoon when gress, Murray offers no program I engaged him in a brief con- for genuine independent labor versation, "This split really took political action through labor's place two and a half years ago" own party and candidates.

This attitude of continued - that is, when the CIO leadership came out openly for the dependence on Truman and the Marshall Plan and the "cold war" Democratic machine, of reliance policies of the U. S. State De- on favors from capitalist politicjans, saturates Murray's report.

Murray's report goes right It remain his fundamental prodown the line in support of gram. It is on this rock that all American imperialist foreign the numerous progressive propolicy, from the ECA and the posals Murray includes in his North Atlantic military alliance report must continue to be to Truman's Point 4 for the wrecked.



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the other branches

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secure for the Kremlin absolute murder. control over the Spanish masses, IRREFUTABLE PROOF in the first instance, by destroying the Trotskyists.

It bears the internal evidence

"The Trotskyists," wrote Rajk, they would themselves fall vicwere even more dangerous than tims of Stalin's lie-and-murder the Anarchists, driving a wedge machine they served and helped between the masses and ourselves, | build up. the true communists. So it was our task to annihilate them, and

by the Socialist Party, the Inde-

"In an effort to pierce the iron

the U. S. State Department.

was among the organizations in-

reasons given by Farrell Dobbs,

national chairman of the SWP, in

said:

in that respect. But then the death at the gallows he was also are "small socialist propaganda Spanish Republic was finally conducting himself as a "true sects." The SLP, they say, crushed, and we had to seek communist." efuge in France."

Rajk does not, of course, ex- biography represents one of the plain that it was the treacherous most striking and irrefutable port of American imperialist alliance of the Stalinists with the documentary proofs that his policy," and the "SWP leans to-'liberal" capitalists that paved the "treason" trial was a frame-up wards support of Russian imway for Franco's victory. It was from beginning to end.

from a document setting forth various arguments to show

that Stalinism is not socialism. The document was endorsed

pendent Socialist League and the of scientific socialism as ex-

national secretary of the Social pounded by Marx, Engels, Lenin

Democratic Federation. Accord- and Trotsky. Within the labor

ing to the Oct. 21 Socialist Call, movement treacherous Stalinism

curtain, it was also broadcast base and its false claim that it

around the world in 17 different is the party of Lenin - consti-

languages by the Voice of Amer- tutes the greatest obstacle in the

ica," the propaganda agency of struggle to abolish capitalism and

"The Socialist Workers Party struggle against capitalism paral-

that 'Stalinism is not Socialism.' ism, which is the only course a

able perversion of the principles "Among those invited to sign tion."

Stalinism represents an abomin- true socialist can follow.

The Socialist Workers Party cialist society.

HYPOCRITICAL AND TREACHEROUS 'SUPPORT'

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

Union, it urges the electorate to 9 A graveyard vote would be choose between a number of rival more significant and honest than candidates without itself making a choice. The Shachtmanites urge one cast on the basis of this hocus-pocus and misrepresentathe readers of their paper "to cast their ballots for the candi- tion. What "socialism" is there dates of any of the three socialist in a party which abstains from parties on the ballot: Socialist the class struggle "in principle?" Labor Party, Socialist Party and What "socialism" is there in a party which "inclines heavily to-Socialist Workers Party."

wards the support of American For themselves they refuse to imperialism?" This is the touch-Perhaps Rajk thought that by make the choice because "none ing way the Shachtmanites have his false confessions in the of these groups are genuine indeed we were fairly successful defendants' dock and his wretched workers parties" and all of them of covering up the social patriots who supported the imperialist war, and back the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact. "abstains in principle from the In any case, Rajk's auto- real class struggle," the SP "in-And these parties are put on clines heavily towards the sup-

perialism."

hands of the capitalists.

not call for uncompromising inism and ignores the criminal

But we cannot sign a one-sided

policy of support to predatory

by Social Democrats who have

been invited to sign the declara-

the same plane with the Socialist Workers Party, the uncompromising opponents of American imperialism and the only practitioners of class struggle methods in

the working class movement. With a treacherous smear against the Trotskyists - universally recognized as the foremost Marxist opponents of Statinism, and especially by the Stalinists them-

Last month the N. Y. Herald Tribune printed extracts the joint declaration are Social selves - the Shachtmanites hide Democrats who have allied themthe obvious difference between selves with the capitalist class the party of Leon Trotsky and in the fight against Stalinism, a the party of Norman Thomas. fight the capitalists intend to For our part we renounce the wage through suppression of

Shachtmanite "support" and democratic rights and imperialist gladly relinquish it to Joseph war. Such collaboration with the Glass, the State Department's capitalists constitutes a betraval 'socialist" whom the Shachtof the struggle for socialism no manites would be boosting if they less shameful than that of the had the courage to openly state Stalinists who in the last analysis their real preference. It would be also betray the workers into the an offense to their sense of

honesty and dignity for the voters "We are always ready to for Michael Bartell to have to be participate in united actions associated with such "support" vited to endorse the document, sign the joint declaration against within the labor movement on at the ballot box or anywhere but it declined to do so for the Stalinism forwarded with your specific issues involving the rights else. letter of August 20. That declara- and interests of the working class.

> 1948 MANIFESTO of the 4th INTERNATIONAL **Against Wall Street** and the Kremlin! 48 pages 15 Cents Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Pl., New York 3 rights bills:

laid down in the 1947 convention when every union was allowed to do as it pleased about accepting or not accepting the Taft- good start with a total of 57 paign during November." Hartley yellow-dog oath.

But whatever happens here and in the future regarding expulsions or splits, it is clear that the Stalinists are a pitiful remnant and to follow them outside the mainstream of the industrial union movement would be ar act of folly. The big job remains mside the CIO, to cleanse it of a conservative, bureaucratic leadership and to build a new fighting democratic leadership from

the ranks. That is the lesson of the Socialist Workers Party that strikes one forcibly as this as many of them did not have CIO convention proceeds. time to get their first reports in. by deadline.

50 Organizations Invited to Parley Called By NAACP

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 - The CIO, the AFL, the United Mine Workers, the Americans for Democratic Action and the most articles about the strike. Thirty | San Francisco 35 influential Negro fraternal, social and professional groups were among the 50 national organizations invited to attend a conference here on Nov. 10 to of The Socialist Workers Party. Allentown elaborate further plans for the What It Is and What it Stands Boston National Civil Rights Mobilization initiated by the NAACP. In a letter to these organizations Roy Wilkins, acting NAACP scription quota 100%. secretary, asked them to join in sponsoring the drive for enactment of civil rights legislation

early in the second session of the 81st Congress, to urge their local and state groups to cooperate with NAACP branches in local activities and meetings. and to send delegates to the national conference planned for Washington on Jan. 15-17.

on the picket lines, 20 Militants Meanwhile, the local and state to rubber workers at the plant NAACP bodies are formulating gate, 28 Militants on a street plans for their activities durcorner. The Southside Branch ing the National Civil Rights Mobilization Period, Nov. 15 to bundle is now 85 a week and Jan. 17, and the NAACP national Bob P. has been handling the office is preparing literature and greater part of these, selling them in the neighborhoods and to plans for coordination of the contacts." nationwide drive to obtain enact-Fred Martin, Militant Manager ment of FEPC. anti-lynching.

anti-poll tax and other civil for the Milwaukee Branch, reports that the comrades found the ex-

Brigade or Task Force The November national sub- eight comrades who will devote scription campaign got off to a themselves mainly to the cam-

> points for the first | Minneapolis, according to Litefew days. Worcester rature Agent C. E. Scheer, set took the lead easily an ambitious figure as their goal. with 40% of its | "We hope that with an intensive quota filled. Cleve- campaign we can realize it."

> Freddie Forrest, Literature came second and Ageni for Pittsburgh, writes, third with Newark "We will begin with a Red Sunday and follow it up with another in The figures next the middle of November." Comweek should be more | rade Forrest also reports that "in representative for the first attempt to sell Militants at a housing project, we sold 15 copies."

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

> > > % 40

26

14

11

3

for \$1 six-months subs and four points for every \$2 one-year sub. Branch Points Goal Howard Mason, reporting for Worcester 20 Detroit, says that 17 copies of Cleveland 15 24 The Militant were sold at a picket | Toledo 25 line of steel workers. There was Newark 50 16 a "favorable reaction" to the Flint 50 copies of The Struggle for Negro New York 300 Equality were sold at a Paul Buffalo 100 Robeson meeting, six copies of Los Angeles 250 Socialism on Trial and five copies Akron 25 10 15 0 For. Following intensive activity Chicago 60 during the visit of James Kut- Detroit 50 cher, the comrades are now Milwaukee 25 0 preparing to fulfill their sub- Minneapolis 10 Morgantown 0 10 Los Angeles is swinging into New Britain action on the sub campaign, ac- New Haven 15 30 cording to Literature Agent Bert Oakland Deck. At the same "our regular Philadelphia 75 sales of single copies are main- Pittsburgh 25 10 taining the same high level. We St. Louis sold out last week's bundle com- St. Paul 35 15 pletely." Among the top distribu- Seattle tors were Rita and Vivian who Youngstown 20 "sold 18 Militants to steel workers General 1,350 57 4% TOTAL **PIONEER POCKET**

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tors do not necessarily rep-

resent The Militant's policies.

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LENIN

"We supported Abyssinia not because the Negus was politically or 'morally' superior to Mussolini but because the dether decay.'

fense of a backward country against colonial oppression deals a blow to imperialism, which is the main enemy of the world working class. We defend the USSR independently of the policy of the Moscow Negus for two fundamental reasons. First, the defeat of the USSR would supply imperialism with new colossal resources and could prolong for many years the death agony of capitalist society. Secondly, the social foundations of the USSR, cleansed of the parasitic bureaucracy are capable of assuring unbounded economic and cultural progress, while the capitalist foundations disclose no possibilities except fur-

TROTSKY

11

Q

- Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1940.

Responsible Union Leader

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

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

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

Although James T. Farrell, the novel-

ist, began his flight from Marxism later

than many intellectuals of his genera-

tion, he has caught up with and out-

stripped most of them. But his political

evolution is worth study as an object

lesson in the consequences of Stalino-

phobia and lack of confidence in the revo-

Journey's End for James T. Farrell

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

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

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

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

dates who will support the next war, Norman Thomas, whom Farrell dubbed a great "moral hero." This year, without even having the decency to offer a public explanation, Far-

out a stumble. In 1948 he opposed the

anti-war candidate, Farrell Dobbs, and

campaigned for one of the many candi-

The "Clear and Present Danger" Doctrine

By William F. Warde

In the trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders Judge Medina let slip the cloak of impartiality usually worn by justices of the capitalist courts. He displayed his vindictiveness by refusing bail to the defendants pending appeal nd by imposing severe jail sen- 🖲

ences on their attorneys. His most ominous action was his charge to the jury where Medina set forth an interpretation of the law which made a mockery

the U. S. Constitution.

ments since it gives license to any reactionary - minded prosecutor, judge and jury to condemn and convict any individual or group whose opinions they dislike. of the Free Speech Amendment to THE FIRST AMENDMENT Like the Smith Act itself, Me-

Since the Bill of Rights was

adopted, reactionary administra-

tions, Congresses and courts have

tried to trespass upon its provi-

The federal prosecution addina's interpretation flagrantly mitted that the CP leaders were disregards the U.S. Constitution not accused of any overt action which is supposed to control the against the government and that government and courts. The First the Statute under which this Amendment specifically states: indictment was returned [the "Congress shall make no law ... Smith Gag Act] does not require abridging the freedom of speech, he allegation or proof of the or of the press." This guarantee ommission of an overt act." Like was expressly added to the he 18 Trotskyists' who were the original Constitution upon the first victims of this iniquitous demand of the American people law, the 11 Stalinists were prowho were determined not to be secuted solely on the basis of swindled out of the democratic their ideas and utterances. As the conquests of their revolutionary indictment, evidence and testistruggles. Virginia, New York nony showed, the Foley Square and Maryland ratified the Conproceedings were from start to stitution with the understanding inish a political prosecution, a that these and other rights would thought-control trial. be guaranteed.

MEDINA'S CHARGE

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

The pattern for the present witch-hunt was prepared during He told the jury that, in order and after the First World War o establish a criminal conspiracy for "democracy" which witnessed to overthrow the government by hundreds of shameful prosecuviolence, neither acts nor uttions under the Espionage Act terances directly inciting to actions were required. Mere words syndicalism statutes. At that "reasonably calculated to incite omebody to action" or anything the U.S. Supreme Court enunthat might be construed as upciated the "clear and present setting "domestic tranquillity" or injuring "the domestic we fare" could be taken as suffree speech ficient proof of subversive con piracy.

HOLMES' RULING

tion that makes the essence of

'socialism in one zone.' "

NTI-SOCIALIST ACTS

This is a judicial warrant for In the case of Schenck vs. U. S. anti-war socialist ideas. suppressing all unorthodox or (1919) Holmes stated: "The suppressing all unorthodox or (1919) Holmes stated: "The Here, as in so many other be found guilty. stitutional and civil anti-capitalist opinions and move- question in every case is whether situations, the capitalist liberals If this totalitarian interpreta- the American people.

Deutscher's False Evaluation of

By George Breitman that it would be the most themselves. The emancipation of

Cromwell and Robespierre were initiative and creative direction of After recording the major authentic act of their social and the workers is the task of the petty bourgeois leaders of the the working class. When Stalin crimes of Stalinism, Isaac Deut- political self-determination. The workers themselves; no one else bourgeois revolution in their suppresses these, he undermines scher's Stalin: A Political Bio- old Bolshevism, in other words, can do it for them - that is the respective countries. They repre- the degenerated workers state in graphy comes to the conclusion believed in revolution from below, unique thing about the socialist sented the historically progressive the Soviet Union and prepares that it is fundamentally revolu- such as the upheaval of 1917 had revolution. It is a task they can tendencies of the capitalist the way for the restoration of tionary and progressive, despite been. The revolution which Stalin carry through only when they are system, which was then coming capitalism; much more important, its ruinous policies, despite the now carried into eastern and organized in a revolutionary party to power. They sought to defend he prevents the world socialist tyrannical and repressive methods central Europe was primarily a and in Soviets or their equivalent, the interests of the new social revolution. it uses against the workers at home and abroad. Last week we was "decreed, inspired and man- will — and all such organizations tatorship, on the one hand against Cromwell and Robespierre, there-



too difficult for servants of Big Business to uncover evidence of "criminal conspiracy" behind every political program or labor activity directed against their selfish interests. That is why the conviction of EFFECT ON CIVIL RIGHTS the CP leaders under the Smith Medina asserted in effect that Act must be fought by everyone the danger of overthrow need

Shown above are some of the speakers at the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee banquet held in

Detroit on Oct. 22. Left to right are Gus Scholle, president of the Michigan CIO Council; James

Edwards, secretary of trustees, Calvary Baptist Church; James Kutcher, the legless veteran who

is now completing a national tour; George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Commit-

tee; Al Barbour, secretary of the Wayne County and Greater Detroit CIO Council; and Rabbi Jos-

Banquet for Kutcher in Detroit

concerned with protecting civil rights. The crimes of the Stalare no justification for keeping monstrous attacks by the Truman administration and its the ideas and their advocates can judicial agents against the constitutional and civil liberties of

Page Three

the words are used in such cir-have opened the door through tion should be upheld by the cumstances and are of such a which outright reaction has en- Supreme Court — and there is sions, as in the Alien & Sedition nature as to create a clear and tered. Now Judge Medina has little reason to trust in its Law passed in 1789. In turn, present danger that will bring taken the "clear and present liberalism - democracy will be powerful protest movements of about the substantive evils that danger" doctrine and given it ar dealt a terrible blow. The sanction Congress has a right to prevent." even more dangerous twist by of the highest court would be The first point to be observed imposing further limits upon free given to the imposition of erasing these laws from the is that this doctrine, put forward speech. His charge to the jury thought-control upon the Amerby liberals as the safeguard of was not in contradiction to the ican nation since it would not be free speech, actually prescribes liberal interpretation, as some

restrictions upon its exercise. The commentators think (see Labo Bill of Rights contains no restric. Action for Oct. 31), but a logical

tions whatever upon free speech extension and rightward developand expressly prohibits Congress ment of its abridgment of free

whatever the specific conditions, by a prosecutor, judge or jury,

from enacting any. However, expression.

hua Sperka, of Congregation B'nai David.

of 1917 and the state criminal under this "liberal" rule free speech is permitted only under time Chief Justice Holmes of certain conditions. Freedom of expression becomes not a question of principle or constitutional not be either "clear" or "present." danger" rule which has since be- rights but, as Holmes said, "a It may be dim and distant. But inists against the working class ome the standard liberal test of matter of degree." Thus on the

basis of this rule Holmes himself if any eventual intent to act or silent or passive in face of such upheld the verdict which sent to inspire action can be imputed Debs to Atlanta prison for his

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

rell has switched political camps again in the New York elections. Instead of supporting the Socialist Party candidates, he has become a campaigner for the Liberal Party. Over the radio he has issued a personal appeal for the election of Herbert Lehman, the candidate of Tammany and the Catholic hierarchy whom Farrell used to assail, and of Newbold Morris, the candidate of the GOP and the Social Democratic Dubinsky machine that has done so much to retard the socialist development of the workers,

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

Dealers in Atomic Death

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

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

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

Deutscher's evaluation of the role of Stalinism inside the Soviet degree or another. "What took Union; here we continue with an examination of his interpretation place within the Russian orbit of the events in Eastern Europe semi-revolution . . . it is the since 1945. blending of conquest and revolu-

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

STALIN'S NEW CONCEPT

In employing the second method, Deutscher continues, Stalin tacitly mined to keep in a subordinate tionary. That is why it must be position. admitted that "socialism in one country" was impossible and vindicated Trotsky's condemnation socialists to such measures was of it. But Deutscher does not completely endorse the vulgar distortion, now widely current, when Stalin's troops had invaded that Stalinist expansion proves eastern Poland: "The primary Stalin has returned to Lenin-political criterion for us is not ism. For although Stalin was forced in effect to repudiate his basic theory, he did not go "back to his starting point. to the conin themselves, but rather the ception of world revolution he had once shared with Lenin and Trotsky [before 1924]. He now tariat, the raising of their capareplaced his socialism in one country by something that might quests and accomplishing new be termed 'socialism in one zone.' (Like its predecessor, this new Stalinist concept accepts and will of Moscow. taken as a whole, even strengthen the capitalist completely retains its reactionary order in the rest of the world character and remains the chief in return for being allowed to revolution."

strengthen its own position.) From this Deutscher passes to discussion of the Stalinist revolutions." "The old Bolshev-

The decisive standpoint, Trotsky ism . . . believed that the Socialist order would result from the original experience and struggle of the working classes abroad, need for it and carry it through scher's misinterpretation.

DECISIVE STANDPOINT

discussed the fallaciousness of aged" by Stalin's political and are prohibited and suppressed by the former ruling class, the fore, because on the whole they military agencies, although the the Stalinist policemen - bureauworkers also participated to one crats.

> above" is self-contradictory. We for the bourgeois revolution and was, therefore, semi-conquest and can conceive and have already witnessed, as the result of the continuing degeneration of the first workers state. the trans-

formation of property relations by bureaucratic measures. But since these measures are directed Now, the statification of proas much against the revolutionary erty in Eastern Europe has classes as against the old ruling certain progressive features, even classes, a more exact name would though it is incomplete and is "counter - revolution from be achieved by military-bureaucratic above." Even when they entail means. But simultaneously with new property relations, changes these measures, the bureaucracy that do not put power in the moved against the masses, prehands of the working class, venting them from taking power changes in which the masses are into their own hands and carryrelegated to a subsidiary if not ng through a genuine proletarian wholly passive role, are a revolution. The bureaucracy, evengrotesque abortion rather than a tually drove out the old ruling living expression of socialist classes, with whom it saw no transformation. reason to keep on sharing the

HISTORIC PARALLEL?

Stalinism strangles the socialist evolution even when it is comtion by the masses, whom it pelled to transform property feared more than the old ruling relations; its over-all character, classes and whom it was deter- therefore, is counter - revolufought and smashed, and that is The attitude of revolutionary why. Deutscher is wrong when he attempts to establish historic clearly expressed by Trotsky at parallels between Cromwell and Robespierre and the dictator in

Stalin is like them, he says, in being despotic and in being the transformation of property "revolutionary, not in the sense relations in this or another area, that he has remained true to all however important these may be the original ideas of the revolution, but because he has put into change in the consciousness and practice a fundamentally new organization of the world prole- principle of social organization, which, no matter what happens city for defending former con- to him personally or even to the regime associated with his name, cnes. From this one, and the only is certain to survive, to fertilize decisive standpoint, the politics human experience, and to turn it in new directions."

We have already shown that the credit for the "new principle obstacle on the road to the world of social organization" belongs to the 1917 revolution and not to Stalinism: that what Stalin did was not to put it into practice but to alter and distort it, to

termed it, because there can be no weaken and undermine it, to socialist transformation of society pervert it and exploit it. But this unless the masses understand the is only the beginning of Deut-

aristocrafs, and on the other hand against the plebeian elements The expression "revolution from who had been the best fighters

bounds of capitalist society. THE DIFFERENCE

Stalin, like Cromwell and Robespierre, crushed the revolutionary mass movement on the left; in that sense, a certain limited analogy can be construct ed. But when we examine the social content of their respective acts against the masses we can see that it refutes rather than

structure.

helped to build a new and progressive society (although they weakened it by suppressing the masses) while Stalinism on the who attempted to go beyond the whole blocks, impedes and opposes the construction of a new and progressive society; because they served the interests of the revolutionary capitalist class while he subverts the interests of the revolutionary working class for the benefit of a parasitic

bureaucratic caste. It is necessary to stress the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism over and over again because many people, seeking a confirms Deutscher's attempt at way out of the present world a historic parallel. For Cromwell, crisis and seeing no other alterand Robespierre could crush the native as yet, are impelled to plebeians who were seeking to turn in the direction of Stalinpush the revolution beyond the ism. Books like Deutscher's must bounds of capitalist inequality be combatted relentlessly because without decisively impairing the they help to sustain the illusion new revolutionary (capitalist) that Stalinism, despite its "faults,"

But the social revolution of the the main illusion diverting peo-20th century differs from the ple from the revolutionary sobourgeois revolutions in this cialist movement which alone fundamental respect: It is im- offers a program for social possible without the leadership, progress.



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the Kremlin.

privileges of power. But from the very beginning it struck most brutally at any independent ac-

the very beginning, of the war,

A-Bomb Is Jim Crow Too

By J. Meyer

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

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

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

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

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

"Local law and the long and uniform practice of the schools of the state do not make possible a deviation in Oak Ridge schools by which Negro and white students would attend school together." In other words, the customs of Tennessee are imposed on Oak Ridge.

Negroes are denied access to any of the five theatres which operate in Oak Ridge. Why? The answer is as follows:

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

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

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

Another question. Why are Negroes not permitted to occupy homes constructed in areas where they formerly lived? We are informed: "The entirely new Gamble Valley neighborhood

was planned with the help and advice of members of the Negro community."

Of all the reactionary changes made in the

Soviet Union under the rule of Stalin, the

transformation of the Red Army is among the

most far-reaching. This once-revolutionary army

or workers and peasants is ruled today by a Big

Brass so arrogant that even an American army

spokesman can point to it with devastating

Garrett Underhill, for 31/2 years a member of

the General Staff of the U.S. War Department,

wrote a "Report on the Red Army" in the N. Y.

Times a few weeks ago, describing its "pomp,

"The Soviet forces today," he writes, "are

more gaudily militaristic than either the old

Czarist or the traditional German military. . .

Four-star rank was good enough for the Grand

Duke Nicholas and the generals of the World

War I Imperial Russian armies; the German

ceremony, trappings and caste."

ridicule.

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

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

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

It is another proof of the fallacy of believing that the Truman administration is serious abou. University of California campus, the abolition of Jim Crow. But not only does show the futility and folly of trusting to the administration. Of more importance it shows that David Lilienthal's liberalism is of the same stamp. Finally a word about the elections at Oak Ridge. In the past, elections were by districts and inasmuch as the Negroes lived in the Ninth District, they had a representative on the City the background of the Tito-Stalin Council. Now the elections are changed and representatives are elected at large. That is, the entire city votes on everybody.

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

M. Stein Speaks **Over the Radio** In San Francisco

VOLUME XIII

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

and the other in San Francisco, were on the topic, "The Tito-Stalin Conflict and the World Crisis of Stalinism."

At both meetings the audiences raised numerous questions indicating their great interest in break as well as an understanding of the deep importance this question has in the political currents

of the working class. The radio broadcast over the FM station KPFA was a hightime had been set aside for a debate between Stein and spokesman for the Stalinists However, after frantic efforts to find an opponent failed, an in-

terview with Stein was held. In the allotted half-hour Stein

was given the opportunity to present the viewpoint of Trotskyism on a whole series of questions flowing from the Tito-Stalin conflict - the role of the

in this country, what is Trotskyism, etc.

the shortness of his stay.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1949

Toledo Bosses Organize to Smash Union in Pension Fight

TOLEDO, Oct. 29 - A bitter struggle involving labor's future in this area has broken out over the pension issue. The United Auto Workers announced a few weeks ago that it would seek an area-

wide pension agreement with 125 be concerned over the workers' companies presently under con- paychecks. Prominent among the sponsors of the new labor-busting tract. At that time, UAW Vice-President Richard Gosser listed outfit are such men of great wealth as Block; R. A. Stranahan, the union's demands with a terse president of the Champion Spark comment that 15 of the com-Plug Co., another millionaire; panies to be approached first Harris McIntosh, president of the would either agree to sit down Toledo Scale Co.; John T. Rohr, and discuss terms of the union president of the Toledo Trust would shut them down. Before any of the companies Co.

It would have been more aphad a chance to reply, the Chamber of Commerce, the propriate to name the new orcapitalist press and the Toledo ganization "The Millionaires' Clearing House Association (the Committee to Save Profits," The other sponsors of this unsavory banks) rushed in to oppose the outfit are also high officials in union. The Toledo Blade, owned by millionaire Paul Block Jr., ran industrial and business concerns, a front page editorial denouncing with a sprinkling of professional UAW Local 12, Gosser and every- people for window-dressing. one else connected with the

FALSE CLAIMS

"Toledo is sick to death of being The avowed aim of the group dominated by one big union, Local is to fight the unions on the 12," said the editorial. "Toledo is pension issue and ". . . to bring to an end the unhealthy situation sick to death of being used as the guinea pig for radical experimenwhich has been created by the tations. . . But are Toledoans local labor dictatorship." This going to sit back idly while the false claim that labor exercises community goes to pot ...? ... Are some kind of dictatorship here is our industries going to knuckle also reminiscent of European under to Mr. Gosser's latest demands, knowing that if he gets to turn public opinion against the away with these he will soon be back with more?"

WHAT 'BLADE' OMITS

union.

The Blade carefully fails to mention that Toledo is and had been "in the pot" for a long time, that 25,000 unemployed were in

the streets before any pension demands were made by the union. Now this capitalist rag is threatening that industries will move away if the workers do not agree to keep on being thrown on the scrap-heap when they are too old to man the production and

The bankers, in an unprecedented move, were quick to join this represent an improvement over the weak agreement negotiated rogue's chorus by running a full at Ford's. But it will take a real page ad in the papers, taking the A well-known public relations developed in this area. Obviously firm then announced that an orthe capitalist interests are making ganization of 10,000 "business and the issue not only one of pensions civic members" to fight the union

What is needed in this situa-

mittee, representing the entire

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

Stalin's Big Brass

By Ruth Johnson

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

Behind this drastic order stands the officers' power of life and death over the men - and their relatives. "In an emergency, when there is no time to spare," a commander can dispose of a luckless underling "by resource to weapons." Underhill adds that "The Russians, like the Japanese, regarded surrender as desertion. Unlike the Japanese, the Soviets often punished the families of men known to have surrendered." In military academies where training begins at the age of 8, "privilege now extends to children of prefessional soldiers," in order to "solidify the present caste system" and lead to "a hereditary

Marshall Plan, the essence of Stalinism, the real meaning of the Stalinist conflict with the church, how socialism would work

Stein's experience in organizational as well as political and rade union problems made the conferences with him very fruitful for the SWP members in this area and were limited only by



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

Ohio Strikers Mobilize Mass Aid, Issue Own Paper By Ed Conti

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

Plans to issue a weekly strike paper, set up a District 26 strike AFL. They must realize that this committee, raise a community is their fight. Our victory will strengthen their position." welfare fund of \$250,000, organize

He added the strike paper will a citizens committee in support of be issued to answer "the vicious the strike and call another genanti-union propaganda by the eral mass meeting, were aplocal monopoly on news, The proved this week at a special Vindicator." meeting of all steel local union

The announcement of this propresidents and international gram of action has been_warmly representatives called by CIO greeted by the steel rank and Steel Workers District Director file. Morale is visibly heightened James P. Griffin. because they feel the union now This is the first big move to has a positive program to ward mobilize the steel workers on a solid strike basis and to rally off any attempts to break the strike and to maintain a solid support from the entire working front no matter how long the class community.

The decision to issue a strike strike lasts. paper, the first of its kind in the union's history in this area, was

first feeler toward a "back-to- minded industrial leaders, having union itself. forced on the steel union leadership because the entire local press work" move was made here by observed that the labor movement and radio are lined up with the Rev. Paul W. Gauss of West- has been slow to react to hood-

NUMBER 45

fascist propaganda, which tried unions by claiming they exerted undue influence. As a matter of fact, the unions here do not even have a single representative in

the City Council and have been rather conservative in every

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

The union pension demands here fight to win a better plan against the kind of opposition that has YOUNGSTOWN, Oct. 28 - The was being organized. The fascist- but of the very existence of the

tion is a call by Local 12, which

militarists raised their top brass one rank higher to field marshal. But the present-day Russian Army has three ranks of field marshal, the top one being two ranks higher than any non-Russian military grade."

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

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

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

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

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

officer and noncommissioned officer corps." Far different was the original Red Army orin the Ford agreement. ganized by Trotsky to defend the young Soviet Republic against imperialist invaders in 1918. Trotsky abolished the old Czarist system. The officer caste was destroyed. The soldiers had the right to criticize their commanders, and were cents an hour and an equal sum urged to use that right. Ultimately, as productive forces increased, even this democratic army was plan was paid for entirely by the to be replaced by a form still more responsive employees.

to the will of the people - a militia dependent upon the whole population.

EFFECT ON OTHERS

Trotsky long ago explained why Stalin destroy-While this latter proposition ed this Bolshevik army. In 1936 Trotsky wrote, in constitutes a slight gain for the The Revolution Betrayed, that elevation of com- Bethlehem workers, it can be manders to marshals was a political move to come in effect a cut in take-home safeguard the Stalinist bureaucracy. "It is not pay for the workers of U. S the army that thus receives a 'stable basis.'" Steel if put into effect in that Trotsky said; "but the officer corps." And this corporation. Granting such a permanent caste was to be established in order provision would signify yielding "to bind the officers closer together with the to the very demand made by U. S ruling circles." By this method, as by other Steel which the union previously repressive decrees, Stalin builds a force to refused to accept.

protect himself against the wrath of the people These totally inadequate penat home. sion and welfare payments in

Notes from the News

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

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

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

a unified strategy between the every month. . . the fact that my own values and two unions. The present miners' interests are changing even more rapidly than fund provides for more liberal payments than those of the usual. . "

The chief gainers from the THE SOCIALIST PARTY'S recent membership settlement are Philip Murray and referendum on the Atlantic Pact produced the following results: 57% favored the leadership's Harry Truman. The head of the CIO, now posing as the great position that the SP "as a party neither approves nor condemns ratification of the pact," leaving opponent of the monopolists, is members free to take any stand they wish; 28% using his advantage to purge the wanted the SP to disapprove the pact and 15% CIO and consolidate his bureaucratic machine. The President is voted for its approval. saved from using the Taft-

Hartley Act and thus can con-RAILROAD UNION CONSOLIDATION got a tinue strutting as the liberal setback when the Brotherhood of Locomotive while his "Fair Deal" program Engineers voted against merger with the Brotherproduces nothing but broken hood of Locomotive Firemen by a vote of 38,000 promises. For the workers, the to 19,000. The BLF, whose referendum was comfourth wage round represents one pleted earlier, had voted in favor of consolidagreat and still uninterrupted tion.

EARL BROWDER'S newest pamphlet, In Defense of Communism, accuses William Z. Foster of "revisionism" in his deposition at the CP trial. He charges that Foster has handed over "the task of introducing socialism . . . to the Progressive Party headed by Henry Wallace," and thereby abandons the theory of the "vanguard role" of the CP.

Follows Pattern Of 'Fact-Finders' (Continued from Page 1)

ployes at the age of 68. The method of computing service time is also more generous than

The new contract also provides a contributory health and welfare fund, including hospital benefits and life insurance, of 21/2 barons here. from the worker. The previous

> steel are bound to have a negative effect on the demands of the

> miners, putting pressure on them

to accept lower terms than they

might have won had there been

Bethlehem settlement.

begun "back - to - work" propa- who issued a public statement think the time is ripe to go after city-wide Union Defense Comganda. The plans are to distribute falsely claiming that most of the the unions themselves. the new strike paper to every steel workers want to go back Last night, a group of mil- labor movement, to combat in home in this area.

loosely conducted. The establish- lenged by the local steel union announced the formation of the unions should recruit two men to ment of a general district strike In a telegram to Rev. Gauss reflecting the sentiments of the Payrolls." committee composed of all local union presidents will mean a great whole membership in this area, CIO-USA Local 2332 said the tightening up and coordinating of the struggle against the steel steel workers feared that "you

In speaking of the projected interests who in 1937 followed campaign to raise a \$250,000 their seemingly innocent pleas must broadened to get the full steelworkers."

support of all fabricating steel Rev. Gauss immediately back locals, other CIO unions and the tracked in a follow-up statement.

STALINISTS HAIL MISERABLE

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

age, consisting of 31/2c. across the board in wages and an addi- strike, having no confidence in tional paid holiday; and welfare the local or national UE Teaderitems totaling 31/2c., covering in- ship, nor in its national \$500-asurance, sickness, hospitalization | year wage and benefits program, benefits and improved vacation ratified the pact.

The Stalinists have criticized and seniority provisions. There are no pension provisions and Murray for accepting the "factnegotiations on pensions have finding" board's recommendations, been frozen for the duration of but they themselves based their demands in RCA negotiations on lined "VOTE' SOCIALIST!" the newly extended contract -There was heated debate and They claim the RCA package is explains, "is no frustrated Re-

have no family coverage, for bottom."

.

opposition to the package. The worth 13 cents, by adding 5 cents publican or Democrat, he is a which RCA has been paying for genuine independent candidate. sentiment of the membership was to come to the support of welfare items all along. But a His political opinions are socialthose pensioned workers now careful study of the present ist, and his nomination is meant living on an average of only package shows it actually pro- to be a direct challenge to the \$3.63 a week as provided by the vides for a little less than 8 cents supremacy of the 'two-party existing company-worker paid to all RCA workers. This agreement leaves the old that both the Republican and plan. Facing the possibility of a

tional leadership publicized beforehand as an offer that "went beyond" the Truman steel "fact- which the workers would have to

until June 1951.

threatened the membership with per hour. the prospect of a strike if the proposals were not accepted.

"Remember, you took a luke- been able to win from a corpora- coal strikes. warm strike vote. If you want to tion with whom they have had by the leadership for a serious plant.

steel companies and have even minster Presbyterian Church, lum attacks on radicals, evidently has some 25,000 members, for a

same line as the Blade.

assembly lines.

to work on the companies' terms. lionaires representing industrial, every way the attempts being or-Up to now the strike has been His statement was promptly chal- banking and newspaper interests ganized to smash the union. The "Committee to Save Toledo's this committee for every one the capitalist leaders get from the so-

Taking a tip from Hitler who called "business and civic" eledemagogically called his move- ments. This would be the most ment "socialist" in order to sow effective answer to the local are an advance agent of the same confusion, this group pretends to would-be union smashers.



YOUNGSTOWN - Harry Braverman, organizer of the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party who is running for councilman in the Sixth Ward, is the only independent candidate in the .

Nov. 8 election here. The Com- | pointed out, "were forced out on munist Party withdrew its candi-) strike because the House of date in another ward in favor of Morgan and their associates refused to grant just health and the Republican candidate, a old age security to these work-Negro.

The Socialist Workers Party is ers, and are attempting to destroy forced to run its candidate with- these mighty unions. All unemout the party designation be- ployment due to cutbacks in cause the Ohio election laws production or strike struggles are make it almost impossible for a a result of the profit system. . . minority party to appear on the Then lot those who force unemballot under its own designation. ployment for their selfish system, The Youngstown SWP has put pay the cost of unemployment.

"A special session of the Ohio out an election newspaper. head-State legislature should be called those same recommendations. Braverman, the leading article now, in order to get unemployment benefits for all the striking miners and steelworkers."

The do-nothing record of the present City Council, dominated by the Democratic Party, is exposed. The brutal terrorization of the Negro people by the Police system.' He and his party believe Department is roundly condemned, as well as the arrests of Comrevolt and a rejection of the pensioned workers without any Democratic Parties are Wall munist Party members who were package, which the UE Interna- improvements in pensions. The Street-controlled at the top and passing out leaflets to strikers. hospital and surgical provisions ward-heeler ridden at the The workers of the Sixth Ward are urged to vote for Harry Braverman because "the Socialist The election newspaper, which finding" board formula, John Leto put out approximately 21/2 cents is being distributed from house Workers Party is an organization to house in the ward, proclaims that fights 365 days of the year This is the best contract that that Braverman and the SWP for the interests of the working the Stalinist UE leadership has stand solidly behind the steel and people. The program of this party calls for the organization of a Full unemployment compensa- Socialist government in the United

strike, reject the offer; if you "good labor - management rela- tion for strikers, denied by the States. This party is the only want to work, vote for the offer." tions" since the first and last vicious Ohio compensation law; organization, that fights un-The membership, never prepared strike in 1936, in the Camden is demanded by the SWP. "The waveringly for Socialism and a miners and steelworkers," it is society of peace and plenty."

Vote Row F FOR THE

CANDIDATES

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

retreat.