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## The First 50 Years of the American Dream

By Art Preis

Just 50 years have passed since that golden day — Jan. 1, 1900 — that ushered in the Twentieth Century. Strictly speaking, the new century did not begin until 1901. But most folks then just saw that shining date — 1900 — like a clean blackboard waiting for the handwriting of a new and brighter era for mankind.

In the yellow and musty newspaper files of that day you can read glorious predictions of the wondrous age that was coming to flower on American soil. Here in a land of opportunity, freed from the ingrown castes and classes of the Old World, in a land of immense resources, industry and "free enterprise," the American people would at last realize man's ancient dream of plenty, security and peace. American science would complete the final conquest of nature, end scarcity, end disease. Every family would have a home, with the furniture paid for and bounty on every table.

Wars and economic crises would be things of the past, they said, and they meant it. Here and there the White Man's guns might have to bring the blessings of Civilization to remote and backward lands; but bloody strife between Christian nations could not happen again. Class conflict — that fantasy of some gloomy foreign prophets named Marx and Engels who, unfortunately, had added the wits of a few Americans like those fellows De Leon and Debs — class struggle, too, would be buried forever.

That was the vision most Americans had at the dawn of the Twentieth Century. And so they called it the Century of the American Dream.

All this was to be assured by good old American capitalism. It had a few kinks, but with a bit more lubrication, an adjustment here and there, the "American system" would soar steadily upward to unimaginable heights of prosperity and social well-being.

Looking back over five decades we can see how far reality has detoured from the American Dream. True enough, science has given us the power to conquer nature. We can speed over earth and under sea and through the sky. We can produce ten times more goods. We have more than doubled the average life expectancy. We have even unlocked the atom — the key to endless energy. But the American Dream meant something more — the end to the old division of rich and poor, the end of fear and insecurity, the end of oppression and war.

Even as the newspapers of 1900 printed their glorious predictions, the forces were at work in America and the world which were to shatter the American Dream. Giant trusts and monopolies were spreading their tentacles over American economy. The struggle for world markets, spheres of influence and colonies was lighting the fuse for world war. Millions of immigrant workers were crowding into America to be heaped up in terrible slums. And every few years, as in 1907, American capitalism suffered severe tremors, when the factories shut down and people begged for bread.

Then came the First World War to splinter the illusion that we in America were somehow apart from the conflicts of the world outside. And when it was over, everyone — or nearly everyone — spoke of it cynically and said, "Never again." Even Woodrow Wilson, in 1920, admitted it was a "commercial war" — a war for trade advantages and profits.

There was a depression in 1921; there was a vicious campaign of suppression and terrorism against organized labor and the "reds"; and there was a great wave of speculation whether America really was the land of never-ending progress. But then came "normalcy" for a few years; the stock market boomed, production soared and even wages went up a bit.

The American Dream revived. Herbert Hoover said in his 1928 presidential nomination speech: "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of our land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation."

Next year came the crash, just 20 years ago last fall. For 12 years, America saw not less than 10 million unemployed at any time. For 12 years, large sections of men, plants, machinery stood idle while war stalked the land. All the tinkering and surface reforms of Roosevelt's New Deal could not lift the economy. And out of their misery and suffering the American workers came to realize that the "American system" could not protect them, could not assure them security. They had to intervene themselves. Their upsurge was the CIO and class struggle on a scale more massive than this country had ever known.

Then came the Second World War. Ten times the treasure and ten times the casualties were exacted from the American people than in the first world war. But even before the dust of the last exploding bomb had settled, it was clear that the first two world wars were but a prelude to a third — the war of atomic annihilation.

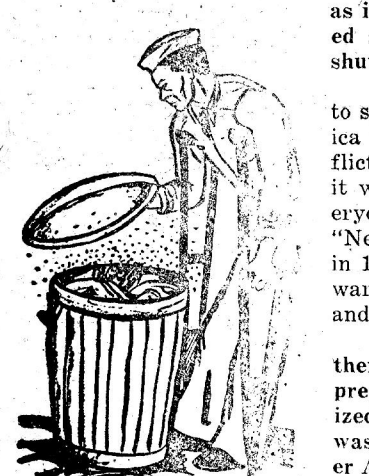
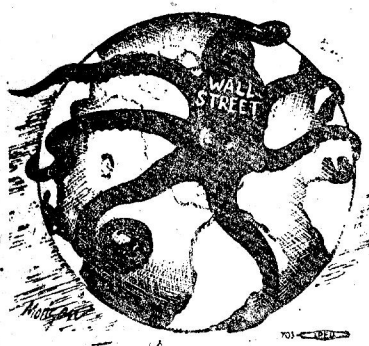
As for plenty and security, we can only look back sadly at those wonderful hopes and predictions of 50 years ago, now faded by time. Does anyone really believe that we have conquered depressions? The best that Secretary of Commerce Sawyer can predict on this new year is that business might continue near present levels — for at least "six months."

What went wrong with the American Dream? It was based on the false idea that a system of class exploitation, a system of private profit, disorganized and anarchic, could cope with the immense complexities of modern mass production and the world-wide interchange of commodities.

Fifty years of terrible experience have taught us that American capitalism itself is the obstacle to the realization of the American Dream. We can never bring lasting plenty, security and peace under the domination of a few immensely rich and arrogant families who control the economic, social and political life of the nation.

But within the next 50 years, we can achieve the American Dream after all — in a new and more just order — socialism. Setting an example for the whole world, the American working people can take over the means of production and distribution on the basis of social ownership, we can coordinate the entire economy under a single plan, we can bring reason into our economic life.

And when Jan. 1, 2000, dawns, the people of a Socialist America will rejoice and celebrate the new Century of the American Dream Come True.



### BOSSES ASK INJUNCTION ON MINERS

The Southern Coal Producers Association has demanded that Truman's National Labor Relations Board seek a Taft-Hartley injunction against the United Mine Workers to force the miners to work a five-day week instead of the present three-day week maintained by decision of the union.

In an effort to defeat the miners' attempts to get an improved contract and to halt any further possible strike action, the operators have called on the government to invoke a type of injunction that would operate for an indefinite period.

If the NLRB obtained a court order under the action begun on Dec. 28 by the operators, it could be made effective for as long as the Board said it needed to hear and decide the case. That could be as much as two years.

### OPERATORS ASK INJUNCTION

Previously the operators had asked Truman to procure an injunction under the "national emergency" clause of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is limited by law to 80 days. But if the NLRB gets an injunction to halt "unfair labor practices," as the mine owners' legal sharpshooters have asked, the union could be restrained from operating on a three-day week or taking any other action which the parasite owners call "coercive" and in violation of the Slave Labor Law. It was this type of injunction which the NLRB secured against the AFL typographical union last year.

The UMW has succeeded in signing up a few small companies since it called off its fourth strike of the year and instituted the three-day week. However, the bulk of the operators are holding out and persisting in their demands to weaken the miners' contract.

The same operators who claim the miners are breaking the law by maintaining a three-day week do not hesitate to shut down pits and throw thousands out of work whenever they think their profit interests require it.

### AFL UNIONS WILL ASK WAGE RAISES IN 1950

The American Federation of Labor announced on Dec. 26 that it would seek "large" and "substantial" wage increases, implying that average boosts of more than 10 cents an hour would be demanded.

On the job outlook, the AFL forecasts an average of 5,100,000 unemployed, or approximately one million higher than in 1949, because of the influx of new workers into the available labor force. The jobless total, adds the AFL would run "considerably above 5,000,000 during dull industrial seasons."

These huge jobless figures are cited calmly, after the manner of Big Business executives who lool upon the army of unemployed as nothing more than a return to "normalcy" in the labor market.

The AFL leaders do not even bother to offer anything in the way of a practical program to combat the spread of joblessness.

Their own estimate takes for granted the best possible variant for 1950, namely, that overall production and employment will remain at approximately the levels of 1949. What guarantee is there for this?

There is none and there can be none. In 1949 production and employment skidded sharply, despite a pick-up in the second half. Another skid, if not worse, is by no means excluded in 1950. The AFL itself sees such a possibility by next June. And yet the AFL leadership continues to ignore the problem of the unemployed, already so acute.

At least part of the constant increase in joblessness can be absorbed by the institution of the 30-hour week in industry with no reduction in take-home pay. But this demand, assuredly so timely now, still remains on the shelf so far as both the AFL and CIO leaders are concerned.

## Trumanites In Congress Scheme to Hoax Labor

### Labor-Haters Try to Blow Up UAW Building

Anti-labor terrorists have again tried to strike a murderous blow against the CIO United Auto Workers. Thirty-nine sticks of dynamite, with a lighted fuse fixed to set off the charge in six minutes, were planted on Dec. 21 at a side stairway to the basement of the UAW headquarters in Detroit. Police said only a defect in taping the fuse, causing it to go out, prevented an explosion that would have blasted the union building and all inside to smithereens.

### NOTHING UNCOVERED

This is the third terrorist attempt against the UAW in less than two years. In April 1948, UAW President Walter Reuther was seriously injured by a shotgun blast through his kitchen window. His right arm is crippled. His brother Victor, UAW Educational Director, had his right eye destroyed by a similar shot-gun assault in May 1949.

Detroit police, headed by the notoriously anti-union, anti-Negro and anti-Jewish Police Commissioner Harry Toy, have failed in both cases to uncover any significant clue. Their efforts have been largely concentrated on a witch-hunt against "Communists" and other internal union opponents of Walter Reuther.

There is no indication that police have made any serious effort to investigate the gambling syndicates that are operating in Detroit auto plants or the possible connection of reactionary employers to the terrorism. Detroit is also rife with fascist groups; the Black Legion operated there in the Thirties.



Police examine the package of 39 dynamite sticks found in the CIO United Auto Workers headquarters.

### Stalinists in U. S. Formally Launch Purge of 'Titoists'

The seeds of Titoist "heresy" have apparently spanned the ocean and found fertile soil in the ranks of the American Stalinists. For the first time since the expulsion of the Yugoslavs from the Cominform, the Central Committee of the American Communist Party took formal action to "sharpen" the struggle against "Titoists" inside its own ranks.

The action was taken at the recent plenary and extended meetings of the National Committee, the first since the 11 leaders of the CP have been released on bail.

Of the four main items on the agenda there was one which included "the waging of a sharper struggle against Titoism, and Titoite efforts to disrupt the American peace movement."

The report of the Daily Worker, Dec. 29, does not go beyond the above-cited cryptic phrases, but these are quite ample to conclude that Moscow has ordered an immediate purge of Stalinist ranks in this country.

### Prepare to Block Any Move To Repeal T-H This Session

As the Democratic-controlled 81st Congress prepares to reconvene for its 1950 session, American labor is being forewarned that the Truman Democrats intend to retreat before reaction all along the line.

Up to recently, the Trumanites in Congress have said they would continue to push for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and for passage of civil rights legislation, although they saw no hope for success. Now they express opposition even to going through one of the motions.

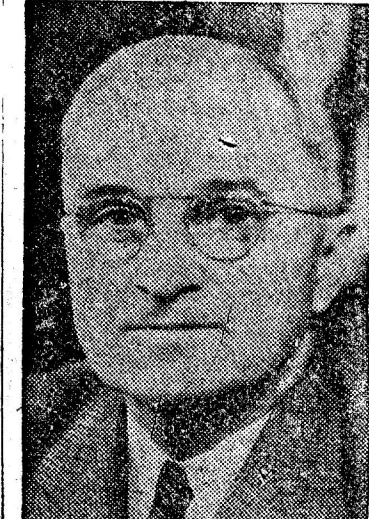
Three top Democratic leaders in the Senate last week spoke out against any move by the Truman Administration on the Live Labor Law in the coming session. Senator Elbert Thomas, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, said he was "against any attempt to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law this year." His opinion was echoed by Senator Francis Myers and by Senator Hubert Humphrey, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and white-haired boy of the union leaders.

"MAKING THE RECORD" The Trumanites feel they can get away with this because they are pretty sure that the union leaders won't want to "embarrass" them politically and will try to place the sole blame for retention of Taft-Hartley on the Republicans. But Truman and his Congressional colleagues still have to make some "liberal" gestures and it appears that they may again "make the record" on civil rights legislation early in the session.

They have no intention, of course, of waging any real fight to fulfill this or any other of their 1948 election promises to the American people. But Truman's strategy is to use the very failure to fulfill his promises as a plea for election of more Democrats to Congress next fall.

But it's a cinch the Truman Democrats won't be docile when it comes to fighting for their real program. Truman will use every weapon and every ounce of pressure he can muster to put over his "cold war" program for 1950. From what has been revealed about his plans for the coming federal budget, the American people are going to continue to be soaked 20 cents out of every dollar of their income for building the war machine and arming capitalist reaction and imperialism all over the world.

And no matter what the liberals and the labor leaders say about Truman and his "welfare state,"



HARRY S. TRUMAN

By the time the election rolls around, we can be sure these union leaders again will be backing any Democrat, no matter how corrupt and reactionary, whom Truman O.K.'s. And they'll call him "progressive" too.

The burning issues confronting the American workers are the fearful domination by the monopolies, unemployment, the staggering tax burden, the witch-hunt and war preparations. None of these issues can be met effectively and resolved until labor breaks with all capitalist parties and politicians, builds its own independent party and fights for political power in its own name.

## Court Smashes Cleveland Strike

CLEVELAND, Dec. 28 — A little man in a black robe accomplished in a matter of minutes what the governor, the mayor, the transit board, the hostile newspapers and the cowardly labor leaders had not been able to do in five days. A two-bit judge, a political hack, broke the back of an inspiring demonstration of union solidarity against insuperable odds when he ordered the Cleveland Transit workers to end their strike and return to work.

The injunction, asked by the Cleveland Transit System against Local Division 266 of the AFL, a amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees, restrained the union and its officers from picketing, striking, coercing or intimidating employees of the system, and consenting to violate the laws against striking. Even more sinister was the provision ordering the officers to tell the men to return to work; without this, the strike might have continued.

The strike, which began midnight, Dec. 21, developed out of a long series of unsettled grievances and centered about one main issue — vacation pay. For many

years there had been a stated number of paid vacation hours. In June award the impartial umpire (agreed to by both sides) came up with a formula under which the employee's vacation pay would be decided by the average hourly work week for the preceding 30 weeks. This meant a cut to almost every employee, for their work week had been greatly reduced. What seemed particularly unfair was that no such formula had ever been applied during the war period when everyone was working upwards of 54 hours weekly.

### FORMULA ENFORCED

This part of the award was immediately protested by the union, and the umpire agreed to discuss the issue with both sides. For various reasons, the discussion was postponed until a meeting set for early December. Meanwhile, however, the management posted a bulletin putting into effect the new vacation formula.

This action, coupled with chiseling on paying operators for certain types of schedules and failure to reclassify over 100 maintenance men in eight months, caused an

uproar among the men. Local President Thomas P. Meaney and Financial Secretary Harry Lang immediately demanded recall of the new formula and a return to the former 98 hours vacation pay; otherwise, they warned, a strike would take place.

At a meeting Dec. 13, the membership unanimously voted to stop work Dec. 21 if the vacation issue and four other subordinate issues were not settled satisfactorily. In the ensuing week meetings between the local officer and the Transit Board (a five-man governing board of the city-owned system) took place without settling the major issue. An international officer of the union Robert Stack, was sent in. The Transit Board at the last moment agreed to submit the issue to the umpire for "clarification." Such clarification promised to be nothing more than a compromise favorable to the management. Although Meaney had promised "or a week he wouldn't compromise on the issue and threatened to resign if the membership compromised, he accepted the offer of the Transit Board and, with Stack, promised Mayor Thomas

Burke he would consult with him before any strike took place.

### MEMBERS VOTE

However, the members were in no mood to compromise. From 8:30 to midnight, member after member (both men and women) got up on the floor and denounced any compromise. Against the advice of their leaders, they gave an inspiring demonstration of their independence and militancy by voting 496 to 287 against a motion to postpone strike action until Jan. 15. This meant the strike would start at midnight. To their credit, Meaney and Stack almost immediately accommodated themselves to the members' sentiments, ordered the strike into effect and from then on led it with full ardor.

### STAB IN THE BACK

Thus began one of the bitterest labor battles in Cleveland since the late thirties when the CIO was organizing. Mayor Burke immediately stepped into the fight and denounced the strikers. The strikers were stabbed in the back by the milk-fed leaders of the Cleveland Federation of Labor. (Continued on page 4)



# 1949 Trends Point Up New Year's Tasks

## Both Camps in Cold War Faced Serious Troubles

## Labor Made Few Gains During Past 12 Months

By Albert Parker

The major events of the year on the international field were the end of the American monopoly on atomic "secrets," the deepening crisis of Stalinism in Europe, the conquest of China by the Chinese Stalinists, the formation of two German puppet governments, the adoption and implementation of the Atlantic Pact and, finally, the incipient world economic crisis marked on the one hand by the devaluation of currencies set off by Britain and, on the other, by the open emergence of insoluble contradictions in the operation of the Marshall Plan.

The news of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union did not retard the plans of U. S. imperialism to rearm its satellites for eventual war against the Soviet Union and against rebellious movements at home or in the colonies. Less than a week later the U. S. Congress passed a bill providing the money for the beginning of such rearmament, which had already been approved in the Atlantic Pact earlier in the year.

### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

U. S. imperialism in 1949 was less worried by the military potential of the Soviet Union and its satellites than by the economic problems arising in its own camp, especially Western Europe. The Marshall Plan, having restored production to prewar levels, was running into insurmountable difficulties. By the end of the year it was estimated that six million tons of steel capacity were idle in Western Europe because of "overproduction" — one of the classic contradictions of capitalism that assumes an especially aggravated character against the background of a war-torn continent.

To survive, Europe must buy from the U. S. but it cannot do so without continued Marshall aid, due to end in 1952; it cannot do so unless it can also sell to the U. S. (whose productive plant is far superior) and, in addition find new markets elsewhere. But U. S. capitalism, far from opening up its home markets to Europe or relinquishing markets abroad, is reaching out itself for new ones, including Europe's present or past colonial empires.

### NO CURE IN SIGHT

Failure to put Western Europe back on its feet so that it can walk economically by itself threatens to set off social and political convulsions leading to the overthrow of capitalism. Devaluation as a means of closing the gap of the "dollar shortage" will have little effect unless accompanied by a drive to lower the living standards of European workers — which may lead to the direst consequences in terms of capitalist stability.

### STALIN'S TROUBLES

The political and economic crisis wracking Stalinism in Eastern Europe is no less insoluble. All of the Kremlin's efforts to smash the resistance of the Yugoslavs, expelled from the Cominform in 1948, met with dismal failure in 1949, and sympathy for the Yugoslavs has spread into every Stalinist party in Europe. The Cominform had to devote virtually all its attention to fighting "Titoism" last year.

Stalin, unable to export the products needed by the people of Eastern Europe, exported Moscow trials and blood purges instead. Xose was executed in Albania, Rajk in Hungary, Kostov in Bulgaria, Gomulka was disgraced in Poland, Markos was removed in Greece, and heads fell elsewhere from men who had occupied leading positions in the international Stalinist hierarchy. The infection of "Titoism" spread to France, Germany, Italy and Norway; can there be any doubt that its effects made their way even among the oppressed nations in the Soviet Union itself?

The Kremlin bureaucracy is sitting on a powderkeg too, just like the imperialists. It enjoys so little support in its satellite domains that it cannot even find trustworthy quills in Poland but must openly appoint a Russian

marshal to execute its orders there. The hysterical adulation accorded the tyrant in the Kremlin on his 70th birthday was not unmingled with emotions of deep-seated fear, not only on the part of the singers of the praises but of their object as well.

### THE TITO TENDENCY

Titoism began to shape up as a distinctive political tendency last year when the Yugoslav leaders were compelled to abandon all hopes of reconciliation with the Kremlin and to begin to tell some truths publicly about Stalin's crimes in order to arouse support for themselves among the masses at home and abroad. It showed itself, temporarily at least, as a tendency still based on fundamental Stalinist doctrines, such as the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and the "monolithic, one-faction party," while rebelling against many of the consequences of those doctrines.

How this new tendency will develop depends on a great many factors: on how long the Tito regime survives; on how much support it receives in its fight with the Kremlin from the international working class; on whether it is able to resist not only the attacks of the Kremlin but the pressure of imperialism, now extending a small amount of aid to Tito in the hope of encouraging additional disaffection from the Kremlin; on the emergence of a genuinely Leninist (that is, Trotskyist) tendency in Yugoslavia, either inside or outside of the Titoist party, and so on.

But whatever happens to Titoism in the end, one thing is sure: its rebellion has already set into motion all over Eastern Europe the forces of mass resistance against Stalinism and against national oppression which will revive the socialist revolution that the Kremlin thought it had rushed and which it fears above everything else.

The Washington-Moscow duel over Germany, the industrial heart of Europe, continued without pause throughout the year and disclosed, in passing, how little difference there is between

their policies. The blockade of Berlin was lifted, but this did not lift the heavy hand of the occupiers from either Berlin or the rest of Germany.

Each side avowed support for a united Germany, but both went ahead and deepened the division of the country by setting up their own puppet governments claiming to represent the entire nation. On both sides the Nazis were welcomed back in large numbers and into positions of power; on both sides plans were under way for the re-establishment of a German army, staffed by officers who had served under Hitler and have everything to gain by remilitarization and the outbreak of a new world war.

### OVERTURN IN CHINA

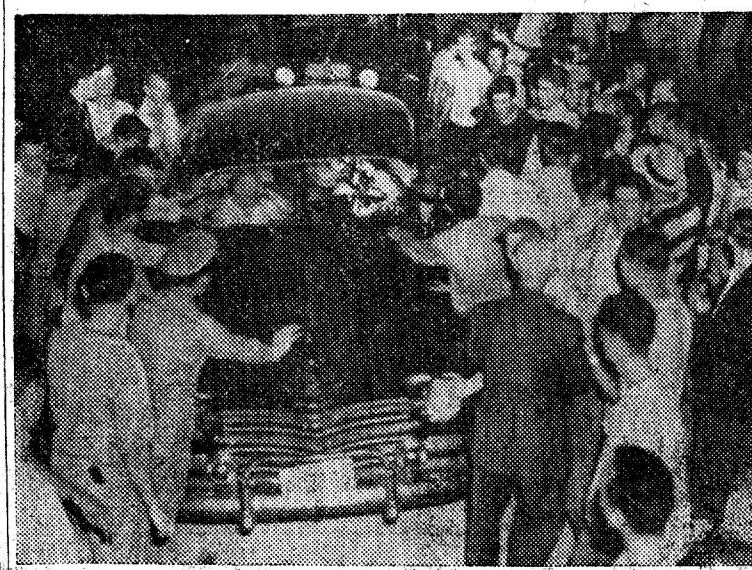
The cold war extended into every field. The World Federation of Trade Unions, created as a gesture of allied unity during the war, was now split, leaving only the Stalinist-dominated unions behind, and grouping the labor bureaucrats backing the State Department and its Vatican partner in the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Stalin's determination to get Tito brought about the end of guerrilla warfare in Greece. The Stalinists launched numerous "peace offensives," which achieved exactly nothing. The Foreign Ministers Conference met once in Paris, and achieved the same. D'to the UN General Assembly session in New York.

The biggest setback for imperialism occurred in China where the Stalinist-led peasant armies took over one province after another as Chiang Kai-shek's forces were driven without resistance right off the mainland. The Stalinists proclaimed a new government and the sanctity of capitalist production, prohibited strikes, lengthened the working day and ordered the workers to collaborate with the employers.

Mao Tse-tung went to Moscow to hail Stalin and to dispel speculation about the possibility of a "Titoist" development in China, or, conversely, the possibility of China's return into the

Symbol of the Old Year



The above scene from one of the two mob assaults on concertgoers at Peekskill, N. Y., last summer symbolizes the disastrous consequences of cold war "anti-communist" propaganda on the state of civil liberties in the United States.

imperialist orbit. But neither possibility can be dismissed in this way any more than it was by Tito's own trips to Moscow before his break. The facts are that the Kremlin simply cannot treat a less powerful nation on the basis of equality without bringing into question the manner in which it treats the smaller nations in Eastern Europe, and that the Chinese Stalinists, like the Yugoslavs, came to power without the aid of the Soviet Union and therefore are in a position to proclaim their independence if they find the need should arise.

### COLONIAL WORLD

The year began in Indonesia with a murderous blitzkrieg by U. S.-equipped Dutch armies against the Republican forces. Despite temporary successes, the imperialists soon realized that they did not have the strength to completely quell the rebellious masses and that they would have to share the power with the bourgeois Republican leadership headed by Sukarno and Hatta. By the end of the year, therefore, a "compromise" was worked out for the establishment of a federation called the "United States of Indonesia" as a part of the Dutch empire. Behind the scenes Washington participated in this betrayal of the Indonesian struggle for independence, and approved it because it opens the way for easier penetration by Wall Street into the rich Indonesian market.

As the Chinese Stalinist armies approached the border of Indo-

China, the French imperialists showed fright at the prospect of the Viet Namese fighters for independence receiving enough aid from the Chinese to drive the French butchers and their puppet, Bao Dai, out of the country. So they appealed to Washington, and immediately got assurances that they would be able to use military aid obtained through the Atlantic Pact against the Viet Namese masses.

In Latin America the shift was to the right as reactionary governments hacked their way into office or spilled rivers of blood to keep from being removed. In Australia and New Zealand conservative governments replaced Laborite regimes, underscoring the character of the Social Democracy as caretakers for capitalism in crisis.

### ONE THING LACKING

In summary, capitalism as a decaying world system spent the fourth postwar year under the sign of the cold war in a world that remains in a state of political ferment, economic instability and social disequilibrium. Stalinism found itself faced with discontent in its own ranks that promises to flare into open rebellion at the first favorable opportunity. All that was lacking was a mass revolutionary party to take advantage of these crises to turn the world right side up by the socialist revolution. And all over the world the Fourth International and its sympathizers are working with all their energies to remedy this lack.

1949 was a bad year for the American trade unions. At no time since the end of the war did they make fewer economic gains. And the 81st Congress dealt labor blow after blow.

For the meager concessions the workers did win, they had to fight harder than ever. The steel workers had to strike 42 days for paltry insurance and pension plan. The Ford workers had to strike 21 days over a speed-up issue that would normally have been settled in routine grievance procedure.

In a growing number of instances, the workers fought bitter, protracted battles that ended in no gains at all. The Singer workers were forced to call off their picket-lines after six months. After more than four months of battle against police terror, court injunctions and strikebreakers, the Bell Aircraft union in Buffalo had to accept arbitration giving the workers nothing and victimizing a number of outstanding militants.

### MINERS' FIGHT CONTINUES

Nothing better illustrates the extreme resistance which the employers put up than the coal conflict. Four times the fighting miners went on strike under an aggressive leadership, but at the year's end the issue has remained unresolved and the battle is continuing.

But, aside from sporadic and largely defensive strikes, the labor movement presented a picture of apathy. In part, this was attributable to growing unemployment and declining production. Average unemployment was over 4 million, with another 4 million or more reduced to part-time at lower pay.

Many union leaders seized on the first dip in the economic cycle as a pretext for abandoning wage demands. Outstanding examples were Potofsky of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Rieve of the CIO Textile Workers.

Unfavorable economic conditions, however, do not satisfactorily account for the general retreat of the unions. Continuing high prices, rising rents, speed-up in the plants, insecurity that gave added weight to issues like the pension — all were impusions toward union struggle. Besides, the unions' size, power and experience today as compared to say, 1937 — when labor, under far more adverse economic cir-

cumstances, fought magnificently, aggressively and successfully — could and should have brought bigger gains in 1949.

### KEY TO SETBACKS

The key to labor's difficulties and setbacks this past year is to be found in the politics of the top union leaders. Their pathetic dependence on the White House proved immeasurably costly to labor.

The union leaders, like Murray and Reuther, spread the illusion that all the workers had to do was rely on Harry. One year ago they were celebrating what they called the "Great Victory." The election of Truman and a Democratic Congress, they maintained, would assure the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, passage of civil rights legislation, enactment of a vast program of expanded social benefits — a "Fair Deal."

Moreover, these union leaders contended, the triumph of the Truman Democrats would soften the employers. And if the corporations tried to balk labor's economic demands, Truman would put the heat on them. After all, Truman knew who elected him and there had to be some gratitude in politics.

But Truman and the Truman Democrats fulfilled none of their election promises to labor. When the attempt to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act went down to ignominious defeat — even though the Trumanites were willing to accept almost everything of the original act but its title — it was clear how illusory were the high hopes which the labor leaders had put in their "Great Victory."

### BOSSSES BOLDER

It was not labor nor Truman who took the offensive — but Big Business. Emboldened by their successes in a Democratic Congress — a "progressive" Congress as the union leaders had labeled it — the monopolists became more arrogant and aggressive. They concertedly declared they would recognize no wage demands; they drove the workers in an ever-more intolerable speed-up. Their resistance to labor's

modest demands was all the more brazen because profits and dividends had soared to new peaks. U. S. Steel, for instance, was raking in 50% more profits than in 1948; General Motors could declare the largest single dividend in the world history of industry.

In the face of these profits, Murray of the Steel Workers and Reuther of the Auto Workers were forced to press for wage and pension demands. They met with iron-clad opposition. But they did not prepare for any real fight. They turned instead to Truman, hoping to cash in on his "gratitude."

Truman, at Murray's behest, set up a "fact-finding" board on the steel issue. At the hearings, the industry spokesmen scarcely bothered to make a case; they denounced the board to its face; they openly dared the union to strike. For this, the board conceded to the monopolists on almost every point. It rejected the union's major demand for a wage increase and advocated a wage freeze for all basic industries. As a sop to the union, the board recommended a company-financed insurance and pension program to cost not more than 10 cents an hour per worker.

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### PENSION SETTLEMENTS

Reuther grabbed for this formula, made a quick deal with Ford and rammed it down the throats of the Ford workers, although he encountered unexpectedly powerful opposition and suffered a damaging blow to his prestige in the union.

Murray also grabbed for the pension crumb. But the steel moguls wouldn't yield anything. Truman, instead of putting the heat on the steel companies, kept mum as an oyster. Murray was forced to call a costly 42-day strike to win even the meager recommendations of Truman's own board.

Thus, from first to last, the policies of the union leaders proved bankrupt. They had no gains to show, either in the pay envelopes or in social legislation. Had they been square-shooters with their members, they would have admitted their failures and tried to honestly examine the reasons for them.

### UNION WITCH-HUNT

Instead, they covered up their own failures with a hue and cry against the "Communists." It is true this fitted in with the "cold war" of American imperialism and its State Department. But the exceptional virulence of their drive reflected to a large extent their policies which directly affected the workers' immediate interests.

In the CIO particularly, the top bureaucrats drove to silence all opposition and concentrated all power in their own hands. The climax was reached at the recent CIO convention in an orgy of anti-"communism" in which the needs of the CIO workers were simply brushed aside. The Murray machine voted itself unprecedented centralized authority over CIO affiliates and established discriminatory political conditions for full membership rights by barring "Communists" from holding national CIO office. It expelled the United Electrical Workers and established machinery for the expulsion of other Stalinist-led unions.

This purge — begun against the discredited and vulnerable Stalinists — is being extended to anyone who dares to disagree in any way with the Murray machine and its "CIO National Policy." Thus, in the National Maritime Union, the Curran machine, following the CIO convention, ran rough-shod over the rank-and-file. All who oppose Curran's "loyalty" program — including outstanding anti-Stalinists — are being victimized. He did not even hesitate to call in the cops to suppress the majority opposition in New York.

The labor events of 1949 place on the top of the agenda for progressive unionists in 1950 the fight for trade union democracy and the building of a genuine left-wing based on a program of militant struggle on the economic field and the construction of labor's own party on the political field.

# Civil Liberties Were Attacked On Every Front

By George Breitman

Never before in United States history were civil liberties undermined and attacked on so many fronts as in 1949. The capitalist class and its government scored new advances in their transformation of the country into a police state, but they did not have it all their own way. For in this same period mass resistance, even though it was still unorganized on the whole, began to express itself in opposition to the growing infringements on the Bill of Rights and to recognize the need for united action against the witch-hunters.

The aim of the ruling class is to achieve political conformity to intimidate dissidents, to discourage the development of any movement that might challenge the rule of capitalism and all its works — imperialist war, militarization, economic insecurity, racial oppression. In a word, thought-control.

### THE METHODS USED

And to obtain it, no method is too reactionary to be used: purges, blacklists, trials, introduction of the practice of conviction without trial, acceptance of the doctrine of guilt by association, presumption of guilt in the absence of proved innocence, deportations, employment of stool-pigeons, "loyalty" oaths, laws, violations of the law like wire-tapping, demagoguery, assumption of arbitrary and unconstitutional powers through executive decree, perfection of plans for military dictatorship, incitement of mass hysteria and mob violence.

The ostensible target of this drive is the Communist Party, which is widely discredited and hated as an apologist and agent of the Kremlin. But as was proved by the trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders under the Smith Act, the government's moves against them set the pattern for outlawing any group with ideas unacceptable to the ruling class.

Despite the Attorney General's "reassuring" denial, the upholding of the Stalinist convictions by the Supreme Court — which had

previously refused to upset the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists tried in Minneapolis under the same Smith Act — would open the way for the total suppression of minority political parties.

### TREATMENT OF LAWYERS

It has become dangerous not only to hold certain ideas, but even to act as counsel in court for those holding them. This was demonstrated by the vindictive "contempt" sentences imposed on the lawyers in the Foley Square and Harry Bridges trials as well as by the exclusion of defense counsel in the case of the Trenton Six, where "dangerous" thoughts were attributed not to the Negro defendants in the Northern Scottsboro frameup, but to the organization that hired the lawyers for them.

The extension of this practice will lead logically to the kind of "trials" staged in Eastern Europe, where lawyers for the defense are limited to "confessions" when their clients refuse to confess or to pleas for mercy when they do. But last year, like the year before, most of the attacks on civil liberties took place outside of the courts. The center, the inspiration and the model for these attacks was the government "loyalty" purge based on the "subversive" blacklist of organizations denied the right to know on what grounds they were included and denied the opportunity to defend themselves against their accusers at an open hearing.

### EXTENSION OF PURGE

Some people underestimated the significance of the purge, assuming that it applied only to government employees. How wrong they were was shown last year. The purge blacklist was adapted without much change for use in state legislation — the Ober Law in Maryland, the Feinberg Law in New York, requiring "loyalty" oaths from teachers, the Tumulty Law requiring oaths from candidates for political office, the Ohio law requiring oaths from applicants for unemployment insurance. It was extended for the first time in 1949 to cover

a union, the Industrial Workers of the World, which holds contracts with a number of employers.

Private institutions, catching the spirit, began to apply it to their employees. In Texas students as well as teachers must sign an oath annually. In New York City the Rev. John Howard Melish was removed from his post because of his son's association with a group on the Attorney General's list. Most ominous of all was the extension of this system on the one hand into the unions and on the other hand into the factories, where the majority of the workers are involved and where the employers have the connivance of the brass hats in charge of military contracts.

The year's outstanding violation of this kind was the discharge of six strike leaders at the Bell Aircraft Corporation in Buffalo whom the company had been trying to get rid of for a long time. A brass hat decision that they were "poor security risks" because they were allegedly members of groups on the blacklist was upheld by a Dewey-appointed "fact-finding" board, whose decision the UAW local in the plant had stupidly agreed to accept.

Afterwards the Wright Aeronautical Corporation near Paterson demanded that the union accept a contractual clause granting the company the right to fire "subversives," which the union indignantly refused to do. And in an openly union-busting move the Stewart-Warner Corporation in Chicago fired five workers who refused to sign non-communist affidavits.

### BRASS HAT PLANS

The repressive role of the brass hats was revealed not only in these incidents but in the news which they permitted to leak out about their plans for establishing a totalitarian military dictatorship on the day war is declared — if they can't get it sooner. Carried away by their own enthusiasm and arrogance, they even published the names of individual capitalists and corpora-

tion officials who would be put in command of the New York and Pittsburgh areas. As the year ended, U. S. Senator McCarthy (R., Wis.) charged the Army was following a blueprint drawn up by a Nazi general, aiming at "assumption of control by the military over the civilian economy before an actual outbreak of war."

### PLENTY OF VIOLENCE

Supplementing these carefully-planned moves was the mob violence inspired by the architects of the witch-hunt. The most spectacular were the assaults on two Paul Robeson concerts near Peekskill, where cops and local officials collaborated with hoodlum elements who beat up hundreds of people peacefully exercising their right to assembly.

But there were others, including attacks in Chicago on the home of a white union organizer who had invited Negro fellow-unionists, and the reign of terror unleashed in Groveland, Florida, where the entire Negro community was driven out in fear for their lives. This was only one of many incidents involving the revival of Ku Klux Klan elements in the South.

The atmosphere, where mob violence is never punished and always condoned in one form or another, undoubtedly contributed to the renewal of murderous attacks on labor leaders, including the shooting of Victor Reuther and the placing of dynamite in the UAW headquarters in Detroit, the attempted murder of a telephone union organizer in Ohio, the assassination of ILGWU organizer William Lurye in New York City, etc.

As the Groveland case showed in the South and the Trenton case in the North, nothing important had changed for the Negro people in 1949, despite the oceans of oratory about civil rights legislation and the appointment of a few Negroes to government and court posts. The Republicans joined the Southern Democrats in the Senate in putting over a filibuster rule that makes the adoption of civil rights bills

virtually impossible, and the liberal Trumanites (headed by Humphrey and Douglas) joined the Southern Democrats in killing anti-segregation amendments in education and housing.

For the 67th time Truman reaffirmed his determination to enact his civil rights' platform, but where he already had the power to act against Jim Crow — in the armed forces, government-financed or insured housing, and government employment — he continued to try to bamboozle the people with gestures that have no content and permit the Jim Crow system to thrive with little modification.

### SIGNS OF RESISTANCE

Public resistance to the whole witch-hunt began to manifest itself, especially after the revelation at the Coplon trial that the FBI was operating a huge network of informers and stool-pigeons, paid out of the public treasury to snoop and spy on citizens in all walks of life. Truman hastened to stem the development of this resistance by assuring the people that they had nothing to worry about, that "hysteria" always dies out by itself in time. He himself, however, did nothing to lessen the witch-hunt and in fact gave it his personal stamp of approval by demonstratively elevating its chief executor, Tom Clark, to the U. S. Supreme Court.

But mass concern over civil rights has not abated. A Gallup poll, published in October, revealed that despite the incitations to the contrary, only 5% of those questioned favored free speech curbs on "communism."

The growth of the opposition to thought-control can be gauged by the ever-widening support for the fight to reinstate James Katcher, the legless veteran fired from the VA because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, whose national tour last year was a signal success.

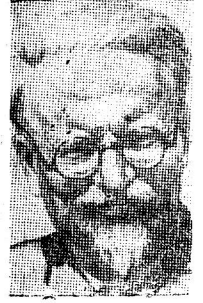


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TROTSKY

"A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime. Naked dictatorship in history has generally been the product and the symptom of an especially severe social crisis, and not at all of a stable regime. Severe crisis cannot be a permanent condition of society. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period, but it is incapable of perpetuating itself. The monstrous purges in the USSR are most convincing testimony of the fact that Soviet society organically tends toward ejection of the bureaucracy."

—Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1939.



LENIN

### The "Secret" that Was No Secret

The Atomic Energy Commission has for years held documentary proof that the Soviet Union has possessed all the basic theoretical knowledge about the "secret" of the atom-bomb since 1940. That is the year when the U. S. government began its first tentative moves to investigate the possibilities of developing an atomic weapon and a year before this country got into the war.

But it was not until last week that officials of the AEC revealed translations of Russian scientific documents, published in 1940, which show that Soviet scientists had all the essential information to develop an atomic bomb — the bomb about which Truman informed the world last Sept. 23. A score of U. S. libraries, including the Library of Congress, also possess copies of these documents.

These documents had been published openly by the Russian government, but the translation of them in this country had been stamped "secret" by officials of the Army's Manhattan District atomic project to conceal the fact that the U. S. was collecting information about the Russian "secrets."

The facts about the Soviet documents and their possession by the AEC, revealed in an extensive United Press dispatch from Washington on Dec 23, throw a new

light on the spy-scare and witch-hunt that the government has whipped up over the past three years to terrorize and silence all who oppose Truman's "cold war" policies.

Washington authorities — including Truman — knew all along that there was no real "secret" about the atomic bomb. In fact the very scientists who worked on the atomic project and were best informed on the matter repeatedly stated that there was no "secret."

But the witch-hunters in Washington took advantage of the average person's ignorance about the new atomic wonder. They drowned out the voices of the scientists with their Hollywood-like Congressional "investigations" of "spies" and "Communists." Truman steamed it up with his "loyalty" purge of government employees and spy trials. Lurid stories were ballyhooed in the press and over the radio about "leakages" of atomic "secrets."

But the only real "atomic spy plot" has turned out to be the plot of the warmongers and police-statesters in Washington to muzzle free opinion in America under the pretext of safeguarding atomic "secrets" which Russian scientists described in public prints nine years ago.

### The Purge in the Plants

The Dec. 12 Militant pointed out that the Department of Defense has set up a four-man Industrial Employment Review Board to act as an "appeals body" for workers fired out of plants with government contracts on political, "moral" or other grounds.

We denounced this move as a fraud because the members of the board are appointed by the Department of Defense itself, and because the board will be bound by the Attorney General's arbitrarily-selected "subversive" list, which is used as the basis of the purge in the plants just as it is used in the purge of government employees.

Under the previous procedure a worker could be fired for "membership in or sympathetic association with" any of the organizations on this list. Under the new procedure exactly the same system will prevail. It will not help the worker any to point out to the "appeals" board that his organization is not "subversive" and that it was never even given a hearing at which it could examine or answer the charges against it; so far as the board is concerned, the illegal "subversive" list has the force of law.

All this is as well known to the CIO leaders as it is to us. Yet the CIO News writes of the new board as something

designed by the Department of Defense to avoid complaints of "military arbitrariness" in the future. And the United Automobile Worker says: "While the charter, procedure and criteria governing the actions of the new board do not go the whole way in meeting the standards of due process of law demanded in resolutions on loyalty and security investigations and dismissals adopted by the UAW-CIO and the 1949 CIO Convention, they do represent a long step in that direction."

The chief thing that seems to impress both these papers about the new board is that it permits purged workers to be represented by their unions in appeal hearings. But that fact does not alter the thoroughly anti-labor character of the whole purge proceedings any more than it would be altered by a new regulation requiring that the letter notifying a worker that he is being fired because of his political convictions must be typed on union-made paper by a member of an office workers union.

It is time for the labor movement to quit pussyfooting with the purge, to stop looking for "progressive" improvements in its operation, and to start fighting it in earnest and in its entirety. Either the labor movement will put an end to the witch-hunt or the witch-hunt will put an end to the labor movement.

### New Status of Indonesia

After a rule of almost 350 years the Dutch colonialists found themselves unable to retain direct rule over the fabulously wealthy empire of Indonesia and its 77 million inhabitants. For four years they waged war with American munitions and funds to reimpose upon the insurgent masses their "model" colonial enslavement and finally had to agree to share power with the native Indonesian capitalists.

With martial law still in effect through most of the territories, the Indonesian peoples were told that they were henceforth independent, becoming "free and equal partners" in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union where the ultimate "legal sovereignty" still remains with the crown of the Netherlands. The Dutch retain their major holdings in the vast archipelago and the population has been loaded with a huge debt in return for the meager economic concessions made by the Dutch.

The rise to power of the Indonesian bourgeoisie, personified by President Sukarno and Premier Hatta, has resulted, as in the case of India, Burma and Ceylon, from the utter decay of the reigning colonial power. The Dutch bourgeoisie, like the British, are unable any longer to rule in their own name in their former colonies. The chief beneficiaries of the disintegration of European imperialism have thus far proved to be the various

native bourgeoisies in the Far East.

The pressure of American imperialism, which seeks to benefit from the break-up of the old colonial empires, played a significant but subordinate role in the developments. Wall Street, to be sure, prefers to see Indonesia, like the rest of the Far East, turned into an "independent" preserve open to its economic penetration like the Philippines. But what proved decisive in the case of Indonesia, as previously in India, was the weakness of respective imperialist bourgeoisies, on the one side, and the revolutionary upsurge of the native peoples, on the other. Faced with the prospect of losing everything, the Dutch grudgingly followed in the footsteps of the British and granted partnership to the Indonesian bourgeoisie.

While genuine independence has been far from achieved, the stranglehold of the Dutch has been broken beyond repair. The Indonesian people have taken a partial but nonetheless important step on the road of complete emancipation. History will show that the Sukarnos and the Hattas, like the Nehrus, are chance and episodic figures; neither they nor their class have any future. The future in the Far East belongs to the workers who alone can carry out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution in the colonies, including the achievement of complete national independence.

# Titoism and Internationalism

On Dec. 1 the International Secretariat of the Fourth International issued an open letter to the leadership and members of the Yugoslav Communist Party in reply to official statements made by Veljko Vlahovitch, a member of the Central Committee of that organization, on the question of working class internationalism and Trotskyism. Vlahovitch's statements, issued on the anniversary of the Yugoslav Republic on Nov. 29, consisted of two parts:

1. "The various reports circulated abroad that the CPY is working for the creation of a new international, a so-called 'Titoist' international, are completely ridiculous."

He justifies this position by asserting that "the reason given for the dissolution of the Comintern (in 1943) was perfectly correct." That reason is that the form of "organization of working class unity chosen by the First Congress of the Communist International and which responded to the needs of the period at the beginning of the rebirth of the workers' movement, more and more loses its validity."

2. Vlahovitch classifies the supporters of Yugoslavia into two categories: "the numerous communist and progressive workers" and "the other category of people who want to pass themselves off as 'friends,' those diverse suspicious types gathered around a Fourth International, various international spies, etc."

**COMINTERN DISSOLUTION**

The International Secretariat rejects the "theoretical" arguments used to justify "the capitulatory and opportunist" dissolution of the Third International as "unworthy of a moment's consideration by those who claim to adhere to Marxism-Leninism." It points out that both the Moscow bureaucracy and world imperialism, with whom it was allied during the war, feared the revolutionary struggles of the international proletariat and the colonial masses. Imperialism was concerned with the preservation of capitalism, and the Stalinist bureaucracy with its privileges.

It was this common fear which led to the dissolution of the Communist International. Neither imperialism nor Stalinism was apprehensive of the corrupted Comintern becoming again the revolutionary instrument of the proletariat as it has been under Lenin and Trotsky. But they were concerned that its name and tradition might be utilized by revolutionary elements to stimulate the program of world revolution; that some of the parties of the Comintern would slip out of the control of the Kremlin and use the name of the international for a policy out of line with the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin.

The dissolution of the Comintern, the International Secretariat notes, "far from being a wise application of Marxism-Leninism was in conformity with the policy of class collaboration carried on by the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Greece and elsewhere, which led the proletariat to disastrous defeats."

**STILL VALID**

Instead of parroting Stalinist arguments, the International Secretariat demands that Vlahovitch answer why the arguments given by Lenin at the time of the formation of the Communist International are no longer valid today: "Has the world communist revolution been achieved? Doesn't capitalism threaten (through the League of Nations and the United Nations today) the revolution wherever it unfolds even more ominously than in 1919? Are there no longer new problems which require collective elaboration through the collective organization of the revolutionary movement? Is the internationalization of the workers' movement less real than in 1919?"

For years communists have denounced the attitude of the Socialist Parties towards the International, the IS says, as one of the rankest manifestations of Social Democratic opportunism. Marxists have always believed that the class struggle is not the sum of the national struggles of the working class; that there is an international class struggle which requires the international organization of the proletarian vanguard.

The attitude of Vlahovitch, who appeared to be speaking in the name of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the IS concludes, signifies

objectively a "tendency to capitulate before the double pressure of imperialism and the Kremlin." It then goes on to brand as "poor opportunist excuses borrowed from Stalinism" those considerations of "tactics" and "maneuvering" contrived to avoid unnecessarily provoking world imperialism or the Kremlin. They do not fool the proletariat — or anyone else.

**WHAT IS THEIR PROGRAM?**

The IS demands of the Tito leadership: "What is your program for the world proletariat? Defense of Yugoslavia against the Kremlin and the demand for equal rights 'does not constitute a program which can reorganize and re-orient the working class and the colonial masses who have been demoralized by the practices of the Kremlin.'"

Nor does this constitute an adequate program for the defense of Yugoslavia. The workers of other countries desire to defend the Yugoslav movement but only "as part of the world revolutionary movement." What will the Tito group say to these workers when they ask: "What should we do to carry on the class struggle in our own country? Obey Thorez, Togliatti, et al, or create a new revolutionary party, a new revolutionary international?"

"As long as you maintain a negative or even vague attitude on the question of the International," the IS states, "conscious revolutionists will judge you with the greatest reserve. You will never have their complete confidence despite all the other progressive aspects of your development. They will see in your refusal to completely and loyally integrate yourself in the world revolutionary movement a grave defect, which up to now has been the hallmark of the retrogressive, nationalist and bureaucratic degeneration of other tendencies in the workers' movement."

## PRO-TITO OPPOSITION INSIDE THE FRENCH CP

By George Breitman

An organized opposition, backed by the Yugoslavs, now exists in the Communist Party of France. A bulletin entitled 'La Lutte' (The Struggle) is now being circulated among the membership.

The bulletin gives the impression that it is put out by a politically educated group, experienced in the underground methods necessary for oppositional activity in the French Stalinist party.

Independent confirmation of this group's existence comes from the Central Committee of the French CP which has put the "struggle against Titoism" formally on its agenda for the first time since Tito was denounced by the Cominform.

While there is no way of estimating the size of the opposition it appears to have support in the proletarian strongholds of the party — particularly among the miners of the North and the metal workers of the Paris region.

The orientation of this opposition group may be judged by the following summaries and extracts of articles in its bulletin, La Lutte.

In a piece entitled "Neither Titoists nor Stalinists, but Marxist-Leninists" it is told how CP leaders and functionaries of the CGT (Stalinist-controlled union federation) have been campaigning against those groups that meet "to study the problems facing the Yugoslav people in building socialism while preserving its national independence." Involved here, of course, is the rising opposition to the ruthless campaign of the Kremlin bureaucracy against Yugoslavia.

Another article tries sharply to differentiate the opposition from the French Trotskyists: "Our movement has nothing in common with the maneuvers of the small Trotskyist groups, even though one of them dares present itself as a defender of the Yugoslav people. We know that they have never ceased to oppose the building of socialism. While claiming to lend their aid to the Yugoslav people — who have no need of it — they continue to serve as the conscious or unconscious tools of capitalism and to play the game of the leaders of the Soviet Union." While the charge of Trotskyists being "tools of capitalism" is part of the miseducation these people received during their long stay in the Stalinist movement, the charge that Trotskyists play the Kremlin's game must be acknowledged as an original slander among CP members. The article continues: "The Budapest Trial with its Brankovics and Pals would convince us of this, if further proof were necessary. These notorious Trotskyists 'confessed' to all the charges brought against them by the prosecution although a few months earlier they had been designated as 'consistent revolutionists in the fight against Tito.'"

Of course neither Brankov nor Pal were ever Trotskyists any more than Tito is a Trotskyist just because he is labelled such by the Kremlin. By citing as "proof" fraudulent "confessions" from the Cominform frameups, the French Titoists nullify one of their own important aims — that of exposing these trials as frameups aimed at the Yugoslavs.

But the most significant section of the bulletin is the resolution of the opposition committees of the North and of Pas-de-Calais. It is significant because an attempt is made to review the past policy of the party and to reject it as false. Here, whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not, the French Titoists are compelled to restate many of the criticisms raised long ago by the French Trotskyists.

This resolution describes the blind alley in which the Communist Party now finds itself and then tells how this situation developed. Recalling the tremendous and rapid growth of the CP during the Hitlerite occupation and the simultaneous loss of popular support by the capitalist and Social-Democratic parties, the resolution concludes that by the time of the "liberation," General de Gaulle "was our prisoner who had to negotiate with Stalin at Moscow. . . In addition to the Party, a decisive section of the masses gravitated to us; no field of activity escaped our control."

"Divided into Petainists and Gaullists, the bourgeoisie was destroying itself before our very eyes. The working class, the middle classes, the fiery youth of the maquis and underground, a section of the peasantry, all the active layers of the population put their sole hope in the Communist Party. For the success of the revolution and the beginning of socialism, a violent overthrow was not even necessary. A few kicks in the pants would have been sufficient to dislodge those reactionary elements who, without conviction, hung on to their posts."

"The expropriation of the capitalists would have been an accomplished fact. And can anyone believe that the movement would have been limited to France? Italy would have been able to follow us immediately. Germany, finally freed from fascism, would have remembered, despite the American occupation, that it was the fatherland of Marx, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The movement would have quickly reached Spain. . .

"When one remembers that in one year communism could have triumphed in all Europe, we bitterly condemn the party leaders for having let this opportunity pass without making the slightest attempt to take advantage of such an historic situation. . . Instead they divided the revolutionary forces. . . accentuated nationalistic hatreds and forced the workers back under the capitalists to produce more for a capitalist society that has to be overthrown in order to build socialism."

**"WE WILL REPLY"**

The IS reply concludes: "We will not remain silent in face of such methods. We will reply to every challenge hurled directly and indirectly at our movement. We will stubbornly defend our ideas, our program, the revolutionary integrity of our movement. Our members' own organizations. We will notify the entire world revolutionary vanguard and all the advanced elements to whom you are now appealing for aid to the Yugoslav cause, of every misrepresentation of the truth which some of your leaders are inclined to perpetrate. Every erroneous position and every method of struggle borrowed from the corrupt arsenal of the Kremlin leaders."

"Do not underestimate the critical faculties of the elements of the world revolutionary movement whose support you are asking. They will judge you by your actions, by your entire line and not only the correct part of your struggle against the Kremlin."

"You yourself say that the truth must triumph and that it will triumph. Yes, it will triumph."

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# Two Birthdays in Moscow

By John G. Wright

Stalin's 70th birthday reproduced before the eyes of the whole world the revolting spectacles of adulation and deification in which the despots in antiquity, especially in Asia, so loved to indulge. The Asiatic custom of deifying rulers was adopted in Rome when the decay of that slave empire set in. But even then only the most depraved of the emperors demanded and was accorded homage due him as a divinity in his own lifetime. Like the Caligulas and Neros of ancient Rome, Stalin took part in the ceremonies, making one of his rare public appearances in Bolshoi Theatre to accept the halo of divinity and the frenzied acclaim of a handpicked retinue. One aspect of the ceremonies was unique — Stalin had not a single word of thanks for the accolades and gifts showered upon him.

But the depths of degeneration to which Stalin and his regime have sunk can be illustrated not by comparison with ancient times, nor even with the birthdays of the Czars. We need go back only a brief 29 years. It was April 23, 1920. The place was again Moscow. The occasion was the 50th birthday of a truly great man — Lenin.

The Moscow organization of the Russian Bolshevik Party decided to honor Lenin's birthday with a banquet. The guest of honor communicated his thanks but refused to be present. As Leon Trotsky explained, Lenin generally "was not fond of such projects." In this particular instance, he disapproved all the more strongly because the civil war was then still in progress.

Only one memento of this occasion has survived. It is a thin booklet on the poorest of newspapers containing the jubilee speeches of the participants published by the Moscow Party Committee. It is the rarest of Soviet bibliographical rarities. It has been forgotten by everybody in

the Soviet Union; even to mention it, has for years been a capital crime in the Soviet Union.

Stalin was one of the jubilee speakers (the other main speakers were long ago murdered by him). Stalin, who as a rule prefers to keep his mouth shut in public, chose this time to deliver a brief speech, and in praise of Lenin he singled out only one of Lenin's traits — "one trait about which no one has yet spoken; namely, modesty, the admission of his mistakes."

It would take us too far afield to treat with the "two mistakes" which Lenin, according to Stalin, admitted, and which Stalin saw fit to single out at the time. We refer the interested readers to the book, *The Stalin School of Falsification* by Leon Trotsky, where the whole episode is amply clarified.

Suffice it here to recall not so much the genuine modesty of Lenin and his scrupulousness in always admitting his own mistakes but rather the now also forgotten fact that for years Stalin used to pose as the most "modest" of Lenin's disciples. For years after Lenin died, Stalin donned a simple soldier's tunic and rough boots and carefully kept to the background. The real Stalin could emerge only when the events of the Russian Revolution were no longer fresh in the minds of all; only when the real disposition of figures on the historical scene and Stalin's own minor role in the great events had been falsified beyond recognition; only when the party of Lenin and his international had been completely destroyed.

The two birthdays—Lenin's in 1920 and Stalin's in 1949—provide an excellent gauge of the abyss between Stalin and Lenin, between Stalinism and Leninism.

# Intellectual D.P.'s

By Arthur Kent

The God That Failed is a book that tells the story of six writers who became attracted to Marxism, were later repelled by Stalinism, and in their revulsion turned their back on Marxism as well. The theme is certainly not a new one. But the fact that such men as Andre Gide, Ignazio Silone, Richard Wright, Stephen Spender, Arthur Koestler and Louis Fischer have undertaken to relate their experiences makes this book worthy of attention. (Harper, 1950, 273 pp., \$3.50.)

Koestler notes that he joined the German Communist Party because of "the rapid disintegration of moral values, of the pre-1914 pattern of life in postwar Europe, and the simultaneous lure of the new revelation which had come from the East." These were more or less the reasons why the six authors of this book along with many other intellectuals worked with the Communist parties in the Twenties and Thirties. Within a few years all these intellectuals, almost as a disciplined unit, were to move away from the Communist parties. There are many lessons in this wholesale retreat.

Koestler, for example, while a member of the German CP, witnessed the failure of the Communist Party in stopping the rise of Hitler to power. But it took the Spanish Civil War, in the course of which Koestler was able to see that the CP lied outright in accusing its Trotskyist and Poimist opponents of being fascists, to provide the immediate reason for resigning from the CP.

Silone explains that he left the CP because, years before, he had witnessed the degeneration of the leadership of the Communist International. Among other events he cites an episode of a

meeting of top leaders prior to a session of the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. At this meeting the leaders (among them Thaelmann, Kuisin, Kolarov) voted to condemn a document by Trotsky which they had not even read.

Gide and Fischer, who were fellow travelers, became disillusioned with communism because of their growing realization that a bureaucracy had developed in Russia. Richard Wright left the American CP because of its manipulation and exploitation of the Negro struggle. Spender came into conflict with the British Stalinists on the issue of the Spanish Civil War and the perversion of culture in the Soviet Union.

Their full indictment of Stalinism of course goes beyond this brief catalogue. But it never rises to any systematic generalization. In their revulsion from Stalinism, all of them come out against Marxism itself. It is impossible for any serious person to respect the criticism of people like Koestler, for example, because he has nothing positive to offer. Those who "criticize" Stalinism in this way are inexorably led to support decaying capitalism which they originally rejected, as Koestler does by his support of de Gaulle in France.

Most of those who have passed through the school of Stalinism revert to the individualistic and "moralistic" approach of the petty-bourgeois intellectual who perpetually wanders between all ideas and all movements. It is only the rare exception — like Richard Wright, who is a Negro and cannot think of himself as divorced from the social struggles — who continues to grope for a serious alternative to capitalism and Stalinism.

# The Tresca Murder Case

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 28 — Failure of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office to solve the Carlo Tresca murder case was cited today by Norman Thomas as giving "clear and open encouragement" to the gangsters who have since murdered Joseph Scottorrigio, Republican political worker, and William Lurye, organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Thomas, as head of the Tresca Memorial Committee, voiced this criticism in announcing plans to honor Tresca on Wed., Jan. 11, seventh anniversary of his death.

The 1950 commemoration of this crime will be held at 8:15 o'clock that night at the northwest corner of Fifth Ave. and 15th St., where the editor of the anti-totalitarian Italian journal *Il Martello* (The Hammer) was shot down in the 1943 war dim-out. Short speeches in English and Italian will be climaxed by the dropping of red carnations where Tresca fell. If the weather should be unfavorable, the speaking will take place in the Rand School auditorium, 7 East 15th St.

"Seven years after Tresca's murder," Thomas said, "I do not believe that the District Attorney's office exerted itself to the utmost in investigating it. I say this after scanning a current report of that office for 1946-1948. It gives four pages to the Scottorrigio killing, which it calls a political crime, and says 'The investigation continues.' But,

as in several of Mr. Hogan's previous reports, the Tresca case is not even mentioned.

"This is profoundly disturbing to me, and to many of Carlo's friends, who feel that Mr. Hogan's continuing official silence about this crime signifies that he and his staff would prefer not to be reminded of their failure to bring the Tresca killers to justice. That failure, to my mind, gave clear and open encouragement to the gangsters who afterward murdered Scottorrigio and Lurye.

"There is ample reason to believe that the Tresca slaying also was political, that he was ambushed because of his relentless opposition to one of the totalitarian movements, two of which were under suspicion from the start. So why does the prosecutor's office say it will go on hunting for Scottorrigio's slayers, and not even make the gesture of such a promise in the Tresca case?"

Thomas also declared that Hogan, in assigning Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco to question Benjamin Gitlow about the Tresca case before a grand jury last February, violated a 1944 pledge that Pagnucco would not be permitted to examine any new witnesses in this case. That pledge was made, Thomas said, "after Attorney Morris L. Ernst and others presented documentary evidence showing that Pagnucco had been closely associated with Fascists in the past and had been honored by the Mussolini government."

# Notes from the News

FRIENDS OF A. J. MUSTE are planning to celebrate his 65th birthday by a party at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St., New York City, on Sat., Jan. 14 at 8 P.M. Muste, who was an active figure in the labor movement in the 20's and 30's and for a time belonged to the Trotskyist movement, is now a militant pacifist. He will give a report at the party on his recent trip to India.

ROGER BALDWIN'S SUCCESSOR as director of the American Civil Liberties Union will be Prof. Patrick M. Malin, 46-year-old member of the economic department at Swarthmore College, who has been active in the Society of Friends (Quakers), has held several administrative posts in Washington and is described "an independent in politics."

CHICAGO LANDLORDS, who are clamoring for a blanket rent increase after bleeding their tenants of at least \$6 million in government-ap-

proved rent hikes during 1949, plus untold millions in over-ceiling rents, bonuses and similar swindles, are now demanding elimination of free text books from the schools in order to reduce real estate taxes.

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT said last week that the U. S. is now rich enough so that for the first time it might be possible to "eliminate extreme hardship and poverty." That sounds almost like a carbon copy of the acceptance speech by Herbert Hoover in 1928, a year before the big crash.

CORRECTION — Last week's report on the purge in the Stewart-Warner plant in Chicago contained the statement that both Philip Murray and John L. Lewis have refused to sign Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits which served as a model for the Stewart-Warner affidavits. While Murray did refuse to sign T-H oaths for two years, he changed his position in 1949. Lewis still refuses to do so.

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NUMBER 1

# THE MILITANT

## New Postage Stamp



The government has issued this postage stamp to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor.

# 90% of Fund Collected With Four Days to Go

By Reba Aubrey  
Fund Campaign Manager

We're coming down the home stretch. Eleven branches have already crossed the finish line: New Haven, Flint, Allentown, Buffalo, Detroit, Morgantown, New Britain, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Seattle. The other branches are nearing their goals at top speed.

With a goal of \$12,000, the Party Building Fund reached \$10,742 on Dec. 27. To complete the national quota IN FULL AND ON TIME, we need \$1,257 more by Dec. 31.

Seattle Branch completed its quota, but Comrade Louise writes: "We will do our darndest to send in a little more before the deadline."

Youngstown Branch reports "the first post-strike pays are coming in" and assures us that their "quota will be fulfilled on time and in full."

Comrade Elaine says the Los Angeles Local is "plugging away" and that they are "sure of attaining" their goal — 100% by Dec. 31.

The comrades in Pittsburgh had a social to assure completion of their quota. Comrades and friends of the Branch made it a success. The result—100% for Pittsburgh. "We realize that the time grows short before the Party Building Fund campaign ends," Comrade Dennis writes, "but Boston Branch feels confident that its quota will be fulfilled, as always."

New York Local likewise is "confident of completing" its quota by the end of the year.

Anne Chester reports that the Bay Area comrades are doing "a few things locally to ensure reaching our quota of \$800."

Sam K., a long-time friend of the party in New York, came into the office to contribute \$2 to the fund. He never fails to do what he can to help out.

H. of Detroit sent in \$50, making a total of \$75 paid on her \$100 pledge.

R. H., Milwaukee, Wisc. contributed \$2.61 to the Party Building Fund.

A friend who came to New York for the Christmas holidays greeted us with a \$15 donation to the Fund.

Militant readers and friends of the party everywhere put their shoulder to the wheel and pushed the "General" contributions to \$716 — over the top by 102%. The final report and scoreboard will be printed next week.

## SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	\$ 25	\$ 28	112
Flint	200	204	102
Allentown	50	50	100
Buffalo	500	500	100
Detroit	1,100	1,100	100
Morgantown	25	25	100
New Britain	30	30	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
Seattle	200	200	100
Cleveland	250	236	94
Toledo	75	71	94
New York	3,000	2,747	92
Newark	350	314	90
Milwaukee	250	219	88
San Francisco-Oakland	800	703	88
Boston	200	172	86
Chicago	400	329	82
Philadelphia	600	467	78
Los Angeles	1,500	1,100	73
Youngstown	400	290	73
Akron	100	65	65
Worcester	40	26	65
Lynn	75	26	35
General	705	716	102
TOTAL through Dec. 27			\$12,000 \$10,743 90

# Thousands of Jobless in Ypsilanti Thrown on Relief, Face Evictions

Although 1949 was the year of peak postwar production and profits for the auto industry, one of the worst "distress" areas in the country is to be found in a community 30 miles west of Detroit.

It is the Ypsilanti area where conditions among thousands of working class families are so bad that one state official has declared that by comparison "they make 1932 look like a time of plenty."

Of the industrial plants in this area, 14, including Kaiser-Frazer, have been shut down for many months. (The Kaiser-Frazer Corporation has been in recent months the recipient of scores of millions of dollars in federal loans on the ground that it would give employment to thousands of workers.)

The shutdowns in the Ypsilanti area have been so numerous and protracted that thousands of workers had exhausted their unemployment compensation and increasing numbers have been thrown on relief. Officials of the UAW-CIO have charged that relief allowances were grossly inadequate.

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# STALINISTS LIE ABOUT RENT FIGHT IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO — The deceitfulness of the Stalinists in exaggerating their role in the fight against the general rent increase in Chicago should be crystal clear to anyone who knows the facts.

Reading the Nov. 13 and 20 stories in the Illinois edition of the Worker, one would get the impression that the Chicago Tenants Action Council led the recent successful fight here against a blanket rent increase. Victor Ludwig, chairman of that Stalinist-dominated group, is quoted as saying that they defeated the rent hike by proving that Chicago rents are already too high.

One would also be led to believe that the Cook County Rent Advisory Board at its meeting of Nov. 10, when it voted for the second time against a rent boost, was persuaded by the "well-prepared brief" submitted to it by the Tenants Action Council; or, at the very least, that the Board gave some consideration to this self-styled "well-prepared brief."

THE PUBLIC HEARINGS However, any coincidence between these statements and the true facts is entirely non-existent. The facts are these:

At the public hearings on the rent issue last June, the two chief adversaries were the Chicago Tenants Federation, representing the tenants, and the Cook County Fair Rent Committee, speaking for the landlords. So clear was this to everyone, including the Board itself, that 45 minutes each were allotted to these two organizations, and only five to ten minutes to all other organizations and parties.

This was full recognition that the Chicago Tenants Federation, whose spokesmen sit as tenants' representatives on the Rent Advisory Board, is the outstanding leader in the fight to defend the interests of Chicago tenants.

At the June hearings the Tenants Federation presented statistical proof that the landlords are not entitled to a rent increase. This contention was reinforced by the testimony of Dr. Philip Hauser, a leading statistical authority, who proved that the landlords' figures were not reliable.

The main argument on behalf

of the tenants at the hearing was made by M. J. Myer, a Tenants Federation leader and a member of the Rent Advisory Board. In a speech lasting over an hour Myer revealed the basic flaws in the landlords' statistical case. The Board thereafter voted 8 to 7 against a rent increase.

The landlords then appealed to the courts and the Rent Advisory Board was ordered to reconsider its decision and to present findings of fact.

It was at the Nov. 10 Board meeting, called to act on the court order, that Victor Ludwig of the Tenants Action Council appeared with the so-called "well-prepared brief." No one read it; no one even mentioned it; and except for the fact that it was lying on the desk, it was for all practical purposes non-existent.

Ludwig himself, instead of being the fiery defender of Chicago tenants that the Worker would have one imagine, was a quiet little lad who came in and said he had a brief to present. The chairman of the Board told him to deposit it on the desk, which he did. Ludwig then obediently left the room when told to do so.

## WHO LED THE FIGHT

At this November meeting the fight on behalf of the tenants was again led by the spokesmen of the Chicago Tenants Federation, as the minutes of the Board session will show. They were supported by representatives of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, and by two other members of the Board. After a heated battle the Board reaffirmed its previous decision to deny the landlords a rent increase.

The Tenants Action Council did not influence the Board's decision by one iota.

Were it not for the existence of the Chicago Tenants Federation and the presence of its spokesmen on the Rent Advisory Board, Chicago tenants would in all likelihood have been compelled long ago to pay much higher rent.

# Rose Karsner Honored at Dinner In New York on Her 60th Birthday

More than a hundred comrades and friends gathered on Christmas Eve at the New York headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party to celebrate the 60th birthday of Rose Karsner. Telegrams and

messages of greetings were received from comrades and party branches all over the country. The festivities began with a dinner and concluded with a few brief talks and the presentation of gifts from the New York Local, the Seattle branch and from comrades in Minneapolis.

The celebration was a tribute to Rose Karsner's years of loyal and continuous work as an activist in the revolutionary movement. Her record goes back to the pre-World War I Socialist Party. She was the national secretary of the Friends of the Soviet Union at the time of its formation in 1921

and conducted the campaign for the relief of the Russian famine victims. Later she became Assistant Secretary of the International Labor Defense.

Comrade Karsner was a member of the Communist Party from its earliest days and was among the first to be expelled for Trotskyism in 1928. She was the "first rank and file" of the American Trotskyist movement. Since then she has held many posts in party activity, including the management of the party press. She was also the first manager of Pioneer Publishers.

# Cleveland Strike Broken

(Continued from page 1)

to which the Transit Union is affiliated, because they wanted to protect their potential candidate against Senator Taft. Mayor Burke, who hour by hour was to reveal himself as the vilest type of strikebreaker.

Burke threatened to use the police and firemen to operate the buses and streetcars, gave that up in favor of "plenty of unemployed GPs," then gave that up in favor of the women who worked on the lines during the war. Governor Lausche, Democrat, called the strike "shocking" and promised Burke the militia "if necessary."

The newspapers began an unbelievable assault on the union and its president, Meany. Three-fourths of the front page of every issue of every paper was devoted to scurrilous editorials and misleading articles. Front-page editorials in the News on Thursday, Friday and Saturday were headlined respectively "The Strike Must Be Beaten," "The Public Must Beat This Strike," and "Let Meany Have Fight He Wants." The Press and the Plain Dealer were no better in trying to paint the strike as the work of one man.

But the union stood up firmly under the blows of the politicians, the press and the so-called labor leaders. On Friday the umpire clarified his decision and set a minimum of 88 hours vacation pay for transportation members and 80 hours for non-transportation employees. This was a definite concession to the union.

The late Friday editions of the newspapers announced that Mayor Burke and the CTS Management were invoking the law and ordered the men to return to work at midnight. The press and radio sought to aid the mayor and confuse the union members by running announcements that "Transit Strike Is Near End" and "Cars May Run Tomorrow." A mass meeting was scheduled for Saturday morning. Friday

night the CTS tried to launch a back-to-work movement. But only of 4,900 employees, four reported for work and were discouraged from working.

At the Saturday meeting when everyone else expected them to vote to end the strike, 2,000 members courageously decided to continue it by unanimous vote. The men were heartened as support from other sections of the labor movement began to appear. The Painters District Council sent an inspiring message to the meeting. Pat O'Malley, District Director of the UAW, voiced his support, and the UAW condemned Burke.

There was relative quiet over Christmas, but on Monday Judge Artl of the Common Pleas Court, a former Democratic ward leader, took the unusual action of granting a hearing for an injunction on a holiday and then invoked both the vicious Ferguson Law and the common law of the country.

A mass meeting was again called for Tuesday morning, and as required by the injunction, Meany and the other officers urged the men to vote to return to work. Meany castigated the court order as "government by injunction" and said that this was "dictatorship worse than Russia."

The 2,500 members finally did vote to return to work after the officers and union counsel explained that continuing the strike would mean that contempt proceedings would be started and the officers and local fined, the officers jailed and the local possibly smashed.

The question must be raised: How could such a thing happen? The only answer is the terrible weakness of the labor movement in Cleveland in particular and in the nation in general. The reliance of the labor movement on capitalist politicians has brought on this condition and caused the end of a glorious exhibition of union militancy. If the labor

movement in Cleveland had been united, if it had completely supported the Transit Union and warned the city administration it would call a general strike if the contempt citations were put into effect, the strike could have been won. But there is no such unity. The labor movement cannot fight the strikebreaker Burke and at the same time play footsie with Senatorial-candidate Burke.

The Cleveland courts have gone further than they did in the Fawick strike a year ago when the labor movement was shocked by the severity of the injunction. The labor leaders are now deploring the use of the injunction in the transit strike. But that does no good now — the strike is broken. The labor movement in the U. S. can well be proud of the Cleveland Transit Union, but it can only hang its head over the actions of the Cleveland labor leaders.

## Eastern Europe: A-Discussion

in the International Information Bulletin The Yugoslav Question, the Question of the Soviet Buffer Zone and the Implications for Marxist Theory by Ernest Germain, in the January issue, 43 pp., 35c.

On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia by M. Pablo, in the December issue, 27 pp., 25c.

The Evolution of the Buffer Countries by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, in the June issue, 35 pp., 25c.

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