

Political Apathy In Union Ranks Worries Leaders

By Fred Hart

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

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

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

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

PAC CONFERENCE

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

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

High Price of A 'Humane Act'

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

The top union leaders can (Continued on Page 4)

JURY WHITEWASHES MOB VIOLENCE AT PEEKSKILL

By Albert Parker

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

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

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

(Continued on page 4)

Vol. XIV - No. 26

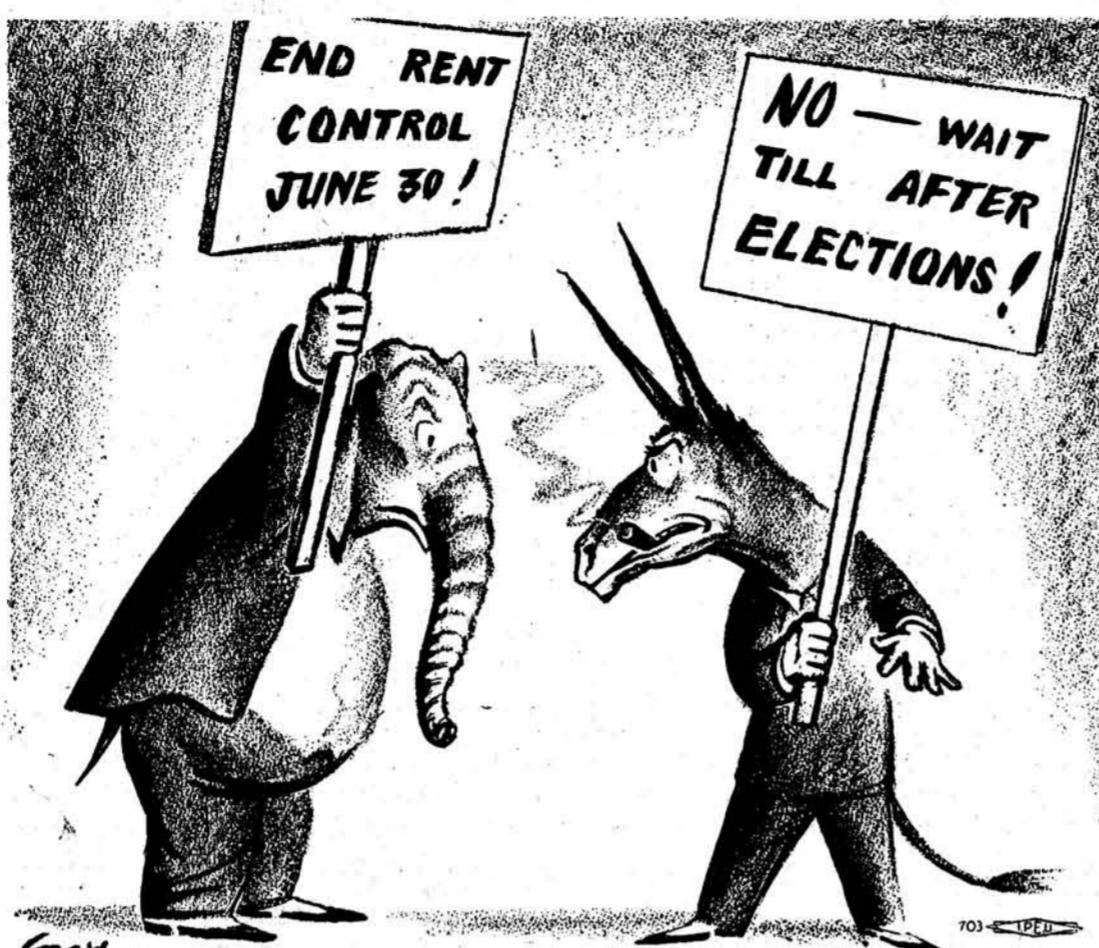
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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The Big Difference



'World-Telegram' Strike Holds Firm In Second Week

By Fred Newman

NEW YORK, June 20—The strike of the Newspaper Guild against the New York World-Telegram and Sun entered its second week, with no yielding on either side. The Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, after several sessions, has been unable to make any headway. The only concession made by the publishers has been to submit some of the minor issues to arbitration.

The company now offers to arbitrate a general increase and higher minimum wages, higher night differentials, a five-day week for tabulators, duration of the contract, and ratio of employees in the Guild. It refuses to arbitrate the questions of economy firings and the Guild shop.

The Guild has remained firm in its original demands: 10% wage increase or raising minimums to \$40 and \$120—which ever is greater; night differential of an extra hour's pay a night; Guild shop—9 out of every 10 editorial and business employees to be members of the Guild; job and union security; arbitration of any layoffs ascribed to economy; and a one-year contract.

WON'T CROSS LINE
Members of eight AFL and independent craft unions still refuse to pass through the picket line. These unions are the Typographical, Pressmen, Stereotypers, Photoengravers, Mailers, Delverymen, Machinists and Electricians. They show up at shift time and gather across the street from the mass picket line maintained by the Guild.

THE MAIN TARGET
And this is what Gov. Dewey's grand jury came up with on June 16, after meeting since last Oct. 3: The most important—and outrageous—aspect of the entire affair, according to the grand jury, was the defense guard at the scene.

(Continued on page 4)

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

NEW YORK, June 22—Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman, and Joseph Hansen, SWP nominee for U. S. Senator from New York, will speak over national radio networks which will broadcast the proceedings of the forthcoming National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Hansen is scheduled to speak over the American Broadcasting Corporation's national chain on Saturday, July 15, from 4:00 to 4:15 p.m. (EDT). His topic will be "World Empire or World Socialism—Foreign Policy in the 1950 Elections."

Comrade Dobbs will talk over the Columbia Broadcasting System national network on Monday, July 17, from 11:45 to 12:30 p.m. (EDT). His subject will be "The Socialist Program for America."

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

Joseph Hansen ran as the SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from New York in 1946. He is the author of numerous articles and pamphlets on domestic and international affairs. His most recent pamphlets, *American Workers Need a Labor Party*, and *The Socialist Workers Party—What It Is, What It Stands For*, have had a widespread and enthusiastic reception.

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

Workers of the World, Unite!

MILITANT

Hunger Still Faces Aged in Pension Bill

NMU Hiring Hall Compromise Hits Rotary Shipping

By R. Bell

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

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

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TROTSKY



LENIN

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

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

A Trade Mark of the Police State

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When They Talk 'Peace' -- Beware!

Truman recently made a speech in which he used the word "peace" 17 times. At a press conference about the same time, he claimed that "peace" is closer than at any time in the last five years.

A man from Mars, inexperienced in the ways of Earth's imperialist politicians, might have exclaimed at this, "Ah surely, then, this planet must be the long-lost Garden of Paradise!" But to us Earthmen, schooled in the double-talk of capitalist power politics, Truman's emphasis on "peace" could mean only one thing: American imperialism is stepping up its war preparations.

We were not mistaken about the ominous ring of the word "peace" in Truman's mouth. It has been accompanied by a stepped-up campaign for increased war spending, extension of the "peace-time" draft, expansion of the armed forces here and abroad and speeding of new mass annihilation weapons.

Following demands made by Truman, Secretary of State Acheson, Secretary of Defense Johnson, Gen. Bradley and other military-minded officials, Congress is rushing through a series of war measures.

The Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees on June 19 unanimously approved the bill providing \$1.4 billion more to arm U.S. imperial-

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

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

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

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

British Labor Party And the Schuman Plan

By Paul G. Stevens

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

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

ATTLEE EMBARRASSED

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

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

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

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

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

GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

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

Unity Achieved by Two Trotskyist Groups in Ceylon

COLOMBO, Ceylon, June 4—The Trotskyist movement of Ceylon was unified within a single organization at the unity conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the Bolshevik Samasamajist Party, held at Colombo Town Hall today. The name of the united organization is the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, Ceylon section of the Fourth International.

About 350 members and candidates were present at the conference, at which Comrade N. M. Perera presided. A letter was read from the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, expressing its gratification over the unification and recognizing the party as its national section.

The Conference adopted a program and constitution, after discussing and amending the drafts submitted by the Central Joint Council. A Central Committee of 15 members was elected.

A resolution was passed by the conference, expressing its regret that a section of the LSSP (under the leadership of D.P.R. Gunawardene) had deliberately remained away from the unity conference and invited them to join the party. It also directed the Central Committee to enroll them as members if and when they so desire. (A number of those who had walked out of last month's LSSP conference with D.P.R. Gunawardene had already reconsidered their action and participated in today's conference.)

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

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

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

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

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

MUFFLED CHALLENGE

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

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

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

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

Yugoslavia Today

By Vivienne Goonewardene

II: Reconstruction and Agriculture

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

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

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

Achievements of the Youth Brigades

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

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

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

Transformation of the Countryside

By electrification and irrigation, by mass production of tractors, seed drills, threshers, seed-dryers and other necessary machinery, the basis is being laid for a mechanized agriculture which alone will eradicate peasant poverty and improve the yield per hectare. Collectivization and cooperative farming are both completely voluntary, but the acreage that is permitted for private ownership is limited to 30 hectares. (A hectare is approximately 2 1/2 acres.) The agrarian land reform which liquidated the big landowners of the laity and the Church alike and also the rich peasant, and the distribution of land to poor peasant cultivators, which abolished by decree all peasant debts to the state and private capital, set the forces moving toward a socialist transformation of the countryside.

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

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

(Continued next week)

Perspectives Developing Out of the Crisis of World Stalinism

By Michel Pablo

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

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

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

THE PRE-WAR SYSTEM

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

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

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

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

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

NEW CONDITIONS

Such a period of upsurge now prevails as a result of the war and its aftermath. Stalinism, previously a relatively shut-in system lacking great mass support, as it was in 1938-40, experienced a stormy growth thanks to its ties with the resistance movements in Europe and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies. The USSR,

Two Peas in a Pod

By William E. Bohannan



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

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

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

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

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

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

Spellman and McCarthy

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Panel Discusses Women's Role in Class Struggle

By Carol Pelham

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

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

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

HOUSEWIFE'S POSITION

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

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

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

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

SYMPATHY AND ALIBIS

The violence? It did not result from planning or organization on the part of any individual or group of people to incite or foster such disturbances." Apparently the whole thing was spontaneous combustion, although the grand jury hints that it may have been set off because the master of ceremonies at the second concert "the police were told to stand their ground and not to leave their posts. This strategy necessarily enabled hoodlums in some instances within the sight of the police, to harass and stone cars and buses leaving the concert areas." But that was all right too because "had those in charge of the policing not followed this plan, more serious violence, and possibly mass killings might have occurred."

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

The anti-Semitic leaflets? Yes, but they were "traced to the activities of two professional anti-Semites from other parts of the state," says the jury assuredly. The burning of a fiery cross? Yes, that was "an unfortunate prank by a few teen-age boys and had no relation to the Ku Klux Klan or any other anti-social or anti-religious organization."

Anti-Semitic and anti-Negro expressions were hurled at the concert-goers? Yes, but such expressions were "isolated" and anyhow, "The concert-goers in turn shouted derogatory remarks at the spectators."

Finally, there may be found,

dug away in the center of the

grand jury's report, a sentence or

two administering a verbal slap

on the wrist of the hoodlums for

their "un-American, unwarranted

and lawless acts of violence."

That's not the best or most ef-

fective way to fight communism,

the jury admonishes them like a

parent chiding a favorite child.

And it goes into a lengthy list of

recommendations on the "right"

way to combat this "serious po-

tential menace to the community."

In dismissing the grand jury

after it had filed its findings,

New York State Supreme Court

Justice James W. Bailey com-

mended its members. The forces

of American fascism should do

what they can to stop this

attack on the first concert that

there was "no evidence that it was orga-

nized for any purpose other than

the expressed one of an orderly

protest against communism," and

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