

## UAW Convention Faced with Many Critical Problems

By Charles Albert

DETROIT, March 18 — The 14th Convention of the CIO United Auto Workers will convene at Atlantic City at a time when Big Business is riding higher than ever in government. The employers are in a better position, by virtue of the election of the Eisenhower-Taft administration, to push their program of crippling labor where unions exist and safeguarding the open shop where it prevails.

Even the very modest and inadequate program, which Walter Reuther has presented to the Big Three auto manufacturers, has been almost completely rejected. This program includes a one-cent raise, small pension improvements, a higher base under the escalator clause, plus the elimination of wage inequities for skilled and unskilled workers. No effort has been made to raise the annual wage fight beyond the talking stage.

The delegates will review the

**BIGGEST HURDLE**

The biggest immediate hurdle the auto workers have to overcome is the five-year contract, originally proposed by Eisenhower's right hand man, General Motors' C. E. Wilson. This long-term agreement prevents the union from gaining needed improvements. The situation was made much worse by the outbreak of the Korean war a month after the contract was signed. Since the union's hands were tied, the subsequent inflation and war-caused economic dislocations have given the corporations a decided advantage. Even the pension agreement, won after a three-month strike against the Chrysler Corporation, is now recognized to be completely inadequate. The war economy makes stabilization impossible. The union contract policy must fit the times. We are living in a period of rapid change, of struggle and of inflation.

Short-term agreements will partially take away the companies' advantage, and will put the union in a better bargaining position when changes require it. In addition the union will then be in a position to correct the long-standing defects of the GM and Ford agreements, which are very bad and weigh down the entire organization. Walter Reuther's willingness to rely on the good will of the corporations to recognize five-year agreements as "living documents" will not satisfy the needs of the membership. The only kind of a really living agreement is a short-term agreement.

**ESCALATOR CLAUSE**

At the same time Rep. Devine, slated as chairman of the witch-hunting committee, issued a public statement promising that the commission will turn its attention "to what appears to be a fertile field" in industrial northeastern Ohio.

The commission is scheduled to organize itself this week to proceed with its investigations, but it may have to find itself a new counsel since the witch-hunting business pays better in Washington than in Columbus. Former FBI agent Sidney Isaacs, who served as counsel last year, was reported by the Cleveland Press to be "angling for a better paying federal job."

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WALTER REUTHER

### Manager Reports First Results In Sub Campaign

By Dorothy Johnson  
Campaign Manager

The Militant sales and subscription campaign got off to a good start Sunday with a coast-to-coast mobilization of all Militant salesmen. Flint, the Twin Cities, Los Angeles, New York and Newark sold a total of 37 subs on the first day. Best results were obtained by the Twin Cities comrades who begin the campaign with 676 points.

Los Angeles' campaign director, S. Stern, reports plans by Militant salesmen there to tie in their work with the anti-war campaign of Myra T. Weiss for mayor and Robert Morgan for member of the Board of Education. Eastside and Westside comrades are in competition for the best score. Newark reports that bad weather handicapped their first sale but that more work will be done during the week.

Fred Perry writes that although the comrades in Flint are working long hours in the shops and are pressed for time, they expect good results since many workers who had been laid off are now back at work and can afford to subscribe.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "The high spirit of the Twin Cities comrades for the campaign is herewith proudly expressed with the 'Opening Day' results: 676 points. Three live-wire teams are running neck and neck for top place with the following scores: Our first place team has 266 points; the St. Paul team has 216 points; and our third place team has 194 points. Ray is leading the Twin Cities pace setters with a score of 210. Paul is second with 110 points, and Charlie has 78. The competitive situation here will make for some interesting and productive news from Minnesota, you be sure. Two new one-year subs brought in by Charlie and Dave from fellow workers underline for us the objective and possibility of getting many new Militant readers in this campaign."

## U.S. Supreme Court Upholds Drastic Strikebreaking Law

### Trucks Law Case Sent to State Court

DETROIT, March 18 — The U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision handed down a few days ago, has refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Trucks Law, Michigan's savage thought-control measure, until the state courts have passed on it. The ruling was made on an appeal by the Communist Party against a 2-to-1 decision by a special three-judge U.S. District Court in Michigan that the law was valid.

This opens the way for a test of the law by the Socialist Workers Party, which has initiated action in the state courts. The SWP case is now on the calendar in the Wayne County circuit court before Judge Lila Neuenfeld. This case will now become the focal point of the fight against the notorious Trucks Law.

Labor's largest unit, Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Automobile Workers, has recently contributed \$500 to aid in conducting the fight. The Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law is conducting a vigorous campaign to rally support and raise funds to defray the expense of pushing the SWP case through the Michigan state courts.

Their address is: Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, 1709 Ford Bldg., Detroit 26.

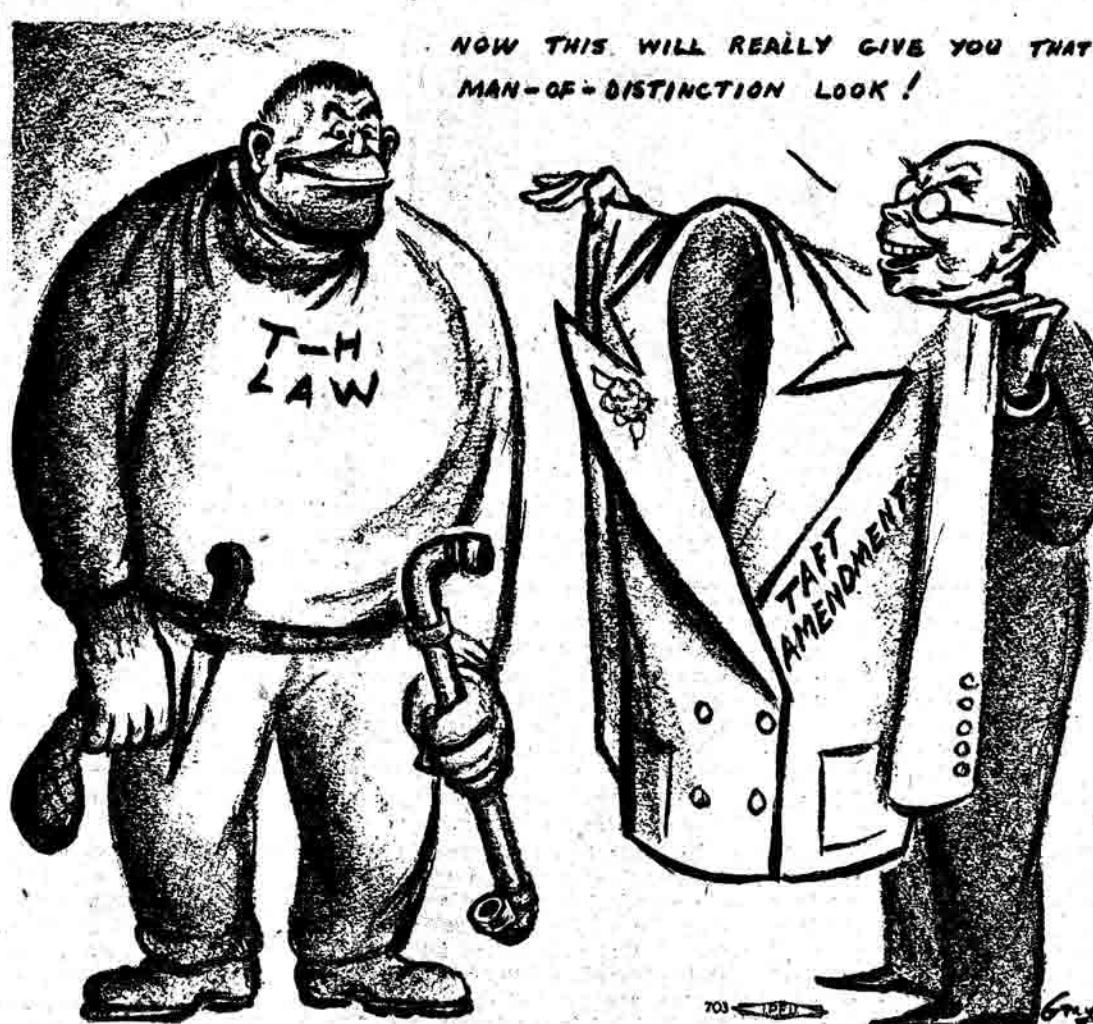
CLEVELAND, March 14 — Two developments were reported last week in the current drive of Ohio's witch-hunters to pass legislation similar to the notorious Michigan Trucks Law now being contested in the courts:

One was the introduction March 11 of House Bill 415 by Rep. Lynch (D., Mahoning County). "To impose a fine of \$10,000 and up to 20 years imprisonment for persons convicted of teaching or advocating violent overthrow of our government."

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### "Right to Work" Ruling Paves Way for Drive To Restore Open Shop

By C. Thomas

The recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in upholding a union-busting Virginia anti-picketing ordinance, underscores the three-pronged assault upon the organized labor movement by the boss-controlled organs of state power: legislative, executive and judicial.

These agencies are steadily hacking away at the elementary rights of working men and women to join a union of their own choosing and defend their standard of living against the greedy and rapacious employers.

By a 7-to-2 decision, the highest court in the land deprived the unions in the State of Virginia of their constitutional right to conduct peaceful picketing in a labor dispute. The rabid union-haters are gleefully hailed this decision as a precedent to be used in other states and are calling for a national law based on the Virginia "Right to Work" statute.

The case reached the Supreme Court on appeal after a Richmond court had issued an injunction against the AFL building trades unions for picketing a school construction project which was employing non-union workers.

**RIGHT TO WORK**  
"The peaceful nature of the picketing was undisputed," reports the March 17 N. Y. Times. "There never were more than two pickets, and at times only one. The picket placard read: 'This is not a union job.' There was no question of the use of coercion. There was no mass picket line. No one tried to prevent anyone from working. There was one, or at the most two union men, with

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### MYRA WEISS TALKS TO LABOR, CIVIC GROUPS

By Louise Manning

Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles for the third time, and previously candidate for the Board of Education and Congress is conducting a lively election campaign, having spoken before six meetings totaling approximately 700 people.

The election campaign has enabled our candidates to appear before a number of conservative political groups and present the socialist answer to the pressing problems of the day. Mrs. Weiss

appeared before the Republican Women's Organization, where she encountered all her opponents, including Mayor Brown.

Poulson, the Republican candidate, directed his attack against the mayor for his so-called "socialist housing program," indicating that the victorious Republicans will not even tolerate a housing reform which is long overdue and completely inadequate.

Mrs. Weiss presented the socialist program as the only alternative to a Third World War, explaining that the capitalist system requires war to maintain its profits. After the meeting a number of women congratulated her with the comment that she was the only one who had anything to say.

At the Carpenters Union, an incident which took place between the business agent and a young man seeking admission to the union set the stage for her talk. This worker objected when he was told that he had to sign a non-communist oath if he wanted to join the union. Our candidate, who got the floor through a vote of the membership, discussed the witch hunt and showed how the defense of civil liberties was essential to the very existence of the unions.

**FLAYS JIM CROW**  
The Warehouse local gave Mrs. Weiss the opportunity to address a membership composed mainly of Mexican-American and Negro workers. Their friendly reception indicated support for our program against discrimination and appreciation for the uncompromising

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## American Labor Needs Its Own Political Party

An Editorial

The key problem facing the CIO United Automobile Workers, together with the entire labor movement, is political action. Every issue confronting the workers ultimately resolves itself into this over-riding issue: What kind of political action shall labor take? That is the question the UAW convention delegates must answer correctly to reach a realistic and basic solution to their problems.

The auto workers know and have known for a long time what the correct answer must be. Numerous UAW locals over the years have gone on record for a labor party. There are few UAW leaders, national and local, who have not in the past at least paid lip service to the idea of an independent party led by labor.

In April 1951, the UAW convention gave an instructive demonstration of the real sentiments of the auto workers. For the first time in UAW history, the labor party question was discussed on the basis of a formal resolution brought forward by a section of an official convention committee, when the Resolutions Committee minority presented a resolution, to put the UAW on record for a labor party.

That convention was memorable for its discussion over this resolution. The delegates who participated will recall that the views expressed on the floor and the response of the great majority of the convention revealed unmistakably that the sentiment in favor of a labor party was overwhelming.

No one — including President Walter Reuther himself, who took the floor at the last minute to plead against passage of the labor party resolution — stated that he was against the labor party in principle. Indeed, Reuther's arguments had nothing to do with the need for or desirability of a labor party. He conceded that the difference was "not a matter of political principles" and that "all agree on the sentiments of both resolutions. Both criticize both political parties and that criticism is justified."

His whole argument was one of temporary expediency. The "timing" of the minority resolution, he said, was "bad." The CIO was then engaged with the AFL in the United Labor Policy Committee and for the UAW to go on record for a labor party, Reuther claimed, might antagonize the more conservative elements of the ULPC and upset "labor unity." This counterposing of labor unity to labor party was strictly phony, of course, as events swiftly proved. The ULPC folded up within a few weeks of the UAW convention; the question of political action had nothing to do with its collapse.

Will the argument of "labor unity" be raised at the current UAW convention to again side-track labor party action? That would not make sense at all. Everyone who knows the score on the labor movement understands that the issue dividing the two major union bodies, the CIO and AFL, remains the one that created the division to begin with, industrial versus craft union-

ism. The labor movement can be united only through some great, transcending program which does not involve the issue of union structures and on which all unions can get together with the enthusiastic backing of the whole working class. Every trend of political events, every new crisis confronting the people of America cries out what that program must be: Build the Labor Party.

One thing above all the last election proved is that the Democratic-labor coalition could not halt reaction and actually paved the way for the triumph of rampant Republicanism. Whoever counsels a return in any form to that coalition is urging labor on the road to ruin.

It is time to call a halt to the policy of subordinating the mighty American labor movement to coalitions with corrupt capitalist political machines from which labor gets only crumbs — and blamed few of those. It is time for labor to take its place at the head of the American people, inspiring and leading them in genuine independent political action against the political agencies of the corporate interests.

The UAW could render no greater or more enduring service to the American workers, the oppressed racial minorities, the dirt farmers than to sound the call that will summon organized labor to its historic task of building its own party and challenging the political monopoly of Big Business.

# America's Future Under the Workers' Rule

By James P. Cannon

(The following lecture, the fifth in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," was given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, January 16, 1953.)

Last week we discussed the coming struggle for power, which will decide the question, who shall be master in the American house. Our analysis showed that the advantages in this coming struggle lie on the side of the workers, and that their victory can be expected. This victory of the workers in the showdown struggle with the capitalists and their fascist gangs will culminate, at a certain point, in the establishment of a workers' government to rule the country.

Right at this point our differences with the anarchists are brought out most sharply. We don't hear so much about anarchism now as we did in my early days in the movement. Anarchism was then taken more seriously as a revolutionary tendency, but it made a miserable showing under the actual tests of war and revolution. Anarchism, in essence, is nothing but opportunism turned

inside out, but it sometimes appears to be its opposite; and impatient workers, recoiling violently against a pusillanimous and compromising leadership, are often attracted to the high-sounding verbal radicalism of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists and mistake it for the real thing. It is possible, therefore, that in the course of coming developments in America, anarchism could experience a certain revival. That could cause a great deal of confusion just when clarity of program will be supremely important.

The differences between Marxists and anarchists are very serious and caused many polemical disputes and splits in the past, ever since the days of Marx and Bakunin in the First International. There were many points at issue in this great historic controversy, but the central point was the question of the state. The anarchist theory was that capitalism and the state would be abolished at the same time, in one operation. For them the revolutionary victory was synonymous with the abolition of the state.

## Character of Workers State

The Marxists said no, you are running ahead of yourselves. Marxism also envisages a society in which there will be no classes and no state, but does not agree with the contention that the state can be abolished in one step at the moment of the workers' victory. A transition period will follow when the workers will need a state for their own historic, class purposes. Marxism regards the state as the instrument of class rule. It is not the general, impartial representative of all the people, as it is represented to be and as, unfortunately, many people think it is. The state, in its essential features, is the instrument of one class for the suppression of another.

That's the character of the present state in this country. Marxism gives the same basic definition to the state that will be set up following the workers' victory. The workers state — in the transition period between capitalism and socialism — will have the same characteristics, in some respects, as the one that exists today. It will be a class instrument, its chief purpose will be to suppress one class in the interests of another. So far, it's the same thing as the Eisenhower state, with this slight difference: The state we envisage after the victory of the workers will be a governmental instrument of coercion in the hands of the working-class majority to suppress any attempt of the capitalist minority to reestablish their system of exploitation. The workers state will be like the present state only turned upside down and put to the service of a different class.

The main features and role of this new state in the transition period are not for us subject of imaginative speculation. The nature of society in the transition period between capitalism and socialism, and the kind of state, of government, it would require, were clearly foreseen and elaborated theoretically by Marx and Engels a long time ago; and

that is precisely the way Lenin and Trotsky, who were orthodox disciples of Marx and Engels, understood the question and proceeded resolutely to apply it in practice in the Russian Revolution of November 1917. The theory of Marx and Engels on the question of the state and revolution has been powerfully reinforced by the experience of the great Russian Revolution.

So we can sum up this point by saying with absolute certainty that the working class, victorious in the showdown struggle with the capitalists and their fascist gangs, will not disband all government forms. On the contrary, it will take hold of society and set up its own government, its own state, and use all the concentrated power of this state to suppress any attempt at counter-revolution by the capitalists. At the same time it will use the power of the new state to reorganize the economy and direct it into new channels and new forms.

## Lessons of Russian Revolution

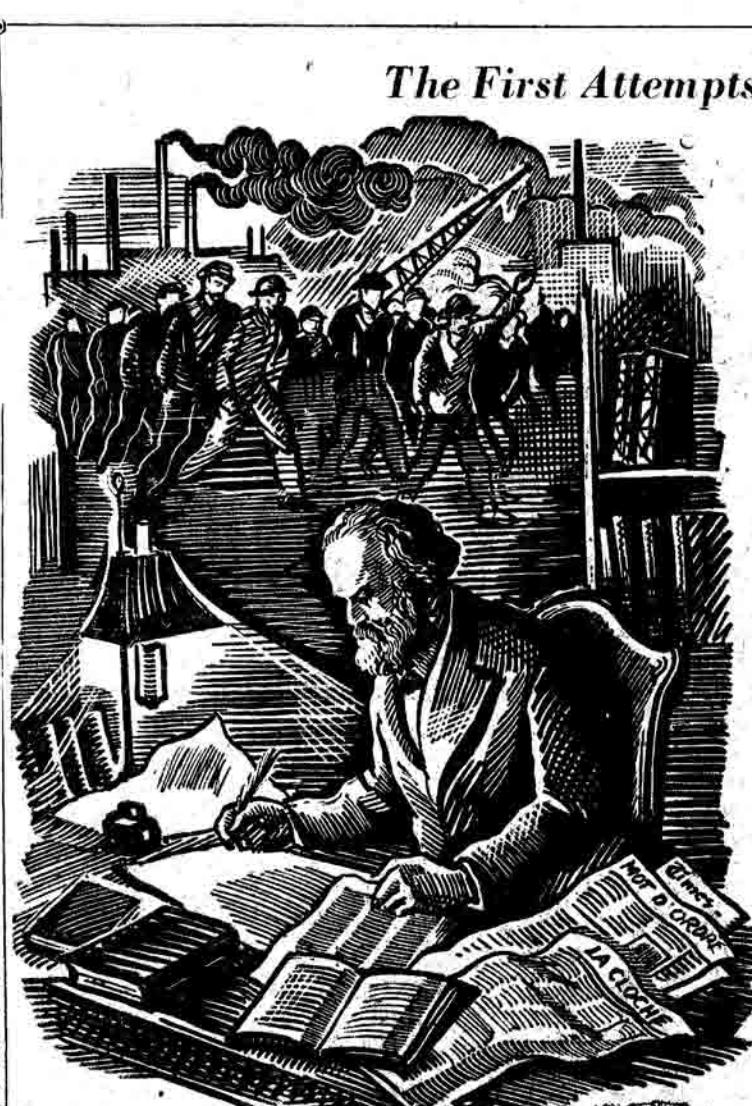
Certain things have been demonstrated in the Russian Revolution which prior to that time were maintained, and could be maintained, only theoretically.

On the positive side of that great historical experience, we can put down first, the demonstration that it is possible — as previously asserted by Marxism, but unproved — for the working class not only to remove the capitalists from power, but to set up a governmental machine to serve their own purposes and to maintain their power. Today, if anyone says, "it can't be done," the answer is: "It has already been done, and done successfully even under the most unfavorable conditions."

If anyone says: "This idea of a workers government sounds good but it wouldn't work. The 62 million workers in this country

wouldn't be strong enough to supersede the capitalists in power and set up a government of their own; they wouldn't know how to run a government; they have never been to school in statesmanship; they didn't study civics in college" — if anyone says that, the answer is: Only four or five million workers — that's all the industrial proletariat amounted to in Czarist Russia — four or five million workers were sufficient, at the time of social crisis, to overthrow the whole edifice of Czarism and capitalism and set up a government of their own. Moreover, they were able to maintain their power, not only against all the capitalists and landlords of Russia, but against the entire capitalist world which blocked them and tried to overthrow them by military force.

Our programmatic statement that the workers will set up a



At left, a drawing of Karl Marx writing his pamphlet on the Paris Commune of 1871 and, at right, V. I. Lenin addresses a meeting of Soviet people while his closest co-worker Leon



Trotsky awaits turn to speak. The Paris Commune and the Soviet Union were the first attempts by workers to set up states of their own and have taught many valuable lessons.

government of their own in this country, can hardly be dismissed as a utopian speculation — not after the demonstration of the Russian Revolution. Our confident assertion has the verification of practical experience as well as the scientific theory of Marxism behind it.

The second fact on the positive side of the Russian experience is the colossal achievement in the field of production. Czarist Russia was the most backward of the big capitalist countries. Capitalist large-scale industry was only feebly developed there; it was far behind that of America, England, France and Germany. But even with such a poor foundation to build on, it was demonstrated that production can not only be kept going without capitalists and landlords, but can be increased and multiplied. In the brief space of 35 years since the Russian

Revolution, the most backward land of great capitalism has become the second industrial power in the world. That is attributed, and can only be attributed, to the elimination of capitalist private ownership, the nationalization of industry and construction of planned economy.

In these two achievements of the Russian Revolution we have the practical demonstration, first, that the workers can rule; and second, that nationalized industry and planned economy can increase the productivity of the people. That is the touchstone of all social systems. The social system which can raise the productivity of labor, so that more things are produced with less expenditure of labor power, is the more progressive system. It is bound to prevail and to displace any less productive social system.

## Stalinists Deformed Soviet State

The negative sides of the evolution of the Soviet Union since 1917 have been the product of specific Russian conditions. We have no reason whatever to minimize or ignore the deformations of the Soviet state under Stalinism, truly monstrous and revolting as they are. But we should try to understand the causes of these excesses before jumping to the conclusion that a workers state in America would necessarily suffer the same degeneration.

That is the negative side of the Russian experience, based on the economic backwardness of the country and its isolation in a hostile capitalist world.

The attempt to march forward progressively and harmoniously, from the proletarian revolution to a socialist society, in a backward country surrounded and isolated in a hostile capitalist world, proved to be a rather difficult undertaking. It culminated, for an historical period, in the deformation of the workers state into a bureaucratic police state.

But even under these adverse circumstances — and this is the point to remember — the new system of nationalized industry and planned economy could not be destroyed. Over a period of 35 years the new system of economy — the greatest achievement of the revolution — has proved its viability and its capacity to develop and expand the productive forces at a rate and on a scale never equalled by capitalism even in its heyday. That is the touchstone.

Things will go differently in this country, and there will be both difficulties and advantages in the difference. The difficulties will come first. The capitalist class in this country is stronger than it was in Russia; it has more resources; and it will fight with the desperate fury of an outlived class in its last stronghold. But once the power has been taken by the workers in this country everything will be changed in their favor. And for the same reason.

Where Russia was poor and industrially backward, America is rich and highly developed. Capitalism has done its historic work in this country, and for that we should be duly appreciative. You see, we're not anti-capitalist 100 percent: We're pro-capitalist as against feudalism, and chattel slavery, and industrial backwardness in general. We are pro-capitalist in recognizing the progressive historic role capital-

ism played in developing the forces of production, as illustrated to the highest degree in this country.

But in making this acknowledgement, we add a postscript: Capitalism has exhausted its progressive role; now it must leave the stage to a higher system. Capitalism has done its

work here, so that when the workers come to power they will fall far not to a ruined, backward, hungry country, but to the richest country with the most highly developed productive plant in the whole world. That's what the new government of the workers in America will have to start with.

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## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7464  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XVII - No. 12

Monday, March 23, 1953

## U. S. Threat to Ceylon

A blockade of China poses the threat of U.S. armed interference with the trade of all countries in Asia. American imperialism would dictate the terms under which countries like India, Japan and Ceylon can exchange goods and with whom. What such a blockade policy must lead to is indicated by *N. Y. Herald Tribune* columnist David Lawrence in connection with the shipment of Ceylonese rubber to China in exchange for rice.

Lawrence calls for a blockade of Ceylon as well as China. And he says ominously that if the Ceylonese refuse to bow to the demand of the U.S. to abrogate their trade agreement with China, then it "leaves only one course open — to seize the ships and confiscate their cargoes and, if they resist, to sink the vessels."

Involved in Ceylon's trade agreement with China is the life and death of the Ceylonese masses themselves. The rice which China will give for Ceylon's rubber — at a rate of exchange forty per cent higher than the price of rubber on the Singapore market — is desperately needed in Ceylon, where millions of people are close to starvation.

The capitalist-controlled government of Ceylon, ever servile to the big imperialist powers, is only too ready to accede to the

demands of Washington and London not to ship rubber to China. It has used every trick it could think of to force the Chinese to void the trade agreement. But the Ceylon capitalists don't dare go too far. They have the Ceylon workers and peasants to keep in mind.

*Samasamajist*, weekly paper of the influential Lanka Samasamaj Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, has pointed out that "only the tremendous pressure of public opinion stands as an insurance against a sordid sell-out of a nation's right to purchase its most essential commodity," rice. "The public, its resentment mounting in waves against the machinations of foreign powers in the politics of this country, is closely watching the reactions of its Prime Minister with concern."

This same paper, in an editorial demand for a restoration of the rice ration and fulfillment of the China trade pact, cites official surveys which indicate that "roughly 75 per cent of our population suffer from various diseases arising from malnutrition."

In carrying through their war of domination in the Far East and for Wall Street control of Asia, the rulers of America are telling the Asian people, "Support our war and starve, or suffer warfare against yourselves."

## Liberal Clergy and the Witch-Hunt

Witch-hunters received a sharp repudiation and setback on March 11 when the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. voted, 69 to 2, a statement saying that "certain methods of Congressional committees investigating Communist activities in educational institutions endanger the very freedom which we seek to preserve."

The council is the most authoritative body in the U.S. religious world, consisting of 30 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions representing some 35 million members.

The general board also set up a "watchdog committee" to exercise vigilance against both "Communist infiltration" and also against "wrong methods of meeting that infiltration." It was generally recognized that the two-sided definition of the aims of the committee was a concession to the prevailing mood, and that the chief purpose of the committee is to expose the methods of the witch hunters.

The action by the council came two days after Rep. Velde (Rep., Ill.), chairman of the House committee, declared in a radio interview that it was "entirely possible" that his committee would investigate "Communist infiltration" of churches next year. Velde was forced to back down, together with his committee, within a few days. He brought such a storm of protest by his remark that he was compelled to disavow any intention of "investigating the clergy." In addition, his committee itself curbed him by stipulating that the announcement of new investigations was not to be made before they had been approved by the entire committee.

## Whipping Up War Hysteria

In the old days, pre-war periods were marked by "border incidents." These afforded the Jingo press the inflammatory material needed to shout "we have been attacked" and "our national dignity has been affronted." In this air age the border incidents take place high in the clouds where borders are even harder to locate. But this is immaterial; the main purpose of border incidents has always been to serve diplomatic ends and to psychologize the population for war.

Three such incidents have just taken place. An American army jet plane was shot down by a Czech plane; it crashed in West Germany 25 miles from the Czech border. A British bombing plane was shot down and crashed in the Soviet Zone of Germany. Though the British plane carried cannon and machine guns, the British maintain it had no ammunition aboard. After the newspapers had shouted themselves hoarse over this incident as wanton murder, Prime Minister Churchill pulled the rug partly from under them by telling Parliament that through a navigational error the British bomber may have flown over the Soviet Zone.

The third and latest incident involved a U.S. B-50 (a bomber specially fitted out for weather reconnaissance flying) which exchanged gunfire with a Soviet plane. The headline of the New York *World-Telegram*, "U.S. protests Air Attack off Alaska," is typical of the press

proposal to investigate the clergy, although made informally and soon withdrawn, shows the direction of the witch hunt. It is to exterminate any and all opposition.

The liberal Protestant clergy has been, for many years, a part of the movement against attempts to stifle freedom of inquiry and freedom of opinion in this country. Many leading clergymen have been on the lists of those that sought to prevent the courtroom murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, that denounced the imprisonment of Tom Mooney and were active in other cases.

In recent years, liberal Protestant leaders have very actively denounced the growth of McCarthyism, opposed the witch hunt in the many forms it has taken and helped to uncover lies and slanders by Congressional and other witch hunters. Clergymen joined in committees to stop the Smith Act opinion trials, both against Trotskyists in 1941 and against Stalinist leaders in the more recent years. In addition, clergymen have joined both the Kutter Civil Rights Committee and the Committee against the Michigan Trucks law, a notorious thought-control measure.

The witch hunters may have been particularly enraged by the action of more than 2300 clergymen of all denominations in opposing the death penalty for the Rosenbergs. Further, the long standing and persistent opposition by the Protestant churches to a pet project of the Wall Street militarists, universal military training, may have further angered the enemies of free opinion. For all these reasons, their guns were turned on the clergy.

treatment of this incident. Close reading of the news shows that the skirmish took place off the coast of Siberia — according to U.S. Air Force claims, 25 miles off the Siberian coast. Furthermore it was in the vicinity of the USSR's big naval base at Petropavlovsk. Far from being off the Alaskan coast it was 600 miles from nearest of the far-flung Aleutian Islands belonging to the U.S.

This whole affair smacks so much of provocation that even some extremely conservative Senators have felt constrained to remark on it. Senator Flanders of Vermont wants to know if there was "an element of chip on the shoulder" in the U.S. plane's flying so close to the USSR, and if the "weather" couldn't be observed at a safer distance. Senator Magnuson voiced similar sentiments.

It must be understood that these plane incidents are part and parcel of the cold war. As long as this cold war continues more and more incidents will take place. American politicians who push the policy of cold war are as much responsible for loss of American pilots' lives as are the Soviet or Czech bullets that shoot down U.S. planes.

The air over Germany would become safe if the occupying powers, who have no right to be there anyhow, withdrew. Americans who are against World War III and the loss of lives in air border incidents should demand that U.S. troops and planes be brought home from Germany.

## Rally in Support of The Bolivian Revolution

Speaker  
BERT COCHRAN

CORNISH ARMS HOTEL  
23rd St. and 8th Avenue  
New York (Contribution 35c)

FRIDAY, MARCH 27  
8 P. M.

# Monthly Review Whitewashes GPU Trials

By Art Preis

Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, co-editors of the *Monthly Review* and self-styled "independent socialists," this month published an editorial, "On Trials and Purges," which will delight the GPU. It whitewashes and excuses the infamous Kremlin GPU purges and frame-up system.

The editors have "sketched a pattern of explanation" which seeks to bolster the GPU's concocted "confessions" in the Moscow Frame-up Trials of the Thirties, when many of the leaders of the October Revolution of 1917 "confessed" they had conspired with enemies of the Soviet Union to overthrow it. This "pattern of explanation," the editors stress, applies "also to the postwar trials in the Peoples' Democracies."

In 1937, the Commission of Inquiry in the Moscow Trials, headed by the late noted Prof. John Dewey, thoroughly exposed the first three big Moscow show trials as frame-ups from start to finish. The Stalinist judicial

process was thrown into complete disrepute. Thus, the recent purges and trials in the Soviet Union and Eastern European "peoples' democracies" have been almost universally regarded in the same light as the earlier Moscow frame-up trials. To gain credence for its latest frame-ups, the GPU must first of all refurbish the Moscow trials.

### "CONFIRMS" GPU

During the original Moscow trials, Stalin and his GPU apparatus enjoyed the services of a number of prominent "friends of the Soviet Union" who spoke as "independent" voices to extoll or extenuate the Kremlin's system of "justice." The more distant these elements seemed to be from the Stalinist apparatus the more "impartial" their defense of the GPU-staged trials could be made to appear.

Today, however, the GPU finds few "friends of the Soviet Union," let alone reputable liberals, to uphold the latest purges and trials, especially with their anti-Semitic taint. Thus

Huberman's and Sweezy's "pattern of explanation" comes most opportunely for the Kremlin murder-machine. What better "confirmation" does the GPU need for its contrived "confessions" than that the "admissions" of "independent socialists," no less, who even have ventured mild criticism of the Kremlin?

First, the *Monthly Review* editors seek to show there is nothing unusual in these staged trials with their mass convictions based on unsubstantiated "confessions." They claim that "according to the traditional methods of Continental European jurisprudence, an exhaustive pre-trial investigation takes place in which the accused is confronted with all the incriminating evidence. If the investigation shows the suspect to be innocent, the case is dropped. Hence, practically speaking, the fact that a case is brought to trial shows that proof of guilt has already been established."

Thus, they imply, there can be no question of frame-up, because nobody is brought to trial unless "proof of guilt has already been established." A "confession" merely means that "the accused does not deny it."

### DISCARDED THEORIES

But most people have no use even for such "traditional methods of Continental European jurisprudence." So Huberman and Sweezy, in the spirit of all-out critical investigation, examine the question of cases "in which leading Communists, holding top positions in the party and the government, are arrested and tried on a whole series of charges which normally include espionage and sabotage, attempting to restore capitalism and plotting to turn the country over to a foreign power."

Not for a moment do Huberman and Sweezy concede the possibility of frame-up and extorted "confessions." But they are ready to concede the incredibility of cruder explanations advanced by "some people" (the Kremlin prosecutors and official Stalinist press) that those who "confessed" were "enemies of the regime" who "instead of fighting it from the outside . . . have worned their way into it to overthrow it from within . . . or that after these Communist leaders "had won positions of honor and responsibility they changed their minds and sold out to the enemy."

To this obvious reason why they "confessed" in the Moscow trials, Leon Trotsky — the chief defendant who was "convicted" in absentia and sentenced to death without a trial — added another weighty reason in his testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry.

Without exception, Trotsky pointed out, "the accused are not Trotskyites, nor Oppositionists, nor fighters, but docile capitulators. The GPU had educated them for these trials for years. That is why I think it extremely important, for the understanding of the mechanics of the confessions, to bring out the psychology of the capitulators as a political power . . ."

Only those who had abased themselves repeatedly before the Kremlin, who were thoroughly broken, were used in the show trials. For each of these there were tens of thousands murdered with scarcely a pretense of judicial proceedings and under conditions of secrecy.

Trotsky and the Dewey Commission furthermore demonstrated by factual and material evidence that in almost every instance where the Kremlin prosecutors cited a name, a date, a place, the evidence was false and perjured. So great was the irrefutable proof of frame-up they uncovered for anyone to contend that all the charges in the Moscow trials were true.

Huberman and Sweezy do not attempt the impossible by upholding the contention that the accused were enemy agents from the beginning or "ordinary turncoats." But, they say, "it is equally impossible to believe that the accused are simple victims of a frame-up . . ."

What, then, was true about the accusations and confessions? The *Monthly Review* editors have worked out a neat "pattern of explanation" to show that those who confessed were "sincere revolutionaries"; but they lost out in a "deadly serious political struggle" inside the Soviet government and Stalinist party "over the issue of world revolution versus socialism in one country, and . . . over the rate of industrialization and collectivization" and thereafter were "driven to more and more desperate expedients in an effort to prevent what they can only regard as the threat of disaster."

They argue further: "A perfectly sincere revolutionary may feel that he is not only allowed but actually duty-bound to make alliances with enemies of the regime. His intention, of course, is to use them for his own ends, just as theirs is to use him. But

if he fails, his intentions will not save him. Objectively, he is putting himself in the ranks of those who are working to overthrow the regime. Objectively, he becomes a part of a conspiracy, and he can hardly expect to escape responsibility for all its acts and purposes . . ."

By "regime" in the above statement, Huberman and Sweezy make clear they mean the Stalinist dictatorship, which they equate with the Soviet Union. Hence, in their terminology, an "enemy of the regime" is an enemy of the Soviet Union. What the defendants were actually charged with and "confessed" was conspiring with the Nazis, Italian fascists and Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union.

### A PRETTY "PATTERN"

"But why do they confess?" again the editors ask. Precisely because "both parties to the political struggle are trained Marxists" and "the losers, looking backwards, are likely to see the whole affair in much the same light as the winners. They can see that instead of using the enemies of the regime they were used by the enemies of the regime. And since subjectively they remain revolutionaries the only logical course for them is to confess and repent in the hope of undoing some of the harm they have done . . ."

In order to construct their pretty "pattern of explanation," Huberman and Sweezy have to attach a base canard to Marxists and Marxism, to the revolutionary socialist movement. "Trained Marxists" and "sincere revolutionaries," in this case the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, we are supposed to believe, would be stupid enough to turn to a foreign power."

"Today there is little mystery about the 'confessions' after the many revelations from those who have managed to escape from the GPU (now the MVD) and describe the psychological and physical tortures used to bring a prisoner into court with his will to resist utterly crushed. In the inquisitions of the Middle Ages similar means wrung similar avowals from unhappy wretches whose main profit from pacts with his Satanic Majesty usually turned out to be the star role at a public bonfire."

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THE REAL TRUTH

These facts, which are the political truth and the real reasons for the Moscow frame-up trials, are skipped over completely by Huberman and Sweezy. The obvious discrepancies and perjuries of the trials are dismissed by them as the product of mere zeal on the part of the Stalinist prosecution. And if these trials "give evidence of a systematic practice of deceit and violence, not only by the opponents of the regimes but also by the regimes themselves . . . does this give us, does it give anyone, the right to condemn them?"

Thus, Sweezy and Huberman conclude that "all regimes" are "based on and currently practice deception and violence" and therefore if we don't accept the frame-up trials as having some justification, we must keep our mouths shut anyway.

After all, they contend, Stalinism is essentially progressive because even if it does "commit stupidities, mistakes, excesses," for the first time in history we can say that violence is being used to protect regimes which are doing their utmost to create a society which will be able to dispense with violence."

It remains only for them to explain how frame-ups of old Bolsheviks, the destruction of every revolutionary voice, the befoiling of every socialist tradition, the prostitution of Marxism and Leninism, the dirtiest methods taken from the arsenal of the capitalists and historical reaction are evidences of "regimes which are doing their utmost to create a society" of socialism.

## Cleared of Smear



Dr. Joseph Weinberg and his wife, shown after a jury had found him not guilty of perjury. Government case against Weinberg, who was billed as "Scientist X" during the Un-American Committee's cloak-and-dagger show, collapsed during the trial.

## Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

# Growth of Soviet Bureaucracy

By John G. Wright

(Second of a Series)

The Soviet bureaucracy is largely numerically, more complex in structure and mightier than any bureaucratic formation previously known to mankind. It pervades every sphere of Soviet activity, political, economic and cultural.

It not only controls the central state apparatus and the central governing bodies of the constituent Soviet republics but also handicaps provincial, district and local authorities. It selects the commanding personnel of the Soviet armed forces and has kept an even tighter grip on the internal police and the secret police.

Each industrial enterprise is, as a rule, headed by a "general staff" of four: the director and deputy director, the chief engineer and his assistant, not to mention the generally swollen staffs of administrative and technical personnel.

Administrators and specialists, appointed from above, run transport, trade, communications, the press, the schools, the movies, etc. There is still another bureaucratic swarm in charge of the trade unions, the state farms, the collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, the cooperatives, etc. A detailed listing of the component parts of this colossal bureaucratic structure would itself require an entire volume.

Running parallel with all of the foregoing commanding staffs and closely meshed with them is the greatly expanded staff of the Russian Communist Party.

BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH

Each successive phase of Soviet development has been accompanied by a spectacular growth of the bureaucracy in numbers, in power, in privileges. Both the rate of growth and the actual size of the bureaucracy are among the jealously guarded "state secrets" of the Kremlin. Nevertheless there are a few official figures available that are quite illuminating. The most important of these relate to the party's growth.

When Trotsky and his co-thinkers launched the struggle inside the Soviet Union in 1922-23, the Russian Communist Party numbered less than 700,000. After Lenin's death, Stalin diluted the party ranks with 300,000 hand-

specialists" in the Soviet Union. The growth registered here in the last 20 years is sixfold.

For agriculture it is also possible to make a rough approximation. Apart from an unspecified number of state farms there were in 1952, some 97,0

By Jean Blake

Housing reform, like other attempts to alleviate the effects of the running sores of capitalism without eliminating their cause, may result in temporary and transient improvements in some conditions and worsening in others. The disease remains and breaks out in different parts of the social body. This is something socialists have repeated for over a hundred years.

American reformists, who deny this fact and keep on urging the working people to attempt to improve their lot within the framework of capitalism, have pointed with pride to the federal housing administration and its program as one of the achievements of their policies. But two important facts about this agency emerged in the news last week:

1. The agency has been transformed into one for destroying its original purpose. "U. S. Housing Foe Becomes Its Boss by a Vote of 64 to 18," one news headline honestly reported. Albert M. Cole, Eisenhower's choice for head of the Housing and Home Finance Administration and an open opponent of public housing, was confirmed by the Senate to head the agency.

He made it clear that one of his first tasks will be to make a survey of the housing laws with a view to changing them. Other Senators noted that he could "choke off" the housing program simply by failing to request adequate funds to carry it out.

2. By its Jim Crow policies, this "reform" agency has been a source of retrogression rather than progress so far as the Negro struggle against discrimination in housing is concerned. This point was brought out during the Senate hearings by Clarence Mitchell, Washington repre-

sentative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Mitchell pointed out that Cole had said he, personally, was not in favor of segregation, but had not committed himself against the Federal Government's segregation policy in the various housing programs.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Mr. Mitchell charged, there was very little residential segregation until the Federal Government moved in and "followed what it thought was the custom and the law in that community."

In the Waverly area in Baltimore, he said, Negroes were ousted by an urban redevelopment program which built better houses and then did not permit colored persons to live in them.

"In every major city, including Los Angeles, Cleveland, New York and Chicago," Mitchell added, "if a builder tries to build in a white area for colored people, he just doesn't get any encouragement from the FHA."

The development of housing is not opened to colored people, Mr. Mitchell charged, because "the real estate interests, the Federal Government, lenders, builders and everybody else have combined in a frightful 'conspiracy.'

The NAACP spokesman came close to the truth there. Our whole capitalist society is responsible for both Jim Crow and degrading, demoralizing slum housing conditions. And that is why it will be necessary to replace our present form of social organization with a more rational one based on social ownership and direction of the means of production, and planning for human needs rather than profit, in order to solve the housing crisis and end segregation in all forms.

## "Little Men and Women"

By Joyce Cowley

Assemblyman Wadlin, a Republican representing the upstate farm bloc, has a unique solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

"Our boys and girls should be thought of as little men and women," he says, "and not continually treated as incompetents unable to do anything for themselves or anyone else." He points out that children if left at home "may get into serious mischief" and proposes instead "light, healthful, outdoor character-building work on the farm."

Republicans are trying to rush through Wadlin's "little men and women" bill which would permit children of any age to harvest fruit and vegetables during school vacations.

Sol Maroff of the National Child Labor Committee declares that not a single safeguard would be retained. "Children old enough to walk could be hired to work. No certificate of physical fitness would be required. There would be no limit on the hours of labor. A child could be gainfully employed without the consent or supervision of his parents."

"Times have changed to such an extent," replied Wadlin, "that no one would exploit anyone." (Wadlin is an attorney whose clients include the owners and operators of fruit farms — "naturally" — he admits.)

A "companion" bill drawn up by Wadlin would empower the State Industrial Commissioner to grant work permits to young-

sters under 14 years of age when he felt satisfactory conditions existed.

An offensive by labor, welfare and civic groups has temporarily stalled the debate on this bill. Republican leaders, confident that they could pass this bill, were not prepared for such vigorous opposition. The CIO, AFL, Ass'n of Catholic Trade Unionists, N. Y. Women's Trade Union League, the NAACP, the National Child Labor Committee, the Citizens Committee on Children and the Consumer's League are in alliance against Wadlin's bills. But Sol Maroff warned: "The powerful farm lobby has been stopped only temporarily by the mounting protests of citizens throughout the state who have been enraged by the Wadlin bills."

The New York Post finds it "slightly incredible" that the Wadlin bills are being seriously promoted by any adult in 1953. I'm not surprised. This is the kind of proposal we can expect from the reactionary politicians who control the New York State Legislature — and Congress, too. They're ready to destroy all the progressive labor legislation for which workers fought for the last 100 years — if they can get away with it. The significant thing in this case is that it looks like they might not get away with it. The immediate, united protest of labor brought a partial retreat. Too bad it's a temporary alliance of these various labor groups. There are a lot of other matters they could take care of — like low-cost public housing.

In answer to a statement made

## MORGAN GIVES SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

By Louise Manning

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Education office No. 6, Robert E. Morgan, is the only candidate for this office in Los Angeles who has been

able to offer a solution to the seemingly insoluble and urgent problems of child delinquency, dope addiction and truancy.

Year after year the problem gets worse in spite of all the fine plans of the educators and social workers who base themselves on the very social system which perpetuates these monstrosities against our children. Mr. Morgan presents a socialist answer, showing how the problems concerning the schools, which seem remote from the questions of war, are in reality directly connected with the world-wide crisis.

In his address to such organizations as the Citizens for Better Schools, the Los Angeles Committee of Faculty Representatives, and the Affiliated Teachers Committee, Mr. Morgan showed how the Korean war, the draft, and the general insecurity were the decisive factors causing delinquency.

In answer to a statement made

by a member of the Sheet Metal Workers Union that we should be glad to sign the loyalty oath, Mr. Morgan pointed out that signing the loyalty oath was not signing loyalty to the country but to the McCarthy's who want to eradicate all independent thought in their attempt to push the people into a Third World War. The loyalty oath in the schools, he continued, was a blow at academic freedom, and proved that the whole loyalty program was aimed not at what people did, but at what they said and thought.

"Can we teach in the schools that it is possible for nations to exist peacefully?" This question was advanced at the meeting of the Warehouse Union. Mr. Morgan denied that it was possible to have peace with Big Business controlling the government, and called for a Labor Party which could express the desires of the workers who needed and wanted peace.

SAVAGE BEATING

Then he was taken downstairs to another room for "interrogation" by Detective William Ryan, who was later praised on television by Police Commissioner Monaghan for his work in Cusson's case. Ryan had him stand up against the wall and then kicked him in the groin. Then two or three started beating and kicking him.

Then he was taken to an 8x5 shower room where, stripped naked, he was made to sit on a chair while Ryan on one side beat him with a blackjack and another policeman on his other side beat him with a piece of metal.

He explained that the housing program was no more socialist than was the post office, and that the opposition to the program stemmed from the big real-estate interests who wanted to squeeze as much as they could out of the desperate housing situation in Los Angeles. She received applause when, in answer to a question regarding the industrialization of the San Fernando Valley, she stated that before proceeding to industrialize the valley as many businessmen want to do, she would consult the people living in the area. She sympathized with many families who worked

and sacrificed a great deal to get away from the dirt and smog of the city, only to have the factories follow them. Mrs. Weiss ended her talk with an appeal in favor of clemency for the Rosenbergs.

When our candidate appeared before the Business and Women's Clubs Association, she explained that although she had fundamental differences on how to solve the problems facing the people, she welcomed the participation of women in politics, since the fight for the equality of women was an important part of the program of all socialists.

### ANSWER QUESTION

In answer to the question as to what Mrs. Weiss would do if she were elected and had to work with a capitalist city government, she stated that such a choice by the people would indicate mass support for socialist ideas. This mass support is what the Socialist Workers Party is building, and if its candidates are not elected now, they surely will be in the near future.

However, even if she were the only socialist elected, she stated she would advocate the cessation of the Korean war, the withdrawal of the American troops, the formation of a Labor Party, and the inclusion of minority and working-class groups as part of the administration of the city.

## UAW Delegates Face Critical Problems

(Continued from page 1)

should endorse the demand of the national CIO to include tax increases as a factor in determining the rising cost of living.

The UAW will gain strength by practising more union democracy, and not by restricting the rights of the members. There have been alarming reports that the International will recommend the abandonment of annual elections of local union officers in favor of elections every two years. This would be a step backward, a step which was defeated at the 13th Convention, and would further weaken the union. The delegates would do well to reject such a proposal in '53 as they did in '51. They would do well to support Local 600's demand for the election of all department heads. The delegates would do well to reject all constitutional proposals to restrict the autonomous rights of the locals or of individual members, under the guise of fighting "communists."

Reuther has indicated that he has designs on Local 600. Since he was not able to win over the membership in a democratic contest he now threatens to provide himself with more dictatorial means of accomplishing the same end. The tactic of red-baiting must be recognized as a tool used to divide the ranks of the union, and smear all minority opinion. This method was first developed by the companies when the union was first organized. Its continued use in the union will serve to weaken the entire UAW.

### POLITICAL ACTION

The UAW requires a declaration of political independence from the Democratic and Republican parties. The disastrous results of the 1952 election campaign reveal again the complete inadequacy of PAC. This in spite of the fact that labor in general and the UAW in particular spent more time, energy and money, in support of the Democratic party ticket than ever before. An unprecedented degree of labor unity prevailed, yet the Labor-Democratic party coalition was decisively defeated by the Republican party.

Local 600 has done the union a signal service in recommending

to this convention that the union adopt a policy of building a new political party of labor and its allies. A Labor party alone can attract and hold the middle classes and the new voters who fell victim to Eisenhowers demagogic. Such a course alone can accomplish this because it can do something about the grievances of these people. Support of the Republicans or Democrats must fail to satisfy the needs of the people, who therefore switch in protest from one major party to the other.

The big question of a labor-unity program which can safeguard industrial unionism will confront the delegates. Ten years ago the CIO had an avowed goal of ten million members. Today it has less than five million. Today the AFL is approximately twice as large as the CIO. Today Eisenhower plays the AFL against the CIO, which is the target for the employers' main attack.

"What the convention does will affect not only the auto workers but the CIO as a whole. To stop the slipping-back trend in the CIO and to put it in a better bargaining position for unity negotiations with the AFL, the union must win better conditions, wages and pensions than any other existing union. The best way to do this is to step up an energetic organizational drive, capped by a determined drive to organize the south, which will reinvigorate the entire movement.

Such a program will restore the crusading spirit of the UAW. Even in the Detroit area there are a large number of open shops, low wage scales, as well as inequities in UAW wage scales, particularly among the skilled classifications. The job recently accomplished of organizing the Kohler industry in Wisconsin is a good job. It should be used as the opening gun in a widespread organizing campaign and not as an excuse for self-satisfaction and resting on laurels.

### CIVIL RIGHTS

An effective weapon in the campaign to organize the south is the struggle for civil rights. Reuther's belated directive to all UAW locals to launch a fight

against discrimination in hiring is reported to have already done considerable good. It shows how much can be done in this field when the union takes a bold stand, especially if the Locals together with the International follow through consistently and seriously. It is important to remember that Reuther was compelled to issue this directive by a growing wave of independent actions on the part of Negroes in the state of Michigan, as well as by such rank-and-file actions as the Briggs-Conner strike in protest against the company's refusal to live up to its contractual obligations and rehire Negro workers formerly employed at Briggs.

In the wartime '40's the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an AFL organization under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph, with about 20,000 members, led a national drive called the "March on Washington Movement" to protest company discrimination in hiring. This movement forced Roosevelt to yield as a concession the original FEPC executive order.

The UAW with its 1,325,000 members is in a position to accomplish much more if it follows that militant tradition. Negro workers still have great difficulty getting hired. They still are barred from the skilled divisions. Together with other minorities they are pressing their demands for FEPC and civil rights legislation, nationally and locally. To support these demands it is the elementary duty of every labor organization. But this is not enough. To begin with, there should be Negro representation at all levels of the union, from local standards to its very highest policy-making elected top leadership. This would demonstrate to the world that the UAW means business.

The above program can stop the backsliding of the union. Action on such a course will make possible the return of the crusading spirit of '36 and '37. The present loss of effectiveness of this group is that it has developed a full-blown, one-man rule, in the person of Walter Reuther, who has at his beck and call a large, well-paid machine.

This machine has developed a leadership cult. Nobody else knows anything. Nobody else can propose anything. All ideas come from the top down. Everyone waits on the leader to make up his mind what to do.

### CONTRACT VIOLATIONS

The most outstanding instance of this is the discharge of Jimmy Solomon, chairman of the shop committee of the Dodge Main plant in Detroit. The failure of the union to reinstate him after a lapse of two years, was a signal to the company that they could get away with a program of speedup and contract violations. These same conditions existed before in the industry when the union was first fighting to consolidate itself. Their return is a serious danger signal. The first step for the elimination of this danger is for the convention to work out a program of action to win reinstatements for all victims of the company's

demagogic. Such a course alone can do something about the grievances of these people. Support of the Republicans or Democrats must fail to satisfy the needs of the people, who therefore switch in protest from one major party to the other.

Under Reuther's administration a policy of so-called "labor statesmanship" has replaced the policy of independent mass struggle. Too often the officials say that the UAW has now come of age; that the old tried and true methods that brought the corporations to their senses are no longer in order. They tell the members that the union has "grown up" and must conduct itself in a "respectable" manner. In practice this means "getting along" with the corporations and their officials. It means complete reliance on bargaining-table procedures which are largely ineffective because there is little if any mass pressure applied to make them effective. It means reducing the Locals to rubber stamps, instead of fighting laborers of an aggressive International coordinating machine.

### TWO TRENDS

There are two opposing trends in the UAW today. One is under the leadership of Reuther's right-wing faction. The outstanding feature of this group is that it has developed a full-blown, one-man rule, in the person of Walter Reuther, who has at his beck and call a large, well-paid machine.

This machine has developed a leadership cult. Nobody else

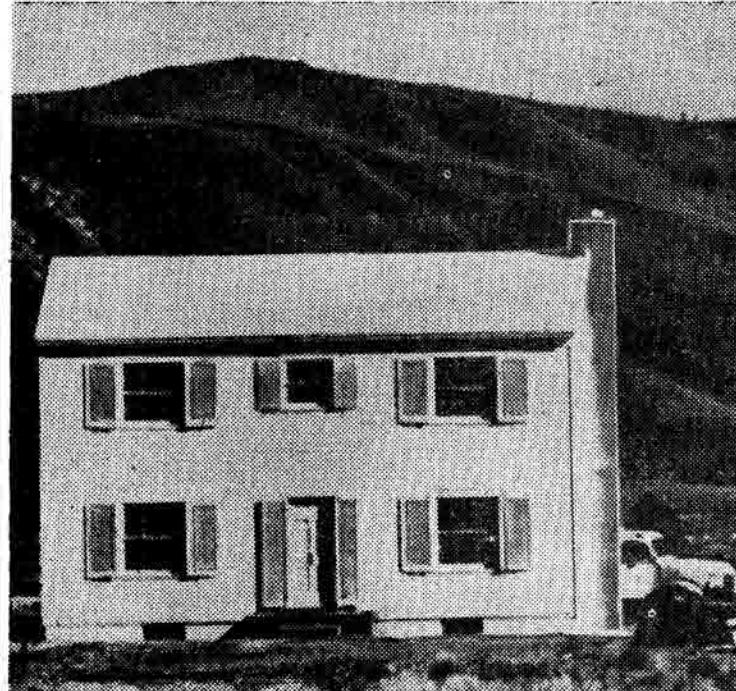
# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII

MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1953

NUMBER 12

## Destroyed in Atomic Test



One of the houses that was wrecked by the recent test at the Atomic Energy Commission proving grounds in Nevada. Those in charge said the test was to provide information on atomic effects "on the general public." The public could draw little encouragement from the results.

By George Lavan

More revelations of police brutality are reaching the light of day following exposure of the "gentleman's agreement" between N. Y. authorities and the Department of Justice to deprive New Yorkers of the little civil rights protection that federal legislation affords.

The New York Post on March 16 printed an interview with 22-year-old Leo Cusson, whose case provided the incident that led to the revelations of the New York-Washington deal against civil rights.

Unlike most victims of police brutality, who are Negroes or Puerto Ricans, Cusson belonged to no minority group and furthermore he was arrested in a criminal case. This was the "babysitters case."

Three young baby-sitters in Massachusetts discovered \$18,000 in cash hidden in a home where one was working.

They took the money and came to New York to have a gay time.

By the time the police caught them the money was gone.

Cusson had picked up one of the girls and was arrested with them.

When he was brought into court for arraignment, he peeled off his shirt displaying terrible

bruises and discoloration. A

medical examination could not be avoided because of the presence of reporters.

It revealed welts from two to six inches long on

Cusson's back and chest.

Cusson told the Post reporter

what had happened to him. At the

police station he was taken up

stairs to a room by four or five

cops. One hit him in the face,

knocking him down. Another beat

him with a rubber hose. Then two

or three started beating and kick

ing him.

When our candidate appeared

before the Business and Women's Clubs Association, she explained

that although she had fundamental

differences on how to solve the

problems facing the people, she

welcomed the participation of

women in politics, since the

fight for the equality of women was

an important part of the pro

gram of all socialists.