

# THE MILITANT

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## The Struggle in the UE

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# CP Launches Public Attack on James Kutcher

By George Breitman

After six months of criminal silence on the case of James Kutcher, the Stalinist press has launched a poisonous attack on the legless veteran and the supporters of his fight against the government's "subversive" black-

list and witch-hunt purge of federal employees. Unwilling to support this struggle for civil liberties because it involves their fiercest political opponents in the labor movement, and yet unable to maintain their silence because the case is winning ever-broader support, the Stalinists have been forced out into the open. The assignment to do a hatchet job on Kutcher was given to Adam Lapin, associate editor of the West Coast Stalinist paper, Daily People's World, and he carried it out to the best of his ability in the Feb. 18 issue of that paper.

Lapin begins by pretending to examine the question of why Kutcher has the active backing of many "right-wing CIO leaders who have long since abandoned any real fight to preserve civil liberties." As proof of such abandonment he refers to the failure of non-Stalinist union leaders to support the case of Irving Potash, a CIO official among the 12 Stalinists on trial in New York, and of the 15 people jailed and persecuted in Los Angeles.

### LAPIN WARMS UP

"But," he says, "the case of James Kutcher is apparently in a separate and favored category. Indeed, it has received the same kind of favored treatment from liberal publications like The Nation and The New Republic which have treated gingerly, if at all, the intensive national witch-hunt against the Communists."

Here Lapin is just warming up for the bigger lies to come. He knows as well as we do that the Nation has run only one short editorial on Kutcher, that the New Republic has had a total of six lines on the case, and that both, in the usual liberal fashion, have protested the CP trials on many occasions.

\*Needless to say, Kutcher is

not a Communist," he continues. "He is rather a member of a group called the Socialist Workers Party which was aptly described by Carey McWilliams as 'a sort of international conspiracy for the assassination of Joseph Stalin.'"

This "quotation" is no more honest than the customary Stalinist brand. McWilliams is a member of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee; everywhere, on his recent lecture tour, he protested against Kutcher's dismissal. It is ridiculous to think he would lend his support to a member of what he considered an international assassination conspiracy. Nevertheless, it is true that in his speech in Seattle last month he employed an expression similar to the one quoted by Lapin.

But it is also true — as Lapin knows and "aptly" conceals — that in the question and answer period McWilliams explicitly stated the remark had been facetious and did not represent his views. What he was trying to say, as many other civil libertarians have done, was that Kutcher could not be regarded as an "agent of a foreign power" because the Trotskyists are such bitter foes of Stalin.

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### Honored -- and Suppressed

On the same day that Carey McWilliams was notified that he had been selected for the 1948 Thomas Jefferson Award by the Committee Against Intolerance in America, two speeches on civil rights he was scheduled to give before teachers California were cancelled as a result of pressure by the American Legion and the Riverside County Grand Jury.

# SMITH ACT PROSECUTION OF CP STARTS MARCH 7

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, March 1 — Judge Medina today arbitrarily ended the defense challenge of the federal jury system and indicated that selection of the jury for the thought-control trial of the 11 Stalinists will begin Mar. 7.

The defense has presented a large body of compelling evidence to prove that federal jury panels are systematically packed with representatives of the rich. Workers and Negroes have only token representation on these panels, which is worse than outright exclusion, because it is underhanded concealment of an actual policy of exclusion.

The government prosecutor has sought to defend the anti-democratic jury system with the slick argument that so long as there is not total exclusion of a class of people, a "disproportion" between classes is entirely legal. Under that shameful theory the

prosecutor has got the judge to throw out whole chunks of evidence showing how juries are rigged. Acting on his own, the judge first halted presentation of evidence by the defense, then cut off their cross-examination of government witnesses, and finally stopped the whole challenge proceedings.

### MEDINA'S DECISION

Judge Medina will announce his decision on the jury challenge on Mar. 4. He made clear what that decision will be when he accused the defense of "leading misguided people to believe there is discrimination and corruption in the jury system."

Chief Judge John C. Knox, main organizer of the jury system in this district, was called to the witness stand today. He brazenly declared that jurors have been and "will continue to be handpicked" to get "fair-minded" persons. Here is the way his system has worked as revealed by the evidence:

Judge Knox, himself a banker on the side, appointed as Jury Commissioner a corporation lawyer who is also a director in several corporations. For Jury Clerk he picked a "pleasing young man" who knows about the geographic distribution of social, racial and economic groups.

The Jury Clerk works hand-in-glove with the Federal Grand Jury Association, a private organization that receives duplicate copies of official jury records; furnishes preferred lists of jurors to the Jury Clerk; provides grand jurors with a special handbook telling them how to act; and publishes for circulation among

(Continued on page 4)

### Next Week:

A big development in the defense of civil liberties. World-famous scientists call for support of James Kutcher!

The workers begin to stir in the Chinese revolution. Li Fu-jeu discusses the great significance of the Shanghai strike.

Another of Bert Cochran's timely analyses of labor trends: "The Opposition Forces in the CIO United Electrical Union."

A review by Paul Schapiro of C. Wright Mills' book, The New Men of Power.

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# Truman Administration Bears Responsibility for Filibuster

## White House Seeking a Deal With Party's Southern Wing

By Farrell Dobbs

Behind the sound and fury of speeches and cloak-room deals in the Senate filibuster stand these basic facts.

1. The Negro struggle for social, economic and political equality has grown so strong, militant and effective that politicians seeking Negro votes are compelled to promise some kind of action on civil rights.

2. The Truman Democrats, who promised such action, have deliberately strengthened the Southern Democrats and allowed them to open their filibuster unhindered, all the while seeking a compromise on civil rights legislation.

3. No compromise law acceptable to the Southern Democrats will be worth the paper it is written on to the Negro people.

4. The Truman Democrats can smash the filibuster and pass effective civil rights laws if they want to.

Liberal Democrats, backed by Northern Democratic big-city machines hungry for the Negro vote, forced into the 1948 election platform a plank offering glittering promises to the Negro people. The Dixiecrat wing bolted the Democratic convention and ran their own "white supremacy" candidate against Truman.

Truman was no sooner elected than he smoked the pipe of peace with the Negro-hating Dixiecrats. Along with the other Southern Democrats, they were given a virtual monopoly over key posts in Congress and generously showered with patronage handouts for their flunkies.

The Southern Democrats, however, raised a hue and cry against federal legislation on civil rights. The Ku Klux Klan intensified its terror campaign against the Negroes.

Talmadge rushed fascist-like anti-Negro laws through the Georgia legislature. And Senator Russell of Georgia insolently put in the Senate hopper a bill calling for deportation of Negroes from the South.

### FEELERS FOR A DEAL

Meanwhile Southern Congressmen put out feelers for negotiations with the Trumanites on the civil rights issue. Hays of Arkansas suggested the poll tax fight be decided by a constitu-

(Continued on page 3)

# TOLEDO JOBLESS INCREASE AS AUTHORITIES TWIDDLE THUMBS

By Milton Alvin

TOLEDO, Feb. 25 — Unemployment figures show a steep rise in the past week in this area. From an estimated 7 to 8,000 jobless workers the number has jumped to over 10,000. Willys-

Overland Motors, the largest plant in town, is expected to shut down for two weeks and according to Richard Gosser, UAW Vice President, will recall only 4,200 workers and not 10,000, the number recently employed.

At a city-wide Labor Management Committee meeting held yesterday, Gosser accused several of the large corporations of moving work from Toledo to other cities. The employers used the occasion to spread propaganda for a wage cut by claiming that Toledo cost of production was pricing products made here out of the market. The meeting adopted a proposal by Gosser, supported by Libby, Owens, Ford Glass Co. President John D. Biggers, to establish an "exploratory program" with three to six "experts" paid by company and union funds to study the question for a few months.

Meanwhile, hundreds of unemployed workers filled the Unemployment Compensation office, overflowing into the streets. The congestion was so bad Wednesday morning that the officials requested groups of workers to wait outside in the street.

The drastic curtailment of production at Willys-Overland not only displaces a few thousand workers from jobs at that plant but will effect an equal number in Toledo plants that supply parts for the former.

### THEY HAVE NO ANSWER

Mayor Di Salle stated that the city was in no position to stand

### BOSS CALLOUSNESS

To illustrate the blind callousness of the corporation big shots who are sitting securely upon the huge profits made in the last several years, we quote the proposed solution of the president of the Textile Leather Corp., Jules D. Lippman, who says: "If we could achieve a high rate of productivity in Toledo it would be a simple matter to attract new industries." While workers are being laid off in all parts of the country, all the bosses can think of is speeding up those still on the job.

## Witch-Hunt Bill Aimed at N. Y. School Teachers

NEW YORK, March 1—A bill to launch a witch-hunt against teachers in the public schools of New York state, recently introduced into the state legislature at Albany by Assemblyman Sharon J. Mauhs, has been denounced by the American Civil Liberties Union and professors of leading universities here.

The bill, which would bar "communists" as teachers in any educational institution in this state, was recently endorsed by this city's Board of Education, which last year banned the country's oldest liberal weekly, The Nation, from all local public school libraries.

### STUDENTS TOO

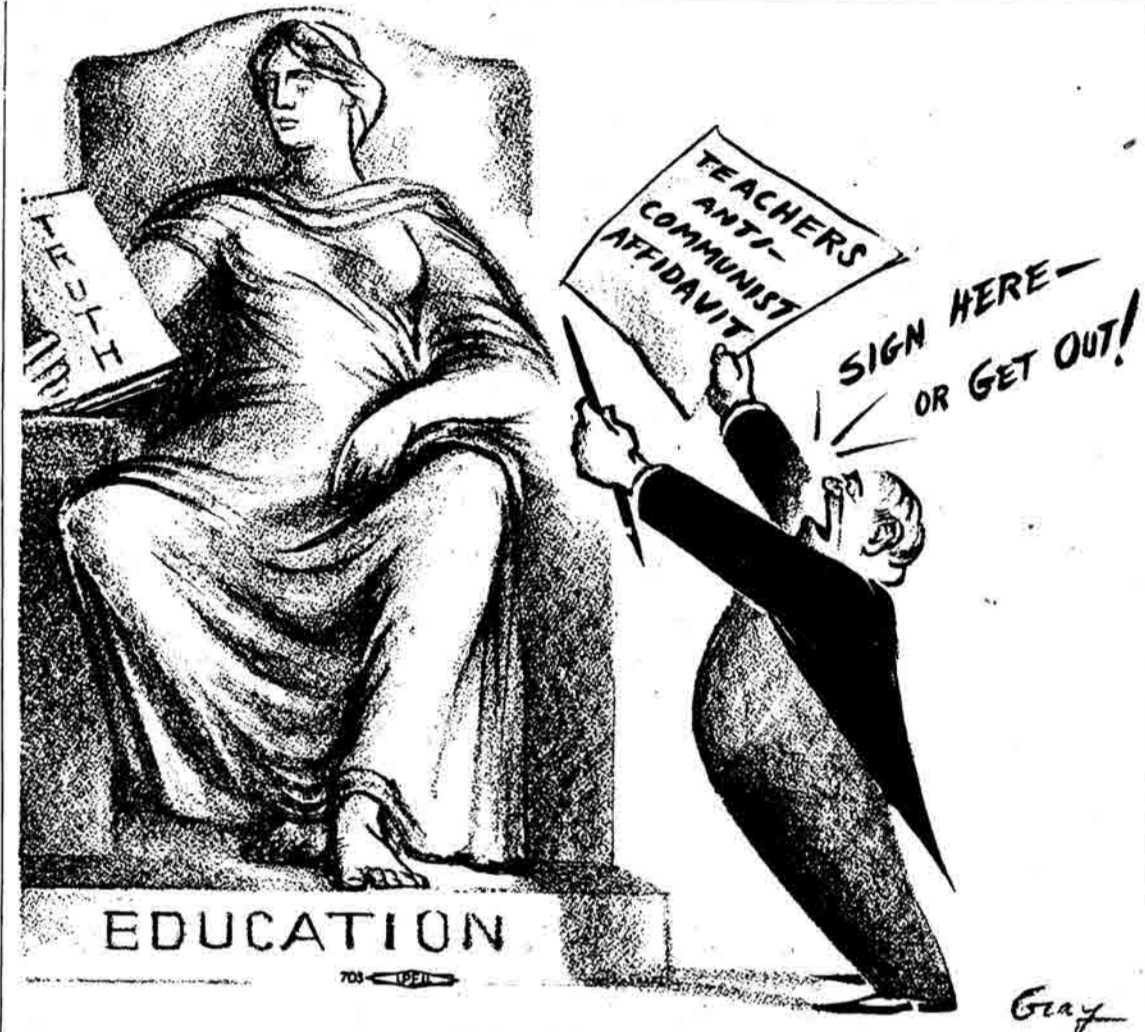
Assemblyman Mauhs' bill is in the pattern of similar bills before other state legislatures. The Arkansas legislature is considering a measure requiring teachers and students in state-supported schools to sign affidavits that they are not members of the Communist or Progressive parties, with fines and imprisonment for those who make false affidavits. Oklahoma's House of Representatives has already adopted a bill requiring "non-communist" oaths by faculty and students of the University of Oklahoma.

The proposed New York state bill provides that "any person who is a member of the Communist party or who refuses to disclose upon inquiry whether or not he is a member of the Communist party, or who subscribes to its doctrine, or who espouses or is in sympathy with its cause, shall be ineligible for employment in the teaching profession or in the school systems of this state."

### AIMS TO TERRORIZE

Mauhs was one of the Democratic Party's lawyers whose court challenge succeeded in barring the Socialist Workers Party from the state ballot in 1946. His chief distinction has been his agility jumping back and forth four times between the Republican and Democratic parties, wherever the pickings were best at the moment.

The Mauhs bill is part of the growing campaign in this country to impose "thought-control" on teachers. Its aim is to terrorize educators into teaching only views in conformity with the special interests of the reactionary big business class and its political hirelings.



# Cardinal Leads Scabs Against Cemetery Strike

By Art Preis

NEW YORK, March 3—Francis Cardinal Spellman, supreme authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in America, announced last night he will personally lead more than 100 scabs recruited from a Catholic seminary through picket lines of striking CIO cemetery workers at Calvary Cemetery in Queens and Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Hawthorne, N. Y., both operated by St. Patrick's Cathedral, Spellman's own.

He has also secured a court order requiring the strikers to show cause why an injunction should not be issued to halt their strike and picketing.

The striking workers, all Catholics, are members of CIO United Cemetery Workers Local 293, affiliated with the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers of America. They are demanding a 40-hour week with no reduction in weekly pay instead of the old 48-hour week at straight time. Their strike began on Jan. 13, when 249 employees set up picket lines at Calvary Cemetery, largest

Catholic burial ground in the area. On Feb. 12 the 47 CIO workers at Gate of Heaven Cemetery also struck.

His Eminence, who holds the rank of Prince of the Church, arrogantly demanded that the strikers disaffiliate from their international union, which he claimed is "Communist." He said he would "no longer tolerate or deal with" the strikers' representatives and regards all strikers as having "resigned" from their jobs.

### RED HERRING

More than 100 priests and students from St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, are coming by bus and auto today to dig graves and perform other strikebreaking chores. The Cardinal ordered suspension of all classes to release "all physically able seminarians to assist in the corporal work of mercy of burying the dead."

Last night the strikers voted by secret ballot 182-0 against accepting the Cardinal's demands. Union president Joseph Manning called Spellman's "communist" charge a "red herring." A union

spokesman said that the Cardinal, at a meeting of 200 strikers he had summoned to his residence, urged them to go back to work "as individuals without any union."

John Sheehan, union attorney who is also a member of the executive board of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, which boasts of Spellman's sponsorship, bitterly disclaimed Spellman's charge of "communism." He said that the Cardinal had tried to "break the union" in several telegrams and letters sent out to the workers in an effort to mobilize a back-to-work movement.

### "HIGH-HANDED ACTION"

He pointed out that the union has had contracts with the management of the struck cemeteries since 1945 and that prior to the strike the St. Patrick's trustees had been willing to renew the old contract with the union granting an 8% wage increase but no reduction in hours or time-and-a-half for Saturdays.

"The action of the Cardinal," he (Continued on page 3)

# CIO Policy Weakens Wage Drive

The CIO's "fourth round" wage drive has bogged down more deeply than its similar campaign at this time last year for a "third round" raise.

Layoffs and wide-spread reduction of hours are cutting deeply into take-home pay and making more imperative the need for increased purchasing power through wage increases. But the top CIO leaders have failed to organize any concerted campaign to win new pay demands.

In fact, leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, on the first signs of increased unemployment, hastened to announce they would "postpone" their efforts to get wage raises this year. CIO Textile Workers leaders have dropped demands for wage boosts following a decision of an arbitrator denying wage increases for 23,000 employees of the American Woolen Company. General Electric has brushed aside demands of the Stalinist-controlled United Electrical Workers, whose leaders have responded with a blustering statement but no proposals for action and are evidently waiting, as they did

last year, for some other union to break through the employer opposition to pay boosts.

### HEAVY HANDICAP

Last year it was the CIO United Automobile Workers, spearheaded by the Chrysler strike, that forced the first wage concessions and broke the corporation front after the big employers had all declared they would grant no wage increases of any kind. This year, the UAW is handicapped by a two-year contract in General Motors that bars reopening of the wage contract until 1950. A clause in the Chrysler contract removes pension and welfare demands from negotiation until next year.

Instead of seeking a way around this obstacle through industry-wide bargaining, UAW President Walter Reuther and Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey at the recent UAW conference in Detroit proposed once again the divisive "one-at-a-time" strategy that has proved so costly in previous post-war wage fights of the auto workers.

They contend that if they can win concessions from Ford and Chrysler, then GM will have to follow suit in spite of the existing contract. "Public opinion," claimed Reuther, will force GM into line.

It is rank nonsense, however, to expect Ford or Chrysler to grant anything substantial to their workers while their chief competitor is protected by contract from further wage demands. And no one knows this better than the Ford and Chrysler workers.

Thomas Thompson, Ford Local 600 president and a Reuther supporter, has come out for industry-wide bargaining; the program of the militant UAW opposition, against the Reuther-Mazey scheme to put the burden and responsibility on the Ford workers for breaking through the wage front.

### GREATER NEED THIS YEAR

The very nature of the UAW's demands this year, with their stress on pensions, underscores the need for industry-wide bar-

gaining. The pension plan advocated by Reuther would pay off only after 25 years service in the same corporation. Workers who are forced to take employment in another corporation within the industry might lose years of accrued service applicable for pension benefits. The only way to have an adequate pension plan is to base it on industry-wide service. This, of course, cannot be obtained except through industry-wide bargaining.

Drawing the lesson of the prolonged and costly 1945-46 GM strike and the weak and inadequate GM contract of last year resulting from the "one-at-a-time" strategy, the progressive Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, which has attacked Reuther's policy of "peace at any price" with the corporations, is taking the lead in pressing for industry-wide bargaining. The auto militants are demanding full-scale, united mobilization of all the auto workers in a concerted drive for wage raises and pensions.

Labor Union Trends

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE UE

By Bert Cochran

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America — the third largest union in the CIO with a membership of half a million or more—is now in the throes of an embittered battle for control, reminiscent of some of the slugging faction fights of past years in the auto union.

If there is any union experience that demonstrates to the hilt the bankruptcy of Stalinism and its baneful influence on the working class movement, it is the experience of the UE. The Stalinists here have had every possible opportunity to show what they could do. They enjoyed ideal conditions to build a left wing cadre and fuse their own leadership with the broad ranks.

BUREAUCRATIC BRUTALITY

With what results? Until the eruption of the present faction struggle, the UE was one of the worst machine-ridden structures in the CIO. The membership was permitted about as much democracy as the peoples of Stalinist-run Eastern Europe. Every semblance of opposition was consistently and brutally squelched, every critic was labelled a company stooge and where possible, run out of the union. As late as the 1947 convention, the Stalinists tried to outlaw opposition by declaring the Carey-Block caucus an "outside agency" and summarily ordering it to disband.

The most important task of Socialists in a union is to educate workers in class consciousness, militancy and the precepts of class solidarity. Have the Stalinists any notable achievements in this respect? Why, the UE membership is one of the most backward of the whole CIO. There is no large body of aggressive militants and seasoned shop stewards and strike leaders in the UE vaguely comparable to the militants of the auto union in Michigan, or the militants of the rubber union in Akron. The UE membership does not even compare favorably in this regard with the steel workers, who for a decade have been under the heel of the Murray machine.

A ZIG-ZAG LINE

How could it be otherwise? How can you educate workers in self-reliance, combativity and class consciousness by repeatedly subverting the union and the workers' interests and needs to the zig-zag line of Stalinism and the dictates of the Kremlin? From 1937 to 1940, the UE leadership drummed into the heads of the members the gospel of Roosevelt, of reliance on the great white father in the White House. Matles and Emspak claimed they were "left wingers," but they outshouted Lewis and Murray in their uncritical praise of Roosevelt, and built up inside their own union the cult that Lewis and Murray were peerless and unblemished labor leaders who should be followed and obeyed without question or doubt.

CHAOS IN BARGAINING

In the auto union, where the Stalinists are in opposition, they howl about industry-wide bargaining. But in the UE, where the

Stalin-Hitler pact, the Stalinist fuhlers in the UE, after the Nazi attack on Russia, literally began wallowing in company-unionism, jingoism and red-baiting. They fingered radicals and just plain shop militants to the FBI and the managements and had them run out of the shops. They were the most shameless and ruthless practitioners of the no-strike pledge. They were out in front building "labor-management" committees and councils to eliminate "waste" and speed up work. They became the loud-mouthed spokesmen for speedup, talking the initiative in introducing and ramming down their members' throats incentive schemes, bonus plans and other piece-work and speedup contrivances.

UE SHOP CONDITIONS

Is it any wonder that under this kind of leadership the native militancy of the workers was dampened and their ability to battle the corporations was weakened? Is it any wonder that during the Taft-Hartley period the UE proved the most vulnerable of the "Big Three" in the CIO, to company attack and strike-breaking attempts? Is it any wonder that the UE leadership could not mobilize the necessary strength to beat back union smashing at the Univis plant in Dayton, Ohio and at Bucyrus-Erie in Evansville, Indiana?

In its present line of pseudo-militancy the Daily Worker is blasting — quite correctly — the timorous, wishy-washy wage policy of Murray and Reuther and seeks to counterpose to it the "class struggle unionism" of Matles, Emspak and Fitzgerald. The facts do not bear out these fancy pretensions and glib talk. On the level of wages and shop conditions, the UE—under Stalinist leadership—has never been a leader in the field but has trailed behind the other major CIO unions. Last year, the UE made a big noise about taking the lead on the wage front; but after GE said no, the UE leadership was helpless and stood around doing nothing until the GM and Chrysler workers broke the employers' resistance.

The figures further show that the wages of UE workers are lower than in the other major mass production industries. The latest Department of Labor statistics tell the story in black and white. Here they are:

Table with 2 columns: Industry and Average Hourly Earnings. Rows include Soft Coal, Hard Coal, Rubber Tires, Auto, Iron & Steel, and UE Industries (Electrical Equipment, Electrical Machinery, Radio & Phonographs).

These wage figures are even more unfavorable to the UE than they seem at first glance. In the auto union, for example, piece-work and bonus systems have been eliminated in all the important shops. Thus, the average hourly earnings and the hourly wage rates are roughly the same thing. The UE, however, is rotten with piecework, bonus plans and speedup schemes. The figures quoted above are therefore considerably higher than the average hourly wage rates prevailing in the industry.

In the auto union, where the Stalinists are in opposition, they howl about industry-wide bargaining. But in the UE, where the

Stalinists Attack James Kutcher

(Continued from page 1) ...ism, and that this fact showed how far-reaching the current witch-hunt was.

"AN ODDITY"

The Trotskyist party, Lapin declares, "has not cavilled to cooperate with the most reactionary and anti-labor forces. . . It has been praised by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and has been useful to the FBI. As McWilliams indicated, it is an oddity that he should lose his job."

An oddity? It would be the eighth wonder of the world if the present administration, with the aid of the FBI, would fire a member of a party that cooperates with anti-labor forces, is praised by the Chamber of Commerce and is useful to the FBI! Wouldn't such a man get promoted and rewarded instead of fired and stigmatized?

In an effort to explain this contradiction, Lapin proves himself a real master of the poison-pen: "Perhaps Kutcher's dismissal was a product of over-enthusiasm or of sheer ignorance on the part of hard-working FBI officials. If those who espouse his case seek merely to get him his job back, a friendly hint to the Department of Justice that it committed a boner would no doubt be sufficient."

Lapin and his Stalinist masters know how foul this slander is, and so will everyone else who takes the care to examine the following facts: 1. Kutcher was fired because the Attorney General placed the Socialist Workers Party on his "subversive" blacklist along with the Communist Party and other organizations. The over-enthusiastic, ignorant, hard-working FBI officials did not initiate the case; they executed the policy set down by Truman and Clark.

GEORGE NOVACK STARTS TOUR FOR KUTCHER IN PITTSBURGH

NEW YORK, March 4—George Novack, National Secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, today started upon his six-week speaking tour to further the campaign in behalf of the legless veteran. Novack's first stop will be Pittsburgh where he is scheduled to speak tomorrow at a noon meeting of the American Civil Liberties Union.

From Pittsburgh Novack will go to Youngstown on March 8 and 9 and to Akron on March 10 and 11. On March 10 he will be the principal speaker at a luncheon meeting to launch the Akron branch of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee. Among the sponsors of the Akron meeting is Paul Fessenden, secretary-

Stalinists have a monopoly of leadership, they have not taken in thirteen years one single, solitary, concrete step to effectuate a policy of industry-wide bargaining, bring UE wages up to the level of some of the other important industries and wipe out the wide differential in wages existing between one locality and the next, and from shop to shop. As a matter of fact, in no other major CIO union is there such a gap in wages between the smaller and the larger plants and in no other major CIO union are bargaining conditions in such a frightfully chaotic state.

As an example: Last year, the UE moved in behind the auto workers and secured their 11 1/2 cent wage increase in GE and Westinghouse. The UE international organizers then proceeded to sign contracts in the smaller shops which provided for 10, 9, 8, 6 cents and even lower wage increases, and in some cases no increases at all. Anything went. This is the incontrovertible record of thirteen years of Stalinist leadership of the UE — a record of ineffectiveness, company-union policies, bureaucratism and betrayal. Far from the self-styled "left wing" leadership distinguishing itself from Reuther and Murray in militancy, fighting policies and the winning of superior wages and working conditions, the Stalinists distinguished themselves only by their more unscrupulous demagoguery, by their brutal suppression of all dissidents and by their softness and pliancy toward the corporations.

(A second article dealing with the history and program of the UE opposition group, will appear in next week's Militant.)

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doesn't think the case was a "boner." Despite mounting criticism from unionists and liberals, he persists in upholding Kutcher's dismissal; in keeping the SWP on his blacklist; and in refusing it a public hearing.

In fact, long after all the facts in the case were printed in the press of all groups except the Stalinists, the Truman administration last December issued through its Loyalty Review Board the infamous Memorandum No. 32, which makes it mandatory to dismiss from government service all members of the SWP, CP and Workers Party, regardless of the circumstances surrounding individual cases. This was the administration's direct answer to the Kutcher protest.

WHAT THEY CONCEAL

As always, the facts not only refute the Stalinist slanders but bring to the surface the truths about their own record which they are trying to hide. For example:

1. It was the Stalinists who cooperated with reactionary and anti-labor forces in policing the no-strike pledge and the speed-up during the war. The Trotskyists never have collaborated with these forces in-war or peace.

2. It was the Stalinists who held out the hand of comradeship to the Chamber of Commerce and the NAM during the war. The Trotskyists never did, and the Chamber of Commerce never in its entire history "praised" the Trotskyists.

3. It was the Stalinists who collaborated with the Department of Justice in upholding the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists in the Minneapolis trial under the same Smith Act now used to persecute the Stalinists. The Trotskyists were not only persecuted by the Department of Justice and the FBI during the war, but ever since, as the "subversive" list proves.

"But in any event," Lapin continues, "it [the Kutcher dismissal] was outside the mainstream of the defense of civil liberties." Lapin would like people to believe that this is so, but Truman and his witch-hunters think differently. As Memorandum No. 32 shows, they recognize the Kutcher case to be the most direct as well as most dramatic assault on their blacklist system that has yet been made. They know a victory for Kutcher will discredit the whole purge set-up. That's why they stubbornly refuse to listen to "hints" and insist on standing by their admittedly-unpopular victimization of the legless veteran.

The ones who are really "outside the mainstream of the defense of civil liberties" are those who openly approve the Kutcher dismissal — Truman and Co. — and those who seek to deny its significance or prevent the mobilization of mass support for Kutcher — notably, the Stalinists above all others. This is the first time that the Stalinists have seen eye to eye with a reactionary capitalist government, nor will it be the last time that they give objective aid to the policies of such a government.

'Fourth International' Scores With Another Excellent Issue

By Joseph Hansen

If you are interested in the most up-to-date fundamental analysis of current political trends in the United States, the March issue of Fourth International, monthly magazine of American Trotskyism, is must reading.

In "New Problems of American Socialism," James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, discusses the difficult task of combatting the powerful alliance which the new conservative labor bureaucracy has made with the most bitter ideological foes of Marxism. He cites this as an instance of the highly complex problems facing the revolutionary socialist movement today in contrast to those of Debs' time.

"The influence of the capitalists and their ideology inside the working class is the main factor impeding the socialist emancipation of the workers," declares Cannon. "The grand strategy of the revolution, the key to the overthrow of United States capitalism, is the elimination of this bourgeois influence from the unions."

Bert Cochran in "A New Union Bureaucracy" analyzes in some detail the new social formation which Comrade Cannon considered in a broader setting. He foresees the rise of a new union leadership from the progressive groupings which "are not only in opposition to the bureaucracy but are also anti-Stalinists."



Protesting the death sentence on six Trenton, N. J. Negroes, more than 100 unionists, housewives and Negroes picket the New Jersey State House. Opposition to this Northern Scottsboro frame-up is spreading throughout the nation, but Truman and the other politicians who spoke with such indignation about the Mindszenty case have still to be heard from on this case in their own backyard.

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Ignoring or apologizing for the persecution of Communists whose defense is now the first line of defense of all civil liberties."

WHY THEY'RE ISOLATED

Now there is one grain of truth to be found in Lapin's final distortions—namely, that certain labor and liberal leaders, including some of Kutcher's supporters, refuse to extend any aid to the Stalinists, despite our repeated warnings and appeals to them. One reason is that they are buckling under the pressure of the government's "cold war."

Another is the stand of the CP on the Kutcher case itself. If the Stalinists won't support his case because they disagree with his politics, then why — many people ask — should we support the Stalinists when we disagree with their politics?

Lapin's own article — allegedly designed to prevent diversion of support from the Stalinist defense — is actually the most powerful kind of blow that could be dealt to the CP's defense. For every ounce of support it may detract from Kutcher's support, it adds a ton of damage to the CP's fight for its own civil rights.

The rank-and-file members of the CP should now be approached with these questions: Wouldn't they be far better off in mobilizing support against the witch-hunt if the CP would grant support to Kutcher, even while differentiating itself from his political views, just as the labor leaders and liberals have done? Why doesn't the CP leadership accept the SWP's offer of united front action on behalf of all victims of the witch-hunt? Why does it persist in its suicidal policy? Isn't it the duty of rank-and-file CP members to reverse this dangerous course which is further isolating them from working class support?

And non-Stalinists who hesitate to come to the CP's defense should be acquainted with the CP's line on Kutcher as an object lesson of what the violation or disregard of labor solidarity leads to. There is a certain logic in these developments, and it should be driven home to everyone: If today you fail to defend the civil rights of a working class group because you don't agree with its policies, the result tomorrow can be fatal to yourself as well as the general cause of civil liberties.

World Events

What Has Happened To General Markos?

Last week's Militant reported that the purge of General Markos, former leader of the Greek partisan movement, was connected with the Tito-Cominform rift. Now the Swiss weekly, Die Weltwoche, claims that Markos was kidnapped by the Stalinist police in Bulgaria and transferred to Moscow. According to Die Weltwoche, the Kremlin had positive proof of Markos' secret collaboration with Tito and has accused Markos of "Trotskyism."

What has happened to Markos? Where is Markos? Revolutionary socialists have the duty to demand answers to these questions from the Stalinists, and to arouse the labor movement to secure these answers.

Heavy Unemployment Hits Belgian Labor

Devastating unemployment has struck the workers of Belgium, the country whose post-war economy was hailed by the world press as a "miracle of reconstruction."

For the past two months, the number of unemployed has remained between 250,000 and 300,000. High as the figure is, it understates the misery of the working class. Concentration of layoffs in the most important industrial areas, Flanders, Antwerp and greater Brussels, intensifies the hardships.

In the port of Antwerp 12,000 out of 16,000 dock workers have been without work for months. At Flanders, the majority of the textile factories have closed down. More than a million men, women and children are deprived of the bare necessities of life, in a country flooded with goods and riches.

The unemployment crisis rose like a tidal wave. In the last months of 1948, Belgian exports hit their maximum, establishing a favorable balance of trade. Christmas sales broke all records. Profits reached an all-time high, four times the 1946 figure.

But while industrial production soared to 25% above the pre-war 1938 level, the standard of living of the masses sank to 30% below the 1938 line. The bottom of the home market was knocked out by the inability of the workers to buy back the products of their labor.

The capitalists look on the situation as merely a "return to equilibrium and normalization," giving them a vast reserve army of unemployed to hold wages to a minimum.

The Socialist Party, with a majority in the government, tries to deprecate the crisis as a matter of "purely conjunctural" unemployment. It blames "dislocations" of the economy, such as the "exaggerated expansion" of the textile industry while others, such as building, are "just beginning" to recover. From this the reformist SP concludes that it can fix things up with a little tinkering, a bit of "tinkering" with the capitalist system.

The Stalinists howl that the Marshall Plan is to blame, for swamping the Belgian market with American products. But in actuality American exports to Belgium have decreased in the past two years.

The root of the trouble is

capitalism itself. And the policy of "producing for export without any demands for wage increases" — defended by the Communist Party from "liberation" to February, 1948 — speeded the crisis. This policy held down the purchasing power of the masses. And it disarmed them politically, tying them to the capitalists' export program.

The Belgian Trotskyists call for a revolutionary policy to mobilize the masses against unemployment, demanding that idle plants be operated under workers' control, and that hours be reduced to spread available work without cuts in wages.

Stalinists Purged In Many Lands

The Greek Trotskyist party is not the only one torn by inner conflicts, expulsions and purges. Every day brings new information about "dissidents" among the Stalinists:

According to a special dispatch from India to the N. Y. Times, Feb. 26, "a number of prominent party members, including the former general secretary, P. C. Joshi, have been expelled. It is said that this development represents a 'purge' of the 'bourgeois' element in the party."

In Norway the entire leadership of the Communist Party was changed at a national congress attended by Harry Pollitt, secretary of the British CP, and Larsen, secretary of the Danish CP. The purge was apparently due to a dispute over the party line on the Atlantic Pact.

Felix Monteil, member of the Central Committee of the Spanish CP, has resigned as a result of differences said to have existed since November.

According to the Paris paper, Combat, the recent split in the Israeli CP was along pro-Zionist and anti-Zionist lines, with the anti-Zionist opposition accused of being connected with the Stern gang.

Repercussions of the Tito affair are still going on in Canada. Three leading members of the Council of Canadian South Slavs, a Stalinist Croatian workers' group, were expelled last month, for having advocated the publication of Tito's position as well as of the Cominform documents. Among the three was the editor of the Council's paper, Yedivinsto. Expulsions have also been reported from the Hamilton, Ont., branch of the Council.

Unions Outlawed In Venezuela

The military government of Venezuela which seized power last November, has dissolved the Confederation of Workers, chief labor organization of the country. It also dissolved the Printing Workers Union, Workers Federation of the Federal District (Caracas) and Workers Federation of Miranda State.

All the organizations were charged with "engaging in anti-Venezuelan agitation" as a result of a printers' strike. The walkout had left Caracas without newspapers for two days — thereby halting capitalist "agitation" against the workers' demands.

The Venezuelan government is one of the "democratic" police states approved by the State Department in Washington.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Reports Encouraging Sales

Sales of The Militant are beginning to rise in New York, Literature Director Harry Gold reports. Eight comrades tried selling on the streets in Harlem last Thursday. Within a half hour they had sold 55 copies. On the following night, five more tried their luck and chalked up 27 sales in about the same time.

High scorers for the week were Dorothy J., 20 sales; Jean C., 10; Sylvia W., 8; Ben S., 8; Ben B., 7.

New York is not the only branch reporting encouraging results. Mary S. of Newark came in the office to tell us that two enterprising comrades went to house-to-house and sold 18 copies in less than an hour.

These favorable results show what can be done. Now let's hear from the other literature agents and branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

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# Anna L. Strong Boosts CP Line in China

TOMORROW'S CHINA by Anna Louise Strong. Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy, New York, 1948, 128 pp., \$6.50.

By Li Fu-jen

One of the outstanding facts about the current policy of the Chinese Communist Party is its similarity in all essentials with the line of that party in the fateful years 1925-27. That line, as we know, led to the tragic defeat of the Chinese Revolution and the triumph of bourgeois counter-revolution. But whereas in 1925-27 the leadership pursued an opportunist, class-collaborationist policy in the mistaken belief that they were thus moving — even if gradually, by stages — toward the conquest of power by the proletariat, today they flatly disavow the socialist struggle and proclaim themselves the architects of a "New Capitalism." With a cynicism that would be unbelievable if we did not know from long experience what Stalinists are capable of, they parade this line of revolutionary betrayal under the banner of Marxism.

what system is to replace this supposed feudalism. Is the dispossession of the landlords the prelude to a socialist reorganization of society? Perish the thought! The plan is to introduce a "new capitalism," the author says. "Capitalist enterprise must be encouraged to break down feudalism and to develop industrial production rapidly." There will be "collective agreements between workers and management," a sort of regulated exploitation of the proletariat. In general, the workers will keep on doing as they are told — by the Chinese captains of industry.

Wherein this "new" capitalism will differ from the "old" variety with which workers in every land are familiar, is just one of the ineffable mysteries. But where is the "leading role" which the workers are supposed to play in the alleged new order of things? Perhaps some other journalistic wizard can explain how the proletariat can "lead" in a new society which is nothing more than a reformist version of the old, a society in which they continue to be wage slaves! The leading role, it appears, is actually given to the bourgeoisie — as it was in 1925-27.

### PREPARING DISASTER

Mystery piles upon mystery. Next we are told that "because of the general decline of capitalism and the weakness of Chinese capitalists in particular, and because of the existence of a strong Communist Party and an organized working class, one need not fear that the 'new capitalism' will develop beyond the powers of the workers to control it."

Perhaps, again, some other journalistic wizard can explain the Marxist political logic of entrusting to a feeble bourgeoisie, in a period of the disintegration of world capitalism as a system, the main tasks of economic development. Under the rule of the Chinese bourgeoisie the economy has stagnated for more than twenty years. There is no reason whatever to expect any considerable economic growth within the continued framework of bourgeois property relations. What, then, must one conclude? That this farrago of Stalinist political nonsense is intended to hide ulterior aims which have nothing in common with the interests of the Chinese workers.

What emerges with crystal clarity from the current happenings is that the Stalinists, in a revolutionary situation, are conducting a reformist policy which can — unless a genuine revolutionary party soon grasps the reins of political leadership — lead to a bloody disaster even



With the termination of hostilities in Palestine and the signing of an armistice between Egypt and Israel, these Transjordan legionnaires bid farewell to their Israeli captors before leaving a prisoner-of-war camp in Jerusalem. While they were being released a like number of Jewish prisoners were freed from Transjordan camps.

more frightful than that of 1927. The Stalinists are giving the bourgeoisie a new lease on life by holding back their revolutionary gravedigger — the proletariat. The bourgeoisie, we may be sure, will use this opportunity so obligingly given them by the "Communists" to prepare for the complete restoration of its political rule. Indeed, recent press dispatches report a series of ominous facts to show that the shaken capitalists are reassembling their forces in South China in preparation for a counter-revolutionary comeback.

### MAO'S "CONTRIBUTION"

Mao Tse-tung, Stalin's collaborator in shackling the forces of the Chinese revolution, is held up by Miss Strong as an accomplished, nay brilliant, Marxist theoretician and politician. She talked with him in Yenan. Not about the socialist revolution, naturally, but about the "new capitalism" and its counterpart, the "new democracy." Is this conceived, perhaps, as just a brief interlude before China enters the broad road to Socialism?

The brilliant Marxist leader has no such notion. According to a report which he gave at the 7th Party Congress in April 1945 (from which Miss Strong quotes), the "new democracy" will last for "several dozens of years," which could be a century or more. For this "Marxist" the socialist revolution is at best a hazy utopia, not at all a realizable objective. Marx and Lenin had the utmost scorn for "Marxists" of this kind, in reality political mountebanks of the very worst description. We venture to prophesy, however, that Mao's prediction will be utterly confounded

by the further course of revolutionary development. The "new capitalism" and the "new democracy," together with their "Marxist" inventor, will be swept into the trash-can by the workers and peasants of China before even one dozen years have elapsed.

### THE "NEW CAPITALISM"

The author had a chance to observe the "new capitalism" at close quarters in the Inner Mongolian city of Kalgan, which at the time of her visit was in the hands of the Stalinists. "People were easy to meet, ready to talk and informal. They reminded me of the early expanding days of the American West." Like stepping back a whole century in time! She talked with the "dapper Finance Minister, H. C. Nan," a man of stuff and substance "who could meet any Western business man on equal terms and talk his language." The "Marxist" Mao, as we see, has fitting bedfellows who talk the language of Marxism? No, the language of capitalist business.

Mr. Nan, we learn further, "wore a business suit, gray wool trousers and blue wool jacket, not like the shapeless clothes of Yenan." Here is a businessman's "Communist" who quite obviously is several notches above the common herd. "Tell Henry Wallace," he said in his bluff, hearty, businessman's manner, "that this is the only place where free enterprise still has meaning. Here capitalism is young; fighting its way out of feudalism. Here industry is not taxed and prices are not controlled." Mr. Nan, it seems, had not heard of "the general decline of world capitalism and the weakness of Chinese capitalists in particular." But then finance, not politics, is his department.

As a journalistic interpreter of "Marxism" a la Mao Tse-tung and Stalin, Miss Strong had a rip-roaring time in Kalgan, meeting the official "Communist" exponents of the "new capitalism," and being wined and dined by them. Another on her list was Governor Sung, who wore black-rimmed spectacles and looked "benevolent" and "professional." He was equally "explicit about the intent to develop a capitalist system." Said he: "We aim to remove the obstacles that feudalism places in the way of capitalism, so that capitalism may thrive and grow. We don't intend to let this private capitalism run away with us; publicly owned

and cooperative industry will be the leading forms. But there is plenty of room for private enterprise and profit and will be for a long time to come."

The benevolent Mr. Sung was quite rattled by Wall Street's preference for Chiang Kai-shek. "What is the matter with your American business men? I quite understand that your warlords and monopoly capitalists prefer to deal with Chiang. They buy ownership of China's natural resources and pay for it by financing the civil war. But haven't you any free enterprise capitalists left who want to do honest business? Our Liberated Areas are their natural market. Farmers, owning their own land, produce surplus and are eager for goods." We might suggest that the worthy Miss Strong take the benevolent Mr. Sung by the hand and lead him through Wall Street in quest of an "honest" free enterprise who would prefer to do business with Mao Tse-tung rather than with Chiang Kai-shek.

Stalinist policy is a melange of class struggle and class conciliation. Where class struggle methods are used (which is exclusively in the rural areas, and then only very sparingly and cautiously), they are designed, not to raise a new revolutionary class (the proletariat) to power, but to conciliate the classes by pressure methods. Thus the Chinese Stalinists stand revealed, at this critical turning point, not as Communists, but as vulgar opportunists, reformists and class conciliators — betrayers of the revolution. Miss Strong's pamphlet is valuable if only for the fact that it makes this abundantly clear.



TROTSKY

"It is quite self-evident that the radicalization of the working class in the United States has passed only through its initial phases, almost exclusively in the sphere of the trade union movement (the CIO). The pre-war period, and then the war itself may temporarily interrupt this process of radicalization, especially if a considerable number of workers are absorbed into war industry. But this interruption of the process of radicalization cannot be of a long duration. The second stage of radicalization will assume a more sharply expressive character. The problem of forming an independent labor party will be put on the order of the day."

— Leon Trotsky, Last Article, 1940.



LENIN

## Unemployment and Unions' Duty

So far as the Truman administration is concerned, it proposes to do exactly nothing either about the millions already unemployed or about the spreading cuts in the work week. This is made amply clear by the latest official pronouncements from Washington to the effect that the economic outlook remains "bright and promising." People with such a rosy outlook obviously see no reason at all to worry. To them, two or three extra millions added to unemployment rolls represent, at most, a return to "normalcy."

This viewpoint was unequivocally expressed by Mr. Leon H. Keyserling, who is today Truman's principal economic adviser. In reply to a question of just "when would the government really get agitated" over unemployment, Mr. Keyserling gave the following answer:

"That's a matter of popular psychology, and anybody's guess is as good as mine. I think that, under current conditions, if unemployment got up in the neighborhood of 5,000,000 there would be very strong sentiment for a vigorous counteroffensive." *U. S. News, Mar. 4.*

Official government figures continue to place current unemployment at below 3,000,000. This means that the situation would have to become approximately twice as bad as it is, before Truman and his advisers, with Mr. Keyserling at the head, would even consider doing something about unemployment.

There is, of course, nothing surprising about such sentiments of indifference and callousness from this quarter. When did capitalist politicians and economists ever take a different attitude toward problems which involve the vital interests of the working masses?

But what are the official leaders of the labor movement doing in the meantime? How long are they ready to wait before bestirring themselves into action. Who, if not they, must take the initiative in coping with the problem of unemployment?

Today, it is no longer a question of taking the necessary preparatory steps as *The Militant* advised several months ago. The need now is for measures to safeguard the jobs in one industry after another. Among the most effective measures is the institution of the 30 hour week without any cuts in weekly "take-home" pay. The whole weight of the organized labor movement must be thrown behind this justifiable demand which has long ago been adopted by many unions and for which there is undoubtedly overwhelming sentiment among the ranks.

What makes the situation even more urgent is that slashes in hours of employment are becoming at least as widespread as wholesale layoffs. To delay any longer with the fight for the 30-hour week at 40-hours' pay is to place in jeopardy the livelihood of millions upon millions of workers.

## Liberals and the Atlantic Pact

Although its specific terms remain concealed, the secretly-drafted North Atlantic pact—the first peacetime military alliance in U. S. history—has been endorsed by liberals of almost all stripes. They accept the secret diplomacy preparing the pact. They accept the pact's imperialist authorship and aims. Nor do they blink at the virtually unlimited power the pact would give Truman to single-handedly drag this country into war.

Some liberals, of course, give the pact only "critical" support. Which means they have a minor complaint or two about the way the Wall Street diplomats and militarists are engineering the pact. Thus, *Nedra Kirshway* in the Feb. 26 *Nation* scolds the State Department for its "shocking blunder" and "amateurishness" in trying to shove the pact down the throats of the Scandinavian countries.

But the most vociferous section of the Trumanite liberals—the Social-Democratic crew that speaks through the *New Leader*—gives the pact unqualified support. What arouses these self-styled "anti-totalitarians" is that some people are trying to throw a monkey-wrench into the works by insisting that the pact is in clear violation of the Constitution which says that only Congress has power to declare war.

But that doesn't trouble the *New Leader* gang. If the Constitution stands in the way of

granting Truman almost unlimited power to take this country into war, then never mind the Constitution, says the Feb. 26 *New Leader*. Its front-page editorial, "Defense and the Democratic Process," becomes down-right indignant that some people are citing a constitutional provision "as an argument to prevent preparation for the struggle against the tyrants." It rises in righteous anger against "the democratic process . . . being used to hamstring democracy."

In fact the *New Leader* editors assure us that "the people"—meaning themselves—"will not be filled with niggling qualms" about tossing constitutional limitations on executive powers into the waste-paper basket or destroying any other phase of the democratic process in order to "defend" democracy.

What a slick and slimy formula these cynical apologists for imperialism have contrived to justify the usurpations of the capitalist government. It's all done in the name of "democracy."

The old-time liberal with all his weakness, was at least a principled defender of the people against any encroachments on the democratic processes, and the already limited constitutional safeguards against abuse of governmental power. Such "anti-totalitarians" are really totalitarians under the skin.

## CARDINAL LEADS STRIKEBREAKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

said bluntly, "is high-handed, arbitrary and suggestive of the tactics used by anti-union employers ten years ago."

The Cardinal's scab-herding climaxing one of the dirtiest strike-breaking campaigns in years in this area. Monsignor George C. Ehard, managing director of the cemeteries, on Jan. 21 ordered the strikers back to work by Jan 31 or they would be considered fired. A second letter on Feb. 8 raised the "communist" issue. The union answered that the priest-manager had stood behind an "iron curtain of refusal to bargain."

On Feb. 10 the union was confronted with the demand that as a condition of continued recognition it would have to "disaffiliate from their Communist-dominated international," elect "a new negotiating committee" and submit its demands to "impartial" arbitration by "one lay and two ecclesiastical members."

### ACTU EMBARRASSED

The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, priest-ridden power machine boring within the unions, has been enormously embarrassed by the hierarchy's strikebreaking.

Labor Leader, ACTU national paper, on Feb. 28 gives just one

paragraph to the strike. However, before Spellman's open strike-breaking, the Jan. 31 issue editorial pleaded for a settlement, saying "it is difficult to believe that a serious position could be taken by the cemetery management against the introduction of the shorter work-week. Today the 40-hour week is practically a norm in business and industry."

This "management," of course, is the Catholic hierarchy itself. Since the Roman Catholic Church is the richest tax-exempt institution in the country, it cannot plead "poverty." The traffic in burials is one its most lucrative enterprises.

### "MORAL ISSUE"

Spellman claims that the strike involves a "moral issue" because 1,020 bodies await burial at Calvary. He said the workers should look on the job "as a religious service, not just an industry" and called on them to "mend their evil ways."

A chief reason for the adamant and arrogant attitude of the Cardinal is the fact that the hierarchy employs tens of thousands of lay workers throughout the thousands of Catholic institutions. These are notoriously low paid and overworked. Most of them are non-unionized.

Allowing the bodies to pile up in the two struck cemeteries is deliberate propaganda. There are 66 other Catholic cemeteries in the metropolitan area, 11 of them under contract with Local 298. Moreover the N. Y. City Dept. of Health has inspected the struck cemeteries daily and announced yesterday that it has found no unsanitary conditions as yet.

Cardinal Spellman, if he were really concerned about "mercy for the dead," could have easily obtained it by showing a little mercy for the living—the exploited workers who have demanded only that they be granted the legally standard 40-hour work week.

He said, however, that breaking the cemetery strike is "the most important thing which I have had to do in the ten years I have been in New York." It is also the most revealing demonstration of the real nature of the Catholic hierarchy's much-vaunted "labor" program being pushed inside the unions by the ACTU.

### READ

Fourth International

### WHAT KIND OF REVOLUTION

It was precisely this Menshevik conception which formed the guiding line which Stalin-Bukharin imposed on the Chinese Communist Party in 1925-27. From it arose the notorious "bloc of four classes" which required the subordination of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang and the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, enabling Chiang Kai-shek to strangle the revolution. Since the stated task was the "democratic revolution," this required what? Lenin's line of proletarian class independence? The struggle for the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat? On the contrary, said the Stalinists, a "united front" with the bourgeoisie (in reality subordination to it) for the accomplishment of the democratic tasks was proclaimed the correct Bolshevik policy.

Today, in a situation as revolutionary as that of 1925-27, we encounter again this self-same "bloc of four classes." Miss Strong states it in so many words: "The democratic revolution in China will be led by the working class, with the peasantry as the main force, and with the participation of progressive people of many classes: the middle class of the small towns, the progressive bourgeoisie, and even 'forward-looking landlords.' There must be a correct approach to all these classes, to bring about the democratic revolution with the least cost and pain."

With commendable reserve, Miss Strong refrains from telling us what kind of animal a "progressive bourgeoisie" might be — or a "forward-looking landlord." The reference to the leading role of the working class is just so much window-dressing to hide a reactionary policy, as we shall see presently.

### REGULATED EXPLOITATION

The basic economic program of the Stalinists, she goes on to inform us, is "Land to the Tiller." There can be no economic progress "until the soil-tiller is freed from crushing rents, taxes and feudal exactions. Feudalism on the land must be smashed." No one will dispute the need for lifting the burdens of the rural toilers. The decisive question is

## TRUMAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SENATE FILIBUSTER

(Continued from page 1)

the Southern wing were moving too slowly and too many Truman Democrats were getting heat from home for him to get away with it. The fight could no longer be kept off the Senate floor.

On the eve of the filibuster, Truman made a public speech attacking opponents of his program without once mentioning the vicious campaign by members of his own party to block civil rights legislation.

The filibuster centers at present around a motion of the Senate Rules Committee to permit closing of debate at any time by a two-thirds vote. Vice-president Barkley, presiding, can rule the Southern Democrats out of order on this particular point and be sustained by a simple majority vote. But he has permitted the filibuster free rein while behind-the-scenes negotiations with the Southern Democrats continue.

### ADMINISTRATION LINE

Even if the Rules Committee motion is adopted, the 22 Southern Democrats would need the votes of only 11 Republicans or Northern Democrats to prevent the halting of their filibuster by a two-thirds vote. The Committee motion, which represents administration policy, is utterly inadequate and undemocratic to boot.

Under majority rule, which is an elementary principle of democracy, 49 senators could block a filibuster. While a handful of filibusters can frustrate the will of 63 senators under the two-thirds rule.

The Truman Democrats want a compromise with the Southerners, not a showdown struggle in support of the Negro people. That civil rights program and their accounts for their stalling on the half-hearted opposition to the filibuster.

No good can come to the Negro people from such a policy. For any compromise agreed to by the Southern Democrats will remain strictly within the framework of their brutal Jim-Crow system.

### WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE

Negroes will have full social, economic and political equality only when the full power of the nation is mobilized to stamp out "white supremacy" root and branch.

For that battle it is necessary to tie up all business in the Senate and hold round-the-clock sessions in dramatic opposition to the filibuster. Fight for the principle of majority rule on the Senate floor.

Go to the people of the country, especially the South, where mass opposition to the ruling oligarchy is growing, and call on them to put pressure on the Congress for action. Call for a mass march on Washington.

But the Truman Democrats are not fighting to strip the Southern Democrats of their power to oppress, terrorize and murder the Negro people. Instead, they have tried to woo the "white supremacy" party into a face-saving compromise on civil rights by helping to strengthen their political power in the South and in the Congress.

When the chips are down, the Truman Democrats, like all other capitalist politicians, prove that their promises to bring benefits to minority peoples and to the working class are vote-catching promises not intended for genuine action.

It is therefore necessary to find another medium to carry on the political struggle for civil rights. That need dictates the organization of an independent mass party based on an alliance of the Negro people and the whole working class.

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The Mind of Mr. Clark

By James Kutcher

When Attorney General Clark came to Newark last week as the main speaker at the local Jefferson-Jackson Day Celebration, I publicly invited him to say a few words about the connection between my case and the activities of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the revolutionary Declaration of Independence, the advocate of free speech and free political activity, and the opponent of the thought-control Alien and Sedition Laws which Mr. Clark has imitated with his "subversive" blacklist.

Mr. Clark had a good deal to say about my case before the elections, even though it was mostly half-promises and hints that I might get my job back if I stopped fighting for it. Since the elections, however, he hasn't found a word to say. So I was not surprised to learn that he declined my invitation. But it was a little surprising to find, at least as far as the newspaper reports went, that neither he nor any of his fellow Democrats had anything to say about Jefferson either.

Instead, Mr. Clark seemed to have devoted the major part of his talk to praise of — Frank Hague, the New Jersey Democratic boss. What brought this on, I can't say — maybe Mr. Clark was told that he was supposed to speak in New Jersey at a dinner in honor of the heroes of the Democratic Party and he took it for granted that naturally that meant it was a Hague Day celebration.

He paid his respects to Hague by calling him "one of the great political organizers in the country." What he meant was "one of the great political machine organizers." Hague certainly merits all the superlatives in this field. Few people can compare with him when it comes to building and maintaining a corrupt political dictatorship, suppressing opponents, fleeing the tax-

payers and feathering his own nest. Offhand, his only peer in this field whom I can think of is Pendergast, who sponsored Truman, who appointed Mr. Clark. I don't think anyone should question the sincerity of Mr. Clark's tribute to his fellow-Democrat.

Now of course Hague has been the subject of some criticism, and Mr. Clark sprang to his defense. Those who criticize Hague, he thundered, "do so only because he is not on their side." If he is talking about the Republicans, then I think he has something there. They wish they had more "organizers" like Hague in their own party, and their attacks on him are often mixed with the feeling of envy. But he's not talking about the Socialist Workers Party, which has fought Hagueism since the day it was founded and never stopped even in the days when Hague had the support of the Communist Party. Our lack of appreciation for the talents of such "great" capitalist politicians is undoubtedly one of the reasons why Mr. Clark put us on his blacklist and why I was fired from my VA job. We wouldn't want to be found dead in the same organization as Hague.

Three days after his speech in Newark, Mr. Clark went to Atlantic City and spoke to the convention of the Jewish Labor Committee. Attacking those who are concerned about growing unemployment, he said: "It's these gloom people who are never satisfied, who are always seeing the hole instead of the doughnut itself, who bring on things that might be called depression." Now, if the blame for depressions under capitalism belongs to people with loose tongues, the way to prevent depressions may be to shut them up. Last week's Militant reported that "Layoffs Are Chief Topic of Discussion in Plants Today." The workers in the plants had better think twice before talking so freely — Mr. Clark may be thinking of putting them on his blacklist too.

Humphrey and Housing

By Grace Carlson

Minnesota's Senator Hubert Humphrey is looked up to by American liberals as the new "Messiah." It is the fond liberal hope that Humphrey will lead them into the "promised land" of "enlightened capitalism," which will encompass socialized medicine, good labor relations and public housing projects — among other benefits.

But the grim reality of Humphrey's three-year record as Mayor of Minneapolis is something quite different!

When Vincent Dunne ran as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis in May, 1947, he had this to say about candidate Humphrey's record on housing:

"In a review of his 'accomplishments' of the last two years, Mayor Humphrey points with pride to the trailer camp concentrations which have been created in various places around town. These concentration camps are nothing but modern slums. They are only a little superior to the Hoovervilles which were built by the destitute on city dumps during the '29 depression — under the Republican Hoover."

The death of three small children in a fire which swept through a quonset hut at the city-owned Johnson St. housing project on Feb. 13 is a tragic confirmation of Comrade Dunne's characterization of Humphrey's building projects as "modern slums." The Johnson street fire was the fourth in a Minneapolis veterans' project since April 1946.

After two infants were burned to death in their cribs in a housing project fire at the University of Minnesota in January 1948, the Minneapolis fire prevention chief warned city officials that

all quonset huts should have at least two exits. No action was taken by the then Mayor Humphrey or the City Council. Now, fire department officers say that the lives of 4-year old Wayne Robison, his 3-year old brother, Thomas, and their 5-year old playmate, Danith Magnuson, might have been saved if city officials had heeded the warning of the fire prevention chief a year ago.

But at that time Humphrey was interested in making an impressive record on housing, as well as on cutting down city expenses. The Minneapolis Star of Feb. 17 offers some interesting evidence on this point in an interview with Alderman Frank Moulton. "At the time the emergency housing program was getting under way, he [Moulton] had asked for emergency safety measures. However, former Mayor Hubert Humphrey had declared: 'To hell with the rules. Let's get the people off the streets,' Moulton said."

A suit charging the city with negligence was filed on Feb. 21 by Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Robison. They are asking \$20,000 for the loss of their two sons in the quonset hut fire. Of course, they deserve some compensation from the City of Minneapolis. But what parents would take \$20,000 — for their two little boys?

This is a choice that Senator Humphrey will never have to make. His little boys sit at home safe and snug in their \$28,000 home (four bedrooms, two baths) in an exclusive Washington suburb while their father makes political capital out of his devotion to the "ill-housed" children of the poor!

My Interview With LEPL

By Philomena Goelman

As councilman candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I was interviewed last week by Oakland's representatives of Labor's Educational Political League. The LEPL is to the AFL what the Political Action Committee is to the CIO. Before seeing me, the LEPL had interviewed a dozen or so other candidates to determine which it would support in the coming elections. Needless to say, in their opinion, I do not have the necessary qualifications.

I was accompanied by two members of our campaign committee. When we arrived at the new headquarters of the AFL, I was struck by the contrast between the magnificence and newness of the building and the old Samuel Gompers-style leadership and policies of the AFL.

I began the interview by presenting our program for the workers of Oakland. I covered the 35-hour week with no decrease in pay, which is part of the program of the Metal Trades Council. I made clear that I not only supported a 35-hour week but that I thought 30 hours a week with 40 hours pay would be a better idea, particularly in light of the growing unemployment in Oakland. I put forward the conception of city control of transportation, managed and directed through the trade unions. Finally, the question of a Labor Party — not just for Oakland but for the United States as a whole.

When I completed the presentation I was asked questions. The first question was, "Mrs. Goelman, did you write that letter which the Oakland Tribune printed, criticizing one of our foremost labor leaders?" I said I surely did and repeated that Jack Reynolds and the rest of Oakland's labor leaders merit criticism for not demanding that the four councilmen elected by labor, be responsible to labor. Jack Reynolds was present and took the floor after other questions were

asked. He explained how he tried to have meetings with the four councilmen elected after the general strike, but that the CIO came along and lured away two of the councilmen and broke up his plans for controlling the councilmen in the name of the AFL.

In answer to Mr. Reynolds I reminded him of my speech at the Oakland Voters League meeting. I reminded him of the criticism I made of Councilmen Weakley, Lantz, Pease and Smith for their failure to organize labor and the Negro community to put pressure on the five councilmen who were opposed to FEPC. I said further, that if Reynolds was sincerely interested in getting pro-labor legislation passed in the City Council, he could organize mass meetings and other mass actions to put pressure on the City Council. I gave as a concrete example — housing. If the AFL would issue a leaflet inviting the working men and women of Oakland to attend a meeting to work out a solution to the housing crisis in this city, the response would be tremendous.

At this point one of the labor officials made a revealing remark: "We'd have a revolution if we did that." These labor leaders seem more concerned with restraining than leading the working class in the fight against their exploiters.

One thing was plain from this session. The labor leadership is at a complete loss as to what to do next. They listened to us attentively for half an hour, hoping to get perhaps some idea or suggestion which they could use. They cannot go too far to the right because the rank and file wouldn't stand for it, and they cannot go too far to the left for fear of setting the workers into motion and thus endangering their own positions of leadership. This dilemma, and the memory of the Oakland workers' power in the 1946 general strike, explain their stumbling and helplessness in the 1949 councilman elections.

Notes from the News

D. C. JIM CROW OKAYED — The House of Representatives has killed an amendment to the annual District of Columbia appropriations bill, offered by Adam C. Powell (D. N.Y.), which would have ended segregation in Washington public schools, recreational and health facilities. 70 Democrats and 36 Republicans voted to continue segregation, 49 Democrats and 15 Republicans voted for Powell's amendment.

STALINIST "JUSTICE"? — Anna Louise Strong's public explanation for her expulsion from the Soviet Union as a "spy" is that Stalin's officials got angry over her "prying" questions and that "in all countries there are stupid officials and prosecutors who once they have decided against you, think they have to get their man."

HOUSING PLANS DWINDLE — The Senate Banking and Currency Committee has approved a bi-partisan public housing program to build

810,000 housing units in the next seven years. Among the 11 Democratic and 11 Republican Senators sponsoring the bill is Glen Taylor, Wallace's running mate in 1948. This is even less than the number suggested by Truman, under which the slums would develop faster than they were replaced.

LEGAL SANCTION SOUGHT — The House Services Committee has approved a super-secret bill giving the Central Intelligence Agency full legal authority to operate a foreign spy network, which it is doing now anyhow.

AN EXPERT OPINION — The U.S. News' contribution to the discussion of the present economic situation is that "times have changed" and "it is better to face the fact of a change than to insist that what's happening really isn't happening."

VOLUME XIII

Myra Weiss Bids Wallaceites To Support Program of SWP

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 27 — Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor, made her first speech of the campaign last Thursday night before a closed meeting of approximately 200 members of the Independent Progressive Party, local section of the Wallace movement.

Granted special permission to address the gathering, along with Attorney Leo Gallagher, candidate for the Board of Education, Comrade Weiss gave a brief but forthright presentation of the SWP platform championing the needs and rights of workers and members of minority groups, and contrasted her views with those of the Stalinists.

She called attention to the fact that when she was a candidate for Mayor four years ago, she was berated and denounced vociferously by the People's Voice and the Communist Party for attempting to "split" the vote of Mayor Fletcher Bowron, then as now running for re-election. She pointed out that Bowron's record during the past period in office demonstrates beyond question who was right and who was wrong.

Youngstown SWP Demand Action on Local FEPC Bill

YOUNGSTOWN — The stalling around of the Youngstown City Council on a proposed Fair Employment Practices ordinance was strongly condemned by Harry Braverman, appearing before that body as representative of the Youngstown Branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

The FEPC ordinance has been buried in committee for a year. The City Council meeting was called as an informal meeting to discuss the ordinance, but not to do anything about it. Most of the councilmen were missing from the meeting. However an audience of about 30 of the leading fighters against discrimination came down to push for its passage.

Braverman commented on the lack of seriousness on the part of the Council on this ordinance. "The Socialist Workers Party is in favor of this ordinance and has been for years. We do not regard this as the whole answer to the problem of discrimination, but it is a beginning, and attacks discrimination at its heart—that is, in employment."

The SWP spokesman pointed out that the most vociferous opponents of FEPC were business interests, and that the reason they oppose such legislation is that it might hamper them in the old "divide and rule" game they play.

Also appearing before the Council to urge the passage of the bill was Dave Dodson, chairman of the FEPC committee of Local 1330, United Steelworkers of America, CIO. Dodson commented that he felt the "teeth in the bill should be made sharper" by making the penalty for violations more severe. He also urged that the bill include a clause barring discrimination in employment against women.

The reason given for the latest stall on the bill by the Council is that they have to see what the state FEPC law is going to look like.

First Returns on Local Elections of CIO Auto Workers

DETROIT — While insufficient elections of local officers in the CIO United Auto Workers have been completed to establish any definitive trend, Walter Reuther has suffered a defeat in one of the first major elections now taking place.

The election in Dodge Local 3, one of the largest in the UAW, witnessed the winning by Reuther opponents of the posts of secretary and recording secretary, with the presidency and other posts going into a run-off election.

Except for the fact that the Stalinists ran an independent slate which polled 500 votes for its presidential candidate, the opposition slate headed by Ed Bartelbert would have made a clean sweep. Art Grudzen, the Reuther candidate for re-election, polled 4700 votes to 4500 for Bartelbert, with John Zarembo, running on the Stalinist ticket, getting 500.

OTHER RESULTS

In both Tool and Die Locals 155 and 157, the Reuther administrations were re-elected by margins considerably greater than a year ago. In 155, Russell Leach beat two rivals, polling 5500 votes to 1000 and 500 each of his opponents. In 157, Blain Marrin defeated William Stevenson by a vote of roughly 2000 to 1000. Stevenson is a former local president and a regional director, and has been acting chairman of the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW since the withdrawal of Richard T. Leonard.

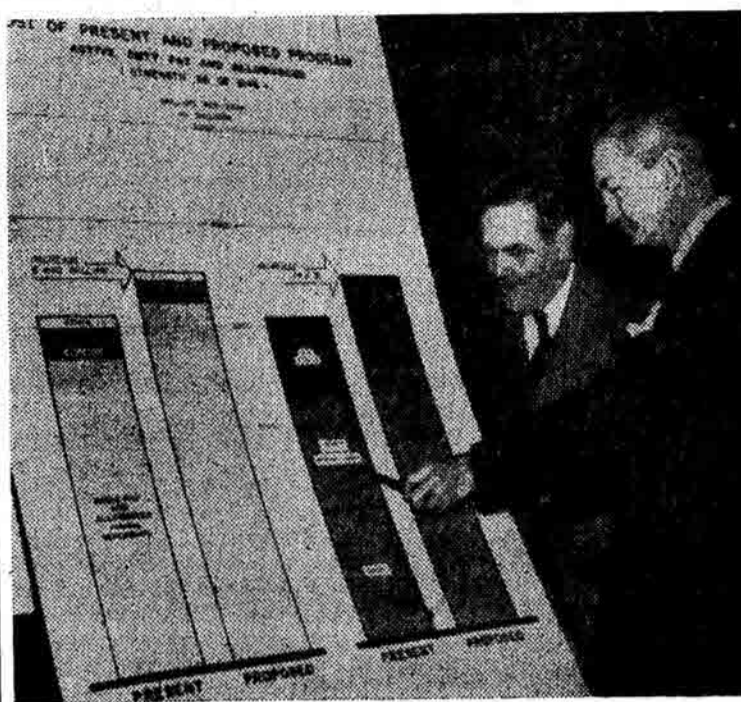
In Briggs Local 212, the Reuther administration was re-elected by a two to one margin, a far greater edge than in the elections of a year ago. The blow-up of the opposition slate a few weeks prior to the election because of Stalinist treachery, contributed greatly to this debacle. (The Feb. 14 Militant gave the details on the Briggs situation.)

On the other hand, such Reuther opponents as Ned Coleman, 12-time president of Amalgamated Local 205, was re-elected by a margin of almost 6 to 1 over his Reuther-supported rival.

The entire slate headed by Sam Mackey, president of Local 985, was successful over its Reuther opponents. The Reuther administration was beaten in Federal Mogul Local 202.

The anti-Reuther administrations of Lincoln Local 900 and Chevrolet Drop Forge Local 262 was re-elected.

Reuther staff members have been mobilized and briefed as for no other assignment by the top leadership in an effort to hold or strengthen their support in the locals.



Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal tells Chairman Paul J. Kilday (D. Tex.) of a House Armed Services sub-committee how much his proposed pay increases for military personnel will cost. Under the plan the lowest-grade GI's will get about 3%, while top brass will get about 40% more.

SMITH ACT PROSECUTION OF CP STARTS MARCH 7

(Continued from page 1)

jurors, judges and prosecutors a periodical called the Federal Juror.

This private organization, dominated by bankers and corporation directors, exists for the sole purpose of handpicking jurors. Yet Judge Medina ruled that its "internal affairs" have no bearing on the jury system.

The judge also ruled that official government documents describing the workings of the federal jury system must be kept "confidential" in the interests of the "administration of justice."

Despite these legal blocks thrown up to defend jury-rigging, many damning facts were brought to light.

Jury panels have been selected mainly from directories of business executives and college graduates, Who's Who, the Social Register, and from the silk-stocking districts through the use of a special address telephone directory.

Special "Colored Lists" are used to make token selections of Negro business and professional people.

The grand jurors who indicted the Stalinists under the Smith Act, turned out to be bankers, corporation directors, brokers, wholesalers, an editor, and the wife of a police sergeant. None were Negroes. They had served on an average of four grand juries apiece in a city of eight million people.

Panels from which trial juries are drawn were shown to be similarly packed with agents of the rich, with only token representation of workers and Negroes.

THE RECORD PROVES

She recalled that she had opposed World War II as an imperialist war, and that she now opposes World War III, plans for which are already far advanced, on the same grounds.

She called for defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, at the same time blasting the Stalinist bureaucracy as the enemy of the working class and the betrayer of the revolution.

Finally she set forth the fallacies of the "People's Front" policy and coalition politics, such as were indulged in by the Independent Progressive Party locally and the Wallace movement nationally.

She ended by urging the audience to make a serious study

4 Campaign Rallies Every Week in L. A.

Campaign meetings for Myra Tanner Weiss are being held weekly in four working class neighborhoods of Los Angeles.

All meetings are scheduled for 8 p. m. Readers of The Militant and others anxious to help get out the vote for Comrade Weiss are urged to attend.

West side meetings are being held Wednesday nights at 1653 Longwood Ave. South side, also on Wednesdays, at 423 1/2 West 101st St. East side, Thursdays, 126 No. St. Louis St., and San Pedro, Fridays, 1008 South Pacific Blvd., Room 214.

Murry Weiss will speak on "Los Angeles Labor and the City Election" at the West side meeting Wednesday, March 7. During the three meetings scheduled in the other areas that same week, C. Curtis will speak on "Unemployment and the Coming Elections."

The Case of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam

By Joseph Keller

The Roman Catholic hierarchy's drive to censor and silence liberal criticism of its reactionary political activities and its moves, particularly in the field of education, to breach the wall separating church and state, reached their latest climax in connection with the award dinner given by "The Churchman," Protestant Episcopal magazine in honor of Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam.

Announcement that Bishop Oxnam was to receive the annual Churchman award "for the promotion of good will and better understanding among all people," was the signal for a campaign of pressure and intimidation to get sponsors of the award dinner, held in New York City on Feb. 23, to withdraw from the affair with public statements.

OXNAM'S "CRIME" — Although the standard charge of "communism" was hurled at The Churchman and its editor, Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, it is well known that Bishop Oxnam, former president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and present co-president of the World Council of Churches, had aroused the ire of the Catholic hierarchy by his outspoken opposition to attempts of the American Catholic hierarchy to

gain state support for parochial schools.

Only a few weeks before the scheduled "Churchman" dinner, Bishop Oxnam wrote a powerful documented exposure of the Roman Catholic hierarchy's increasingly successful drive to gain influence over public education in this country and to secure public funds for Catholic schools. His article, entitled "Church, State, and Schools," appeared in the Jan. 15 Nation, liberal magazine which Catholic pressure had succeeded last year in banning from public school libraries in New York City and Newark.

The drive to sabotage the Churchman award dinner for Bishop Oxnam first came to light when Benjamin Fairless, president of the United States Steel Corporation and a co-sponsor of the dinner, announced that he was withdrawing his sponsorship, stating, "Innocently I accepted, thinking it was a church movement, and therefore having no connection with non-Americanism." The alleged "non-Americanism" is The Churchman's sometimes critical attitude toward the Truman administration's foreign policy.

Fairless's action may not be unrelated to the fact that Myron C. Taylor, former head of U. S. Steel, has been Truman's "personal envoy" to the Vatican. Subsequently, a number of other

sponsors of the dinner publicly announced their withdrawals on one pretext or another. Among these was Democratic Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, darling of the Democratic liberals and national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, who pleaded unexpected pressure of senatorial work.

The real source of the attack on "The Churchman" and Bishop Oxnam was revealed the day before the dinner by Judge Jerome N. Frank of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals and former SEC chairman. In a last-minute withdrawal statement, Judge Frank gave as his reason that "The Churchman" is "systematically and sweepingly critical of all the attitudes of the Roman Catholic Church."

Answering the attacks on Bishop Oxnam and The Churchman, forty leading Protestant clergymen and laymen issued a statement on Feb. 22, saying: "We denounce the current propaganda which asserts that a person who opposes the political Vatican State is a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. The attacks on The Churchman represent a fully organized, well-financed threat to one of the freest sections of American journalism, the Protestant press. We stand for the right of Protestant individuals and organizations to pro-

mote peace without having such free journals as The Churchman prohibited by self-appointed censors."

FROM REQUESTS TO THREAT — In his award acceptance speech at the "Churchman" dinner, Bishop Oxnam revealed that "representations were made to me that ran the gamut from request to demand to threat, the object being to secure the withdrawal of my acceptance and the destruction of 'The Churchman,' a liberal church journal with more than a hundred years of history behind it."

Attacking the U. S. State Department's flirtation with Spanish dictator Franco, Bishop Oxnam said, "We cannot expect the common man to believe our democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators or ally ourselves with political, economic or ecclesiastical reaction."

dom for Protestants in Spain, in Colombia and the Argentine."

Liberal Protestant forces are becoming extremely concerned over this and other examples of intimidation and censorship by the Catholic hierarchy. A group of ten Protestant ministers in Danbury and Newtown, Conn., has issued a declaration disapproving the action of the Danbury Lions Club in withdrawing its invitation to Henry Wallace to speak at a meeting after six local Catholic priests had demanded the Progressive Party leader be barred.

The Protestant clergymen called the club's action a "humiliating defeat" and said that "a decision of the club, democratically arrived at, has been invalidated by intimidation. It is sincerely hoped that in the future the people of Danbury will maintain an allegiance that goes beyond our city and includes the hallowed traditions of freedom that have distinguished our country since its foundation."

The current Catholic clerical offensive against free speech, political freedom and the separation of church and state has been given impetus by the lynch-hysteria campaign against "communism" whipped up around the Mindszenty case in Hungary, by the Truman administration, the Big Business press, the Catholic hierarchy and sections of the Protestant and Jewish clergy.