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LABOR PARTY IS WAY TO FIGHT T-H

Defend Civil Rights of All, Dobbs Urges Conference

NEW YORK, July 7 — The Communist Party, "with its anti-democratic policy of refusing to defend the rights of opposition political tendencies," must be prevented from "imposing its untenable position" upon the Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights, warned Farrell Dobbs, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, in a letter today to Paul J. Kern, acting chairman of the conference, scheduled for July 16-17 at the Henry Hudson Hotel in this city.

The conference "must scrupulously observe in its own ranks the democratic principles it seeks to defend," Dobbs declared. "All victims of the witch-hunt must be defended, regardless of their political beliefs."

He denounced "the Communist Party delegates who dominated the June 25 Conference For Civil and Human Rights held by the Civil Rights Congress here in New York City" for their refusal to support the pardon campaign of the 18 Trotskyists convicted in 1941 under the same Smith Act under which the Communist Party leaders are now on trial, and for their refusal to defend James Kutcher, a legless veteran fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Dobbs asked that an SWP spokesman be included on the speakers' list at the July 16-17 conference. He also called for "fair representation on the resolutions committee and all other participating organizations."

The full text of Dobbs' letter follows: Paul J. Kern, Acting Chairman Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights 11 West 42 Street, Suite 822 New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kern: The Socialist Workers Party pledges its full support to the aims and objectives of the July

16-17 Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights. We agree with the declaration in the Conference Call that "Free speech, free press, freedom of religion and assembly have no meaning if they apply only to those with whom we agree. They have meaning only where they apply also to minority and dissident groups with whom

the majority are in disagreement."

We sincerely hope that the July 16-17 conference will succeed in mobilizing a broad labor and liberal united front in opposition to the witch-hunt now raging in this country. Never was there greater need for united

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NEW YORK REGENTS STAGE WITCH-HUNT 'HEARINGS'

NEW YORK, July 5 — The Socialist Workers Party today announced receipt of a letter from the New York Board of Regents, stating that the Regents will hold a "hearing" in Albany July 4 "to determine what organizations are subversive" within the terms of the Feinberg Act.

This repressive measure, which was signed by Governor Dewey last spring, provides for a blacklist of so-called "subversive" organizations, whose members would be unconstitutionally deprived of the right to employment in the New York state public school system.

The Regents are now preparing such a list, and have under initial consideration five organizations designated as "subversive" by Attorney General Clark. The five, who were never given a public hearing or a bill of particulars or an opportunity to defend themselves against Clark's political blacklist, are the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, Workers Party, Industrial Workers of the World and Na-

tionalist Party of Puerto Rico.

The Regents' letter to the SWP declares that a special committee of Regents will hold a "hearing" at which a representative of the SWP may appear to make an oral argument or file a memorandum, or both.

But the nature of this "hearing" indicates that it will be every bit as undemocratic and fraudulent as the widely-condemned method followed by Clark in compiling his own blacklist.

DIRECT VIOLATIONS

In the first place, the Regents — like Clark — have given the accused organizations no bill of particulars to answer. All they say is that the organizations have been designated as "subversive" by Clark — a designation that has absolutely no sanction in law.

The organizations are thus put in the position of being considered guilty until they prove their innocence — in direct violation of accepted and traditional American legal procedure.

This is like bringing a man to trial on a murder charge; refusing to inform him where the murder took place or where or how or even who the victim was; ordering the man to prove that he is not guilty; and then having the nerve to label such proceedings as a fair hearing.

Without in any way conceding the legality of such procedure or the constitutionality of the Feinberg Act, the Socialist Workers Party today announced that it will be represented at the session of the special Regents committee in Albany by its national chairman, Farrell Dobbs, who will defend the SWP and academic freedom against this latest attack of the witch-hunters.

STILL NOT SATISFIED

One member called, "Have you no shame, to attack a man when he wants to help you?" (Kutcher in his speech had called for the defense of the eleven Stalinists on trial in New York and also in defense of Harry Bridges.) Others cried, "Sit down, you phony!" "Shame!" and so forth. The noise drowned out the speaker. He sat down to a chorus of boos.

A voice vote in favor of the \$50 donation was carried overwhelmingly — but still the Stalinists were not satisfied. They demanded a standing vote. This time they were crushed. Out of more than 2,500 present, about twelve voted against Kutcher!

Local 10 is Harry Bridges' home local. Bridges sat on the platform with Kutcher, but he said nothing despite the beating his followers took on the union floor — or perhaps because of it. He does not have as many followers now as in 1943 when he attacked the 18 leaders of the SWP with impunity. Moreover, if he attacked Kutcher, who had just spoken in his defense, he would have been given a rough time by the membership.

After the meeting everybody was talking about the Kutcher case. One comment bears repeating: "The Stalinists sure did a job tonight — not on Kutcher, but on themselves."

Stalinist Hacks Rebuffed As Longshoremen Back Kutcher

SAN FRANCISCO, June 30 — Local 10 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union sharply rebuffed the slanders of the Stalinists at a membership meeting yesterday and voted to give active aid to James Kutcher, the legless veteran and victim of the government purge who is now visiting this city on his western tour.

Kutcher was introduced to the meeting by Local 10 President James Kearney. The meeting gave him complete attention and broke into enthusiastic applause after he described the issues in his case and showed how they affect the rights of all workers. As Kutcher started to leave the platform via a set of narrow steps, a number of men jumped up and motioned him to the front of the platform. Kutcher sat down and hung his artificial limbs over the platform, then two men picked him up bodily and set him on the floor.

"HAVE YOU NO SHAME?"

A motion was made to donate \$50 to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, which is handling his fight for reinstatement. After the maker of the motion spoke, a well-known committeeman, noted for his slavish adherence to the CP line, took the mike and launched into a vicious attack against Kutcher and the Trotskyists, along the same lines as they have done last Sunday at the Stalinist-dominated Conference Against Thought Control, where Kutcher had also spoken.

Local 10 had previously endorsed the Kutcher defense movement, but at that time the Stalinists had kept quiet. Now, however, whipped up by orders from local Communist Party bosses, they came out into the open.

The pro-Stalinist committeeman began his attack by referring to an editorial on the Elser case in the March 29, 1947 Militant. He claimed this edi-



Taft's Victory Shows Folly Of Depending on Democrats

By Art Preis

With the Senate's rejection of Truman's "compromise" labor bill and its adoption of Taft's 28 "improvements" on the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic Party's pledge to repeal the Slave Labor Law has gone up in smoke. The Trumanites have given up even the pretense of a fight, promising only to return to the issue in two years. Thus, so far as the workers are concerned, the Democratic triumph of last November has gained them nothing.

The outcome of the Taft-Hartley fight climaxes the swift and utter rout of the Democrats in the 81st Congress—a Congress in which they are the majority. This fact alone should call for the most sober re-evaluation by the union leaders of their present political policies and their projection as the next step for organized labor.

Unfortunately, both the AFL and CIO leaders have responded to the greatest blow dealt labor by the 81st Congress with the same old routine answers. They show they have learned nothing from the devastating experiences of the past weeks and months—and, indeed, that they don't want to learn.

THEIR "EXPLANATIONS"

The only "explanation" they offer for the Trumanite debacle on Taft-Hartley is that there are a few "traitors" in the Democratic Party who ganged up with the Republicans. What was lacking was a few more "good" Democrats. From this they conclude, as CIO President Philip Murray does in the current CIO News, that "there can be only one answer—the full exercise by the people of their democratic rights at the polls in November 1950."

By this Murray means labor must spend more money and energy to elect even more capitalist political "friends of labor"—particularly Truman Democrats. The "explanation" for the defeat of the Trumanites offered

Ad Profits Show Who Control Press

Who controls the daily press in America? The answer is clearly indicated in a survey recently sent newspaper executives by the Bureau of Advertising, an offshoot of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. The survey revealed that newspaper revenues from advertising rose to \$389,261,000 in 1948, an increase of \$32,000,000 over the previous year. Most of the advertising revenue, major source of newspaper profits, comes from big business firms. Advertising took 60% of newspaper space last year. Advertising money spoke in the other 40% of space occupied by news and editorial matter.

by union leaders like Murray evades any honest answer to the decisive question: How does it happen that the Democratic Party, with control of the administration and Congress and armed with the powerful mandate of the American voters, has gone down so speedily before the onslaught of the avowed enemies of labor?

ROLE OF TRUMANITES

Contrary to the claims of the Trumanite union leaders, the Democratic Party and Truman never put up a serious fight for unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act—and never intended to. As a capitalist party, serving the fundamental interests of the capitalist class, the Democratic Party seeks to tie labor to the capitalist state. Truman's differences with the Republicans

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Reuther Seeks Tighter Rule at UAW Convention

Walter Reuther is planning to push through the forthcoming CIO United Auto Workers convention a series of constitutional amendments to strengthen his bureaucratic hold on the union and silence any opposition to his reactionary policies.

The basic program of the Reuther machine, according to reports from Detroit, would give new and unprecedented powers to the Reuther-controlled International Executive Board to "discipline" local unions, their officers and individual members.

Reuther, who is in a bloc with the reactionary priest-ridden Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, is also said to be seeking to lengthen the time between conventions and to raise the membership dues.

MAIN EMPHASIS

This program, it is reported, was drafted at closed caucus meetings of the top Reutherites. The whole emphasis at these meetings was on how to increase the machine's power. On the vital questions of unemployment, speedup, wages, the Reutherites spent little or no time.

The convention's constitution committee, controlled by the Reutherites, will introduce, it is said, the following amendments, all at variance with the traditional democratic constitutional practices of the UAW:

MORE POWER FOR TOPS

1. Empower the UAW top officers to take over the supervision of a local union without first bringing charges against and suspending the local officers or requiring the international executive board to formally revoke the local's charter.

2. Authorize the immediate issuance of a new charter covering the same jurisdiction when a charter is revoked.

3. Give to the international the property of any local whose charter is revoked.

4. Give the international executive board power to prefer charges against a local union member, to set up its own trial committee which, by a two-thirds vote, can find a member guilty and penalize him, with no appeal except to the next convention.

5. Permit the international executive board, by two-thirds vote, to suspend or revoke any

local charter, take over the control of any local and suspend any officers of the local.

In addition to these dictatorial powers against local unions, their officers and members, the Reutherites are also proposing an amendment to make it more difficult to change the top officers and UAW policy by providing for a convention every two years, instead of every year.

OPPOSITION EXPECTED

This latter proposal, as well as the one to raise dues from \$1.50 to \$2 a month which was the chief topic of discussion at the top Reutherite caucus meeting, had been repeatedly and overwhelmingly defeated at previous UAW conventions.

Behind these new bureaucratic amendments is Reuther's desire to silence critics of his "soft" attitude to the corporations, his failure to fight the speedup and his miserable settlement of the recent Ford strike.

Despite Reuther's grip on the union, his constitutional proposals are expected to meet with opposition at the convention. They are evoking outspoken disapproval in wide sections of the union.

U.S. Economy Skids Sharply

By John G. Wright

When earlier this year the economic Pollyannas staked everything on an imaginary "spring upturn," they at least believed what they so wrongly said. These self-deceived individuals have now yielded place, in the capitalist press, to a different type of economic forecaster last heard from in the days of Hoover.

If the original Hoover-type forecaster unfailingly saw "prosperity around the corner," then the same phony optimist today pretends to "see bottom" to the current "dip"—also just around the corner. From the breeziest private dopsters to such authorities as the weekly Business Week or the National City Bank of New York, they all assure that there will be no "deep slump" this year. Naturally, Truman and his brain-trusters pipe the same cheerful tune.

And what are the grounds for this fake optimism? Incredibly

enough, it happens to be the fact that this country's economy has nosedived in the last two months — May and June — far more abruptly than anyone had expected! Since the drop has been so steep, they say, "the bottom, thus, may be near."

DECLINE DEEPENS

In industry after industry the estimated decline by midyear from the 1948 peak has been from 15 to 20%, with the momentum becoming accentuated as the weeks roll on. Steepest of all has been the downward plunge of such bellwether industries as steel.

When Weir of National Steel ventured to predict not so long ago that steel output might fall to 75% of capacity by year's end, he was deemed unduly pessimistic. Expert after expert rushed to predict that steel would "never"—but never—drop below 75% this year.

In the last six weeks, however, ingot output has been skidding

at the rate of 2½ points a week, dropping by the end of June to below 80% capacity as against 102% in the first quarter of this year. The sharpest drop of all came in the week of July 2 and it is publicly conceded that this "dip" will continue, and may go "as low" as 60% by the end of the year.

With the basic sectors of industry skidding so steeply, it is hardly surprising to find similar conditions in other fields. Retail sales keep sliding off, with the New York stores, the biggest and best situated, averaging declines of 10% throughout June. Orders of manufacturers are admittedly at least 15% below last year. Inventories remain huge despite mounting large-scale liquidation.

This steep decline is naturally reflected in the statistics for the economy as a whole. The Federal Reserve index has been dropping at a monthly rate of 5 points. In May it stood at 174 as against the peak of 195 and the FRB

authorities gloomily concede that for June it will be "around 170," with a similar drop ahead for July.

ALREADY IN PROCESS

These official figures, doctored as they are, constitute proof that an economic crisis of major proportions is already in process. Large sections of the working population have little doubt about it inasmuch as they and their families are experiencing it on their backs and bones. Joblessness and cut-backs in the work week are assuming astronomical proportions, reminiscent of what happened in the last depression.

Official unemployment figures, which are the most highly doctored of all, now admit to some four million jobless, ascribing the recent increases—a seven-year high—primarily to the influx of "school-agers." Assuredly the ranks of unemployed are now being swelled by swarms of youngsters futilely seeking jobs. But it is equally unquestionable

that the mounting tide of unemployment is engulfing layer after new layer of workers in industry and trade. On top of these "normal" developments, technological unemployment, as new equipment and new processes are brought into operation amid growing competition for constricting markets, is beginning to play an increasingly prominent part in the spread of joblessness.

If there were some signs of slackening of the current rate of decline, they could legitimately be construed as favorable indications of a future trend. But just the contrary happens right now to be the case. The decline is tending to become steeper and steeper. In these circumstances, optimistic forecasts are not even wishful guesses, but constitute attempts at deliberate deception.

Organized workers, above all, should bear this in mind. Such lies are intended primarily to lull them into a false feeling of security.

ANTI-UNION, ANTI-JEWISH BIAS IN PURGE OF NLRB

"Anti-New Dealism, anti-unionism and some religious faith other than Jewish" are the qualifications for trial examiners in the NLRB, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Power Commission and

other government agencies, according to lawyers representing some of the 54 trial examiners purged three months ago by a special six-man screening board set up by the Civil Service Commission.

The purge, which was instigated by the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Bar Association, was designed to clean out any trial examiner suspected of even the slightest impartiality or liberal leanings. Hardest hit were the NLRB examiners, 21 of whom were disqualified, although none appointed by NLRB General Counsel Denham were touched.

Heading the screening board as chairman is Carl McFarland, currently counsel for the NAM against the Lobby Registration Act, who has represented big dairy interests before the Agricultural Department. Two other board members who determine qualifications of examiners in cases involving big corporations are Willis Smith and Joseph Henderson, both past presidents of the American Bar Association.

"IMPARTIAL" JUDGES

Smith is a member of the Raleigh, North Carolina law firm that represents the wealthy Southern Railway, which is vitally concerned in decisions of ICC examiners. His firm also represents the International Paper Company, interested in the Federal Power Commission decisions, and Armour meat-packing company, which has many cases before the NLRB. Henderson is connected with the Philadelphia law firm that has represented Republic Steel, the Southern Steamship Company and the Berkshire Knitting mills in appeals from NLRB decisions.

It takes no imagination to see why this board carried out a purge of trial examiners and what standards it would set up for such examiners. It is especially clear why the NLRB examiners, who hear labor cases, were given the most complete house-cleaning.

The purge was so raw, however, that the volume of protests forced the screening board to reinstate some of those disqualified, with the claim that these disqualifications resulted from "clerical errors" or "mistaken identities."

Dobbs Asks Conference To Defend Rights of All

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action among all true defenders of freedom and democracy to protect the rights of persecuted government employees, workers in war industries, liberal-minded scientists, educators, religious and cultural leaders, foreign-born workers and minority political parties.

If the conference is to meet this burning need of the hour, it must scrupulously observe in its own ranks the democratic principles it seeks to defend. All sections of the labor and liberal movement must be invited into the united front on an equal basis. All victims of the witch-hunt must be defended, regardless of their political beliefs.

VIOLATED BY CP

Participating organizations should, of course, retain the full right to express their independent political views, but political differences must not be permitted to stand in the way of united action to defend freedom of thought and freedom of expression.

Precisely these elementary principles of democracy were grossly violated by the Communist Party delegates who dominated the June 25 Conference For Civil and Human Rights held by the Civil Rights Congress here in New York City.

That conference correctly voted to defend the Communist Party leaders now on trial under the thought-control Smith Act, but it flatly refused to support the pardon campaign of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the same Smith Act in 1941.

That conference voted, as was proper, to support all Communist Party members victimized by the government purgers, but it spurned an appeal for support to James Kutcher, the legless veteran who has been fired from his clerical job in the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

These appeals for support to the Socialist Workers Party victims of the purgers and prosecutors were maliciously characterized by the June 27 Daily Worker as an attempt to "disrupt" the conference. The Stalinist editors gloated that the appeals were "overwhelmingly voted down."

This blindly factional, wholly indefensible policy of the Communist Party leaders stands in marked contrast to the principled position of the Socialist Workers Party in the fight to defend civil liberties. Despite our deep-going political differences with the Communist Party, we defend their democratic rights, just as we defend the rights of all our political opponents within the labor and liberal movement.

LIBERAL OPINIONS

We agree with Albert Deutsch's declaration in the July 3 New York Daily Compass that "The test of true faith in civil liberties and the democratic process arises when we are called upon to defend the rights of those with whose opinions we disagree." Deutsch denounced the factional policy of the June 25 conference. "It is disgraceful," he said, "to exclude Trotskyists from a share in the civil rights demanded for Communists."

Another prominent liberal, I. F. Stone, who is a sponsor of the

forthcoming conference on July 16-17, strongly criticized in the July 1 New York Daily Compass the refusal of the June 25 conference to defend the civil rights of the Trotskyists.

"The crisis now developing is serious enough to call for joint action by everyone, right or left, who believes in liberty," Stone wrote, "but this can only be brought about on a basis which provides for aid to everybody irrespective of political views."

UNDEFINABLE POSITION

These are the correct democratic principles upon which a broad labor and liberal opposition to the witch-hunt can and must be organized. And it is the Communist Party, with its anti-democratic policy of refusing to defend the rights of opposition political tendencies, that constitutes the main obstacle to the creation of such a broad united front.

It is therefore imperative that the sponsors of the July 16-17 conference prevent the Communist Party from imposing its untenable position upon the conference. That gathering must take a stand in defense of civil liberties for all, regardless of political beliefs. You may count upon the full support of the Socialist Workers Party in that endeavor.

It is only proper, therefore, that a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, which has been a consistent fighter for civil liberties, should be included on the official speakers' list. The SWP has, in fact, long stood in the forefront of the battle, fighting to defend the 18 Trotskyist leaders who were the first victims of the Smith Act and for the reinstatement of James Kutcher, whose case I. F. Stone has called "the most moving of all the loyalty cases."

We also ask that all participating organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party, be given fair representation on the resolutions committee and all other conference committees.

Fraternal regards,
Farrell Dobbs
National Chairman
Socialist Workers Party.



At a Washington conference arranged by Secretary of Air W. Stuart Symington (center) a plan for settling the 71-day anti-speedup strike of the CIO United Auto Workers at Bendix Aircraft is worked out by Bendix President Malcolm P. Ferguson (left) and UAW President Walter Reuther (right). The workers voted to accept the Pentagon plan and return to work.

Connally Bucks CP In ALP Primary

In an open challenge to Stalinist domination of the American Labor Party, City Councilman Eugene P. Connally has announced his candidacy for the party's nomination for borough president of Manhattan in the forthcoming elections. Primary petitions, sponsored by such well-known Wallaceites as O. John Rogge and Mary Van Kleeck and others, are now being circulated.

CALLED "DISRUPTER"

The Stalinists are denouncing Connally as a "disrupter" for the simple reason that he is submitting this question to the democratic decision of the ALP membership. They are also trying to make it appear that Connally opposes "Negro representation" because the Stalinist candidate opposing him is Ewart Guinier, a Negro.

Labor Party Is the Way To Fight Taft-Hartley Act

(Continued from page 1)

and the right-wing of his own party on labor legislation are not over aims, but methods—and not even to any great degree over methods.

Thus, as soon as he was elected, Truman began to hedge on his Taft-Hartley promise. He offered his own union-curbing law seeking to "modify" the Wagner Act. Both in the House and Senate, the Truman Democrats offered one "compromise" after another to the Taft-Hartleyites. Despite their pretense of opposition to injunctions, they voted in the House for the Sims injunction bill and in the Senate for plant "seizures" with their implied injunction powers.

The truth is, the Truman Democrats preferred the Taft-Hartley Act to no anti-labor law at all. They joined with the Southern Democrats and Republicans in voting down a bill for the flat repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Trumanite union leaders never mention this.

At no time did the Trumanites press the fight on Taft-Hartley, civil rights or other issues in a way that would have jeopardized their alliance with the Southern Democrats. Among

the Democratic Senators who voted for Taft's injunction amendment were at least six who are intimately connected with administration policy-making—Chapman, Connally, Frear, Fullbright, O'Connor and Tydings. Truman's strategy is designed to appease the Democratic right-wing, not to come to real blows with it.

The Trumanite union leaders can justify their continued support for the Democratic Party only by falsifying the true role and aims of the Truman Democrats, concealing the ties between the Trumanites and the Southern Democrats and even covering up the anti-labor character of the administration's labor bill and amendments.

If the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal has revealed anything, it is the complete bankruptcy of the political policy of labor dependence on the Democratic Party and the Trumanites. The Taft-Hartley experience demonstrates above all the need for labor's complete break from the two old capitalist parties and the launching of its own independent party.

The AFL and CIO leaders do not take even the elementary steps to discuss the situation

and seek some united solution of the grave problems confronting the workers. Surely if these union leaders were not committed body and soul to a continuation of their dirty alliance with the Trumanites, the least they would now propose is a Congress of Labor of all the unions to draft a program of joint action to continue the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal.

For labor to turn the clock back to the political policies of November 1948 is an act of sheer folly. Will a Democratic majority in 1951 do more than a Democratic majority today? What new "traitors" will then arise in the Democratic ranks to frustrate labor's hopes?

Labor must move boldly forward. That is the only way to win. The lesson of the Taft-Hartley experience is that labor must build its own party and every delay in fulfilling this indispensable task is costly and leads only to the strengthening of reaction. November 1950 will inevitably bring more disappointments and frustrations for labor, unless the unions call a Congress of Labor now and construct a united program of independent labor action, with a labor party as plank No. 1.

LETTER FROM GERMANY

"Benefits" of the Marshall Plan

When the first news came of a plan supposed to aid Germany and other nations economically during their period of reconstruction, the German Social Democrats and the trade union bureaucrats rushed to proclaim that this plan was originated by American trade unionists and other progressive forces with a view to helping the war-devastated European countries. And the majority of the German workers believed that the economic crisis in their country would soon come to an end.

Before the currency reform was instituted, the daily rations still remained around 1300-1500 calories a day. "Let us wait a little bit," urged the reformist leaders, when questions started to be raised by the working class, "the ERP has to be applied and therefore they need a little more time." And the people did wait a little, till the currency reform was "made" under the aegis of the ERP. On the day the Allied governors issued the law, the bureaucrats joined with the capitalist parties in a common chorus of how rosy the outlook now was for the working people.

Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg, formerly advisor to Chiang Kai-shek and subsequently a leading member of the AFL, declared: "The German working class now has the possibility of earning money which has a real value. Our economy will function better and better. Ahead is a new period of work, of fruitful work, for all those who wish to work."

A month later the German labor bureaucracy was shouting: "The currency reform was an attempt of the capitalists to load the war debts on the backs of the workers." This is true. But why didn't they say it when the currency reform was still only something the ruling class dreamed about? Nobody can claim that the top leaders of German labor did not know about it in advance. Herbert Kriedeman, Social Democratic member of a three-man committee, the first official German body to which the secret was revealed, issued no protest at the time. No. On the contrary, he supported the Allied proposal.

Later, when the laws issued by the Frankfurt Economic Council became more and more unpopular and the masses began to resist, the reformists came out in open opposition. They denounced the employers and their political stooges for having betrayed the German people. They criticized them bitterly, but said nothing at all about the source of all these developments, the Marshall Plan, which they still supported.

During this period prices continued to climb and with them the profits of the capitalist class. Wages did not rise, but in some cases actually fell. The class antagonisms become more and more apparent and wage struggles in entire industries shook the nation. The reformist leaders were forced to do something, once the masses began to clamor. They called for a 24-hour strike throughout Western Germany and staged demonstrations in some cities, but they did not call for revolutionary action by the German proletariat. They published some radical-sounding articles in their papers, as the AFL and CIO do in America, but in reality they just sat doing nothing. But this was not the end of the events which started with the ERP conference in Paris.

Ninety-five per cent of all German towns with 50,000 inhabitants and over have been destroyed by the bombs of the "liberators." 13,000,000 people from east of the "Oder-Neisse-line" have been crammed into what is left of Germany. For those reasons we Germans need to build houses, houses and more houses. Unemployment, nevertheless, has meanwhile arisen. Any thinking man will understand that in a country like America, under capitalism, unemployment is unavoidable, but such a situation in devastated Germany cannot fail to be viewed as bitterly ironic and insufferable.

The trade union leaders declared that unemployment would be of limited duration. That was in January. Now, in May, unemployment is greater than ever. In my town, Goettingen, for instance, 5,000 out of 30,000 workers have no jobs. In the neighboring district unemployment is as widespread as it was in the great depression of 1930-33. Prices remain so steep that many workers cannot buy their rations, which are still rather low (2,000 calories per man per day).

In brief, this is how the German proletariat has benefitted from the Marshall Plan. The workers of Germany, today misled by their reformist leaders and oppressed by the Military Governments and the native capitalists, will awaken. We revolutionary socialists know this. Then Germany will once again become the key to the European situation.

World Situation, Eastern Europe Analyzed in International Bulletin

Like skilled physicians diagnosing human ailments, Marxists study political events, uncover their causes and chart their future course. Three political resolutions adopted by the April 1949 Plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International are now available. American workers will find no better guide than this scientific analysis of current problems.

In "The War Danger and Our Tasks," the Plenum document presents a careful study of economic and social forces behind the "cold war." It pays special attention to the unfolding depression and growing unemployment. While American capitalism has means "for attenuating and retarding such a volcanic and catastrophic process as a world-wide depression, these methods in the long run must further undermine the stability of capitalism by creating new contradictions. Wall Street, with the capitalist world in tow, must seek "an expedient way out in the growth of armaments and in the war itself."

The possibilities and limitations of compromise and diplomatic maneuvers are dealt with in the light of American imperialism's needs, the policies of Stalin, and the vast social forces—the masses of Europe and the colonial world. The resolution concludes with the Trotskyist program for the struggle against war "as organically linked with the daily and independent struggle of the masses against capitalism and imperialism."

EASTERN EUROPE

The second document deals with "The Evolution of the Buffer Countries," explaining important changes that have occurred in Eastern Europe in the past year. The Stalinists now call these countries "socialist." What are the true facts? Discussed at length in this resolution are the varying degrees of nationalizations and planning, the relationship of the bureaucratic governments to the Kremlin, and the possibilities of partial or complete integration with the Soviet economy.

"The Third Chinese Revolution" is the final resolution in the bulletin. It analyzes the effects of Stalinist victories on the class struggle in China, the revolutionary developments throughout the Far East, the relations between Moscow and Washington, and the influence of Stalinism on the world scene.

Copies of this International Information Bulletin, dated June 1949, may be obtained for 25 cents from the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Degeneration of Socialist Party

A devastating picture of the internal situation in the Socialist Party is drawn in a document announcing the resignation of a group of members known as the "Chicago Left Wing." It gives the true measure of how little "democracy" and how little "socialism" there is in the "democratic socialism" of Norman Thomas for whom this trick phrase is a banner of respectability and a weapon against the genuine socialists.

"The Socialist Party," the statement points out, "is morally and politically bankrupt and has moreover steadily whittled away democratic rights so that dissident minorities in the party, especially on the left, can no longer work effectively within it."

An indictment of betrayal, the document written by a group equally opposed to Trotskyism, reads like a point by point vindication of the criticisms made by us of these "Truman socialists" in the 1948 Presidential campaign. Its main points follow:

CRITICAL SUPPORT

1. "When the war came... the Party severed itself from its most heroic traditions and forfeited its claim to be the bearer of the spirit of Eugene Debs. This was the great political watershed between the SP of the past and the SP of today."

2. "Today the SP gives critical support to the foreign policy of

the US... Every diplomatic victory of the US is hailed as a triumph of democracy over the forces of evil."

3. "From the outset the SP has supported the abominable and ludicrous United Nations... The Party's chief complaint with reference to the Truman Doctrine was simply that it should have been carried out through the UN instead of unilaterally... Conscriptio is gently disapproved not on anti-war grounds but (because) it is not justified by 'military necessity'... Military appropriations are gingerly approached... from the standpoint of eliminating 'waste' and 'inefficiency!'"

EMBRACED THE PACT

4. "With regard to the Marshall Plan, the SP has accepted without question the supposed high-minded motives of the government and supported the Plan as is without fundamental criticism."

5. "Finally, as the crowning shame, the SP, as always, with gratuitous advice and reservations, has embraced the North Atlantic War Pact... As is his custom, Norman Thomas is much concerned lest the foreign policy of the capitalists be without sufficient popular support, and he is ready with unsolicited advice as to how much a catastrophe might be avoided."

6. "Toward the dock strikers in London the SP took the same

attitude as the 'Laborite' strike-breakers. It is deemed correct to repress the workers instead of the employers."

7. "In Germany and Japan, the SP supports the retention of the occupation troops... In this case as in others, the SP has made a down payment on support of the war extinction. The SP does not forget to remind the government that the socialist parties abroad can be the best allies of Western imperialism in its mortal combat with Stalinist imperialism."

The writers of this document go on to point out that the degeneration of the SP in the US parallels its betrayal of socialist principles on a world scale:

DEMOCRATIC "LEFT WING"

"The SP is now striving to become a part of the left wing of the Democratic Party... It has permitted dual membership of party members in the ADA, and recently, in the Democratic Party as well... Plans are now openly being pushed by the party leadership to join electoral coalitions with the liberal Party and with 'left' Democrats."

"The SP gives support to the disastrous union-raiding activities of the UAW and other unions, support of the ILG policy to abandon demands for wage increases... approves compliance with the government's non-Communist affidavit policy in the unions."

"The SP has, of course, called for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act but has not rebuked Norman Thomas for stating at the MESA national board last year, that the objections of the SP to the Taft-Hartley Law were not based on the conviction that a democratic government should have no power to regulate unions."

"The resigning members reject the idea that it is possible to change the policy of the party because it is 'no longer a democratic organization.' They point out that the party internal organ, Hammer and Tongs, has appeared only a few times in the past years consisting of 'articles mainly solicited by the apparatus.' Articles submitted by critics, after 'gathering dust for months' were rejected by the National Secretary with the statement: 'We don't print such crap.'"

"The national conventions of the SP are shows which are thoroughly controlled by the leadership. The conventions are steered away from basic issues

and end up dealing with peripheral questions of no lasting importance... The war issue was kept off the floor of the 1946 convention until the last hour."

Then a "stamped" tactic was employed to rush it through with a minimum of discussion so it could go on the press wires."

In the new constitution adopted by the party, the National Executive Committee "has assumed the right to appoint and remove local functionaries of the party." The constitution does away with the right of proportional representation for the purpose of disbarring left wingers on the NEC. The new party statutes provide for a "National Council" which "shall not hold meetings."

"BOUND AND GAGGED"

Under the new constitution "the YPSL is now bound and gagged hand and foot, completely at the mercy of party bureaucrats and public spokesmen..." The League's newspaper Challenge was "put to death" by the party leadership. The NEC "starved our national secretary" and then offered to subsidize an organizer provided he was "a certain Norman Thomas favorite." Then "aided by appropriate stooges and ringers, it took control of the YPSL 1946 convention by a slight margin."

In Chicago, the document states, a situation occurred which best revealed "the dictatorial nature of the present party leadership." When the local fell into the hands of left-wingers, the right wing closed down the party office and Norman Thomas proposed the revocation of the regional charter which the NEC unanimously passed without "waiting to hear unprejudiced facts."

Under the caption "SP is Dead," the document sums up as follows: "The Socialist Party cannot claim to be the socialist movement. It has less than 3,000 members, padded at that, and mostly on paper. Membership is open to anyone who has the dues, provided they are not too far to the left. Party officials are sought by advertising in the press... The organizational decline would not be so serious if the party had maintained its socialist integrity. There are such things as unfavorable circumstances. But the SP has surrendered its principles, and the chief measure of its internal decline is this loss of principle and the circumscription of internal democracy."

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THE MILITANT ARMY

Jane Kelly Wins First Place in N. Y. Sub Campaign

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party completed its two-week campaign for subscriptions to The Militant with a total of 68. In addition, two subs for Fourth International, the theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism, were turned in.

During the campaign, 118 single copies of The Militant were sold and 13 copies of Fourth International. Jane Kelly of the Brooklyn Branch took top honors with a total of 8 subs. The prize she won was a day at a mountain camp free of charge.

Ruby Parker of Harlem and Kathy of Brooklyn tied for second place with 5 subs each.

Hugh of Harlem made third place with 4 subs.

Of the New York Branches, Brooklyn came first, chalking up a total of 28 subs.

"At its last City Convention in February," declared Literature Agent Harry Gold, "the New York Local again emphasized the great political importance of the Trotskyist press and resolved to make one of our major tasks the increase of its circulation. Carrying out this resolution, the branches began regular sales of The Militant and Fourth International at public gatherings, union meetings and college campuses. The results have been gratifying."

"However, this energetic attitude was not carried over into sub-getting. Many comrades even felt fatalistic about it — as if nothing could be done to counteract the increased difficulties of the past year or so.

"This was an incorrect attitude. Understanding the great importance of widening the number of regular readers of The Militant and Fourth International, we took as our new motto: Work harder."

"It was with this motto in mind that Local New York organized its two-week campaign. The weather was sweltering but the turn-out of comrades was excellent and the experience of the campaign most encouraging. We think the Local has broken the spell. It's not so easy as it used to be, but you can get subs if you work harder."

Cleveland is likewise swinging into action on the subscription front. Literature Agent Bob Kinesley writes that "We intend to start a minimum of renewal work. We're giving every active comrade one renewal card with a name and address each week. We will report on it at every meeting."

Rena Breschi, Literature Agent for Boston, reports that "A group of us went out with the Einstein edition of the paper last night. We sold 10 copies of the paper. We expected better sales but that was the result."

Los Angeles Literature Agent Bert Deck tells us that some of the comrades going out after subscriptions are taking down payments from workers who happen to be hard-pressed financially. "The down-payment idea may prove useful as people seem to want the paper but just don't have the ready cash." With a few visits, however, enough is accumulated to finance a subscription for six months or a year.

Meanwhile, Comrade Deck reports, sales of single copies continue to be good. "Ruth went selling Tuesday and really came through. She sold 5 Fourth Internationals on the UCLA campus, 12 copies of The Militant at a steel factory and 22 copies of The Militant on a street corner in Watts (a predominantly Negro and Mexican working-class neighborhood). The latter sale has given us great hopes that we can substantially increase our circulation via the street corner method. I might mention that Ruth sold those 22 in less than an hour. In addition to this, Elaine sold 5 copies of The Militant at a CP meeting on civil rights."

Subscriptions: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879.

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Monday, July 11, 1949



In the capitalist states the most monstrous forms of bureaucratism are to be observed precisely in the trade unions. . . It is thanks to this that the whole structure of capitalism now stands upright, above all in Europe and especially in England. If there were not a bureaucracy of the trade-unions, then the police, the army, the courts, the lords, the monarchy would appear before the proletarian masses as nothing but pitiful and ridiculous playthings. The bureaucracy of the trade unions is the backbone of British imperialism.

—Leon Trotsky, "Communism and Syndicalism," 1929.



LENIN

Labor Internationalism

Two rival "world gatherings" were recently held in Europe in the name of "labor internationalism." One was sponsored by the Kremlin; the other was inspired by the U. S. State Department. Both were travesties on genuine working class internationalism.

In Milan, Italy, 450 hand-picked Stalinists met in the second congress of the World Federation of Trade Unionists to mobilize European labor behind the current power-moves of the Moscow totalitarians. At the same time, AFL and CIO spokesmen were holding the spotlight at a preparatory conference in Geneva, Switzerland, to set up a "new anti-Communist international trade union organization" with the sole aim of supporting American imperialism in its cold war against the Soviet Union.

Not an iota of international labor solidarity nor of concern for the interests of world labor motivated either body. They represented, within the world labor movement, the extension of the conflict between the two leading world powers and its enslavement of the working class to the one or the other.

At the behest of Moscow and Washington, the present rival labor bureaucracies had cooperated during the war to rally international labor behind the alliance of the Soviet Union and the "democratic" imperialists. The CIO and the British union leaders had then united with the Stalinists to form the WFTU. Then, in the name of "international labor solidarity," they strove jointly to mobilize the

workers into the camp of American and British imperialism.

Now these recent allies are trying to divide world labor along the post-war lines of world power politics. They are no more inspired by sentiments of "labor internationalism" than when they joined forces during the war to betray labor.

It is ironic to see the AFL and CIO working so harmoniously together in Geneva to foster a "new international trade union body" when they have failed to join forces to defend the most elementary interests of the workers in their own country. These bureaucrats make no move toward joint labor action in this country even after the terrible blow which the Senate struck the American workers last week on Taft-Hartley. Can we then believe their new "labor internationalism" is concerned in the slightest with the real needs of the workers abroad?

When Karl Marx and Frederick Engels 101 years ago issued their clarion call, "Workers of the World, Unite!" they sought the organized unity of the international working class against all its exploiters and oppressors. They preached the complete independence of the labor movement in unremitting international struggle against the capitalist ruling classes everywhere.

What the present-day labor servitors of imperialism or Stalinism offer is a foul and criminal perversion of the working class internationalism taught by Marx and Engels and their great disciples like Lenin, Trotsky and Debs.

The 30-Hour Week Demand

Everybody knows that joblessness is no mere threat today. For many, all too many, millions it is now the terrible reality.

Official government figures for June set a 7-year high in unemployment. It is a public secret that the liars in Washington habitually underplay the actual number of jobless.

Both the AFL and the CIO have publicly made this charge time and again. When Washington itself is compelled to admit that the number of unemployed is close to the four million mark, only a very foolish individual would be inclined to minimize the actual extent of unemployment.

Most of the official union leaders can hardly be classified as fools, notwithstanding their lightminded conduct in instance after instance. Yet they persist not alone in themselves minimizing the unemployment problem but in ignoring it in practice.

In one major industry after another — in steel, auto, rubber and others — union contracts are now up for negotiation.

Nevertheless, conspicuous by its absence is the demand for the institution

of the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay.

This is one of the most effective immediate remedies that labor is able to take in order to halt the spread of joblessness. Our labor movement has learned this lesson from the bitter experience of the Thirties.

This legitimate and realistic and indispensable demand has been adopted for years by unions in both the AFL and the CIO, from the most progressive to some of the most conservative.

Yet we find today complete silence on this score among the top union officials. While union contracts are being negotiated, they are not even offering lip-service to the demand for the 30-hr week.

What are they waiting for? The number of jobless is increasing, not decreasing. This weakens and not strengthens the position of the unions.

When is there a better time for advancing such a demand if not in the days when union contracts are up for negotiation? When will they be ready to fight for vital demands like this one, if they refuse to do it under relatively favorable conditions?

Let the People Decide

As the Senate opened debate on the North Atlantic Pact, no one doubted that this greatest military alliance in history would get rubber-stamp approval. The Senate discussion, as almost every newspaper conceded, would be a mere formality. The accent was on speed.

Democrats and Republicans are in accord on this treaty to commit this country to war whenever Washington finds the pretext of "aggression" against any of its pact partners. There may be some token opposition from a few old isolationist elements. But no one expects their tired voices to be heard above the flood of rampant imperialist oratory.

Hypocrisy has keynoted the speeches for the pact from the start of the Senate discussion. Senator Tom Connally, in the opening speech, blandly claimed that the pact was "not directed against the Soviet Union nor its satellites" but was "aimed only against aggression and war."

How peculiar that this pact "aimed only against aggression and war" contains among its signatories the Netherlands government freshly-drenched in the blood of the Indonesian people and the French

rulers who are scouring the independence fighters of Indo-China with bullets and bombs.

This pact is designed for war. It aims to establish Western Europe as a military bastion. It would permit the administration, through the president, to launch military operations anywhere at any time. What the Senate is preparing to rush through, in reality, is a decision to thrust the world into another blood bath whenever American Business and its agents in Washington think the time is ripe.

But those who will fight and die in the war which the pact will prepare have had no voice on the matter. The American people have never been consulted on the pact or any of the other war preparations. The imperialist ruling class fears their voice.

If the people have the power to decide the question of war or peace, they will never let the war-makers have their way. That is why we say, "Take the war-making powers away from the White House and Congress. Let the people vote on war or peace!"

Press Comment on Civil Rights Controversy

'With Liberty and Justice--for Some'

From An Editorial in June 30 N. Y. Post

We are sure this republic can survive without government issuance of a "subversive" list. The Justice Department's inclusion of organizations on that list without even the formality of a hearing renders the whole business even more intolerable. We intend to keep on saying so until Attorney General Clark abandons the practice. The procedure invites unfair, high-handed decree. It is also superfluous. For Communist-front organizations have long ago mastered the art of exposing themselves.

The so-called Civil Rights Congress, which held a pep-rally in Madison Square Garden the other evening, dramatically illustrates the point. . . Last week the New York State division of the Civil Rights Congress held a conference to approve all the current resolutions in the current Communist book. Things were proceeding with militant monotony until an unexpected interruption occurred. A member of the Socialist Workers Party (whose members regard Trotsky rather than Stalin as the true revolutionary prophet) got up and urged the conference to condemn the wartime prosecution of leading Trotskyites and the "disloyalty" of James Kutcher from his Veterans Administration post. The proposal offered a true test of the Congress' devotion to the cause of unpopular minorities. The Trotskyites were prosecuted under the Smith Act

— the same dangerous and oppressive law under which the Communist leaders are now being tried and which the Civil Rights deplors (when it is applied to the Communists). Kutcher was fired under the loose, catch-all language of the loyalty program which the Civil Rights Congress condemns. But Communists hate Trotskyites more than any other form of contemporary humanity and Communists do not believe in civil liberties for those whom they dislike. So the delegates to the Civil Rights assemblage voted to reject the proposed resolution. Their deliberations ended with fiery denunciations of all curbs on the civil rights of Communists and stolid silence on the subject of Trotskyite freedom. The episode must have been both painful and revealing for any non-Communists who found themselves in the hall on the mistaken assumption that the meeting was dedicated to the preservation of liberty for all. . .

Stalinists Taint Civil Rights Issue

From July 1 Column By I. F. Stone in Daily Compass

I am not willing to pass over something which happened last week-end at the Civil Rights Congress in New York City. I refer to the hisses, boos and catcalls which drowned out an attempt by a Trotskyite to introduce an amendment to a resolution condemning the current trial of the Communist leaders at Foley Sq. I want to discuss this because I believe it goes to the heart of certain serious problems in the fight for civil liberties.

Civil liberty is based on something more fundamental than constitutions. It is based on an attitude of mind. People who go to a conference in the current fight to maintain free speech in America—and then hoot down a speaker whose views they dislike—demonstrate that they have no real conception of what they are talking about.

What did this speaker try to do? He tried to amend the resolution in two ways. One was by having it also condemn the pre-war Pearl Harbor prosecution of the Minneapolis Trotskyites under

the same Smith Sedition Act. The other was to put the Civil Rights Congress on record in support of what I called in PM "the case of the legless veteran," James Kutcher.

An organization which devotes itself to the defense of "civil rights" ought not to object to either amendment. The Communists say, quite rightly, that what can be done to their liberties lays a foundation for taking away other people's liberties.

The Minneapolis case, as I wrote at the time in The Nation, laid the foundations for just such a prosecution as that now going on in Foley Sq. At that time the Daily Worker applauded the Trotskyite prosecution, subordinating principle to party fanaticism, and the Civil Rights Congress lets sectarianism blind it now.

The Kutcher case is the most moving of all the loyalty cases. Kutcher, a war hero who lost both legs in Italy, was ousted from a \$45 a week clerk's job in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration for "disloyalty" because he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite splinter group. Just what secrets he could have stolen in the Newark VA office is beyond my imagination. His case is the reductio ad absurdum of the loyalty purge and as such deserves the support of the Civil Rights Congress.

Tactically, to refuse support was stupid, for it provides evidence that the Communist Party mentality controls the Civil Rights Congress. Morally, it was bad, for it meant that the Congress would not help people who were on the outs with the Communist Party.

... so long as the Communists join in the fight for civil liberty, they taint the issue by talking one way when their own rights are at stake and screaming for police action against the rights of their opponents, as they did in the Minneapolis case.

The crisis now developing is serious enough to call for joint action by everyone, right or left, who believes in liberty—but this

can only be brought about on a basis which provides for aid to everybody, irrespective of political views. . .

'Disgraceful to Bar Trotskyists'

From July 3 Column By Albert Deutsch In Daily Compass

I am in full agreement with the criticism of the Civil Rights Congress made Friday by my colleague, I. F. Stone. It is disgraceful to exclude Trotskyists from a share in the civil rights demanded for Communists. Members of both unpopular political minorities have been persecuted under the suppressive Smith Act. The test of true faith in civil liberties and democratic process arises when we are called upon to defend the rights of those with whose opinions we disagree, whether they be Trotskyists, Communists or Vegetarians.

Daily Worker Relies on Evasion

The Daily Worker discussed the Civil Rights Congress dispute twice; both times it carefully refrained from letting its readers know just what the issues in the dispute really are.

On June 27 its report of what happened at the conference included one short paragraph: "An attempt by Farrell Dobbs, Trotskyist leader, and several followers, to disrupt (the academic freedom) panel, collapsed. A Trotskyist resolution he offered was overwhelmingly voted down."

On July 1, the day after the Post's editorial, the Press Round-up column of the Worker said: "The Post fulminates against the recent conference of the Civil Rights Congress, which refused to permit disruption by the Trotskyite Farrell Dobbs who sought to confuse the current civil rights issue with the case of the wartime treachery of 18 Trotskyites. . ."

Toledo Meeting Protests Persecution Of Two Religious Objectors to War

TOLEDO, June 20 — 150 people met here last night to protest the persecution of two persons who have refused to comply with laws they believe lead to war. Both persons, motivated in their opposition to war by religious beliefs, are conscientious objectors.

One of these, Larry Gara, was recently convicted of counseling a young student not to register for the draft. Gara is Dean of Men at the Bluffton, Ohio, Menonite College. At the trial the evidence showed that the student who refused to register had already made up his mind in the matter before he ever met Gara. Despite this, the judge in effect, instructed the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty on the ground that Gara had "encouraged" him to persist in his refusal. Gara, a conscientious ob-

jector during World War II, served 3 years in federal prison for refusing to take up arms during the recent holocaust. Although Gara has announced his intention to appeal his 18 months sentence to the Supreme Court, if necessary, he has been denied bail during the appeal and is now in jail. This refusal of bail is a measuring rod of the vindictive attitude of the warmongers towards pacifists who, even in their mild and ineffectual way, are placing obstacles in the mad plunge into another war.

In the other case, Rev. Aleck D. Dodd, a Toledo minister, has been removed from his post by the Toledo Council of Churches because he refused to pay that percentage of his income tax which he calculated would be used to finance the next war. Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, chairman of the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union and a member of the Executive Board of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, said, "What do we do when the state comes along and says that you shall not even have the right to advise people to follow their conscience? The only thing you can do is defy it."

CP Burns Fingers on Kutcher

By George Breitman

Every time the Stalinists touch the James Kutcher case, they burn themselves. Every time they open their mouths about the case of the legless veteran who was purged from the VA because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party, they deal another damaging blow to the defense of civil liberties, including their own. But like drug addicts, they can't leave it alone.

They discredit themselves everywhere, even among their sympathizers and members, by refusing to support Kutcher's civil rights because he is an unyielding political opponent of theirs. That is the same argument many people use in refusing to support the civil rights of the Stalinists. But the Stalinists cannot let it go at that, or preserve a shamefaced silence. In addition to not supporting Kutcher themselves, they don't want anyone else to support him either.

As evidence of the depths to which they will descend in order to prevent aid for Kutcher, we call attention to a lengthy editorial printed on June 24 in the Northwest edition of the Daily People's World, West Coast Stalinist paper, in the midst of Kutcher's successful tour of that area. Entitled "Look Out for This Booby Trap," the editorial warns "misguided liberals and progressives" that everything connected with the Kutcher case "reeks of fraud and deceit."

STANDARD SLANDERS

Most of the "proof" adduced for this charge has little to do with the facts in the Kutcher case itself, being a monotonous repetition of all the lies and slanders Stalinism has ever directed against Trotskyism. They say we were or are agents of Hitler, the Japanese militarists, Chiang Kai-shek, the Dutch imperialists in Indonesia, Tito and Franco. The truth of course is that the blood of countless Trotskyist martyrs is on the hands of these despots, who knew they could never corrupt or win the collaboration of Trotskyists—as all of them (with the exception of Franco) were able to do at one time or another with Stalin.

Needless to say, the list of these imaginary crimes is headed by the charge that the "essence" of our program is "the destruction of the Soviet Union." But as every reader of The Militant knows and can check for himself, we defended the Soviet Union against imperialist attack during World War II, despite and against the crimes committed by the Stalinist bureaucracy against the working class in the USSR and elsewhere. And, as any issue of our paper demonstrates, we are the most implacable foes of all of Wall Street's preparations for a new war against the Soviet Union,

including the Atlantic Pact and the Marshall Plan.

STALINIST "PROOF"

Getting back to the Kutcher case, here is what the People's World says on behalf of its contention that the case "hasn't the remotest connection with the defense of civil rights" or the struggle against Truman's "loyalty" purge:

"Indeed, the Trotskyites themselves give the show away by blandly presenting the American Legion as one of the organizations defending Kutcher. This big brass military outfit, which has brazenly added book burning to its long list of blows at the fundamental rights of all citizens, has the gall to say that the firing of the Trotskyite is a 'doubtful' loyalty case. In other words, the so-called fight to restore Kutcher to his job is in reality a fight to establish the 'right kind' of police state thought control."

There is not a grain of truth in the claim that we ever presented the American Legion as a defender of Kutcher. The Militant has listed hundreds of organizations defending Kutcher, and never once since the case began have we included the Legion or any of its posts. And the reason we haven't is that none of them ever came to his defense.

What, then, is the foundation of this Stalinist lie? Simply this—that the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee issued a leaflet on the case, containing extracts from statements by various papers and organizations under the title, "Here Are Some Comments." Among these extracts was one from the publication of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, which read as follows:

"Kutcher, the legless vet, lost both legs in Italy. His job in the VA was definitely non-confidential or sensitive. . . The Kutcher case is therefore an almost perfect example of bureaucratic bungling in how hot to handle a doubtful loyalty case."

WHAT THE LEGION FEARS

Now the American Legion, as every informed person knows, is an enthusiastic supporter of Truman's "subversive" blacklist, which includes the Socialist Workers Party. Any criticism the Legion makes of the government purge is from the right—that is, that the purge is not being pursued vigorously enough, that it is being "bungled," etc.

It was in that sense that the Sept. 1948 issue of the National Americanism Commission's publication, Summary of Trends and Developments, discussed the case. Its opening sentence confirms this completely: "An extremely suspicious and provocative little job was recently pulled off in New Jersey which may very well result in the whole loyalty pro-

gram being badly compromised in controversy and confusion."

Contrary to the dirty insinuation that the Legion wants Stalinists purged but not Trotskyists, the Legion witch-hunters were not at all upset by the Kutcher case out of sympathy for the legless veteran. (They favor the ouster of all radicals and even liberals from government employ.) What bothered them was the timing of Kutcher's dismissal—just at the time when the purge discharges were beginning to take place on a mass scale. What bothered them most of all was the fact that the circumstances in the Kutcher case are so obviously outrageous that it could serve to discredit the purge as a whole.

Instead of recognizing this fact, the Stalinists go out of their way to try to cover it up and thereby to weaken the case which even the witch-hunters admit can "badly compromise" the purge system. And notice how they do it—by borrowing one of the most notorious features of the government purge to concoct their own version of "guilt by association."

WHY THEY ACT THAT WAY

Wherever Kutcher goes to speak about his own case, he invariably stresses the need for defense of the Communist Party's civil rights as well. But the editorial finishes off its smear job by saying: "To talk of 'civil liberties' for a Kutcher is to talk of 'civil liberties' for a Ward Warren or a Louis Budenz" (who support and help the government's persecution of the Stalinists). As more and more people observe this shabby conduct, it is no wonder that the Stalinists are finding it harder and harder to enlist support for their defense from those forces who really want to preserve civil liberties.

"But if refusing to defend Kutcher undermines their own defense, why don't the Stalinists reverse their position out of sheer self-interest?" This question must have occurred to many people who are puzzled by the Stalinist attitude to Kutcher. The answer is that the whole structure of Stalinism has been built for more than 2½ decades on a foundation of systematic falsification about the true nature of Trotskyism.

TRUMAN AND THE CP

To change their position on Kutcher would be to admit the complete falsity of their charges about Trotskyists being agents of the fascists and badly disgraced Stalinism in the eyes of rank and file Stalinists. Rather than do that, which might bring the Stalinist structure down in ruins, they prefer to run the risk of discrediting themselves in the eyes of the general public, where—perhaps—sufficient anti-Trotskyist slander may counteract the damage done by their

reactionary assault on the civil liberties of their working class opponents.

We Trotskyists have no objection to the Stalinist leaders cutting their own throats, and there is not a particle of political sympathy for Stalinism behind our effort to force them to change their stand on the Kutcher case. On the contrary, what motivates us is the fact that in labor and liberal circles today the practices of Stalinism are the main obstacle to the formation of a broad united movement in defense of civil liberties. While we defend the rights of the Stalinists, despite our political differences, we at the same time demand that they abandon the criminal practices which sabotage the formation of a mass movement to prevent the establishment of a police state in the United States.

And as an important contribution to the formation of such a movement, we promise to continue our efforts to show the working class that the Truman administration and Communist Party, despite their political differences, see eye-to-eye on the propositions that the Kutcher case "hasn't the remotest connection with the defense of civil rights" and that it is wrong "to talk of 'civil liberties' for a Kutcher."

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A Deathly Sick World

By John G. Wright

Elsewhere in this issue we have briefly surveyed the trends in our gravely dislocated domestic economy. It may well be that the situation is even graver than might appear from current developments at home.

Our country, like the rest of the capitalist world, is under the virtually complete domination of giant monopolies. And monopoly capitalism, a senile social order in acute stages of decay, does not possess the recuperative powers of capitalism in its youth. Every set of economic difficulties tends to become more and more malignant.

It must never be forgotten that the "recession" at home cannot be isolated from what is happening abroad. It is only a component part of something bigger. The U.S., huge as it is, remains but a part of world capitalism.

In the meantime, the world economic situation has been deteriorating at an even faster rate than in this country.

The World Economic Report just issued by the United Nations discloses that there has been a world-wide decline of production and growth of unemployment in the first quarter of this year. U.S. economy then stood at much higher levels than it does today. The world slump has unquestionably worsened in the interval.

Such developments are not only cumulative but reciprocal. What happens in foreign capitalist countries has its repercussions here, and vice versa. This is bound to aggravate conditions in every country, in the first instance in America, the largest single sector of world capitalism.

Conditions in Western Europe have been going from bad to worse. The Benelux countries, which appeared to be the best off, find themselves in a blind-alley.

Britain, the second largest sector of world capitalism, is tottering on the brink of bankruptcy, amid declining foreign and domestic trade and production.

In addition to all her other troubles, Britain once again faces a gold crisis, with her reserves already 400 million dollars below the "danger level."

The Laborite government has just announced the suspension of all new imports from the United States and Canada "until September 15." This signifies a double blow: The British people will eat less and buy less, while world trade as a whole will decline still lower, hitting, first and foremost, the U.S. and Canadian economies.

The dollars thus "saved" may temporarily postpone the day of reckoning but cannot avert it. A currency crisis is now engulfing the fiscal system not alone of Britain but of virtually the whole of Western Europe. Finland's devaluation of her currency by 17 1/3% is only the most recent sign of this.

The French are pressing for a greatly stepped up Marshall Aid program. The American imperialists, themselves faced with budgetary deficits, are deaf to these and similar pleas. They are instead seeking to beat down their European satellites with the weapon of the all-powerful dollar. They want currency devaluation abroad, particularly that of the English pound.

Britain's growing difficulties may easily precipitate a world currency crisis before the summer is over.

And this, coupled with deepening economic convulsions here and abroad, may well lead to calamities on a scale expected and foreseen by nobody.

They Want War

By Joseph Keller

Echoing the more rabidly jingo press like Hearst and Scripps-Howard, the AFL top moguls are demanding all-out U.S. aid to the doomed military dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek, butcher of the Chinese people.

This demand was voiced on July 4 through the AFL's so-called Free Trade Union Committee. The FTUC represents the AFL on international affairs and includes William Green as honorary president, with Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky and Jay Lovestone as its active guiding lights.

While all the more responsible and sober circles of American imperialism have marked Chiang's regime off the books, the AFL bigwigs call hysterically for the most intensive American intervention in China to try to save Chiang's rule from the merciless retribution of history.

The FTUC clamors for "no recognition, trade with or economic assistance to the Communist forces in China," full immediate aid to the Nationalists "under the careful supervision of American military and economic authorities" and for American missions, including military, to aid the Chinese in defending their homeland, and in bettering their living and working conditions.

To talk about "furthering democracy and free trade unionism" through the Nationalist regime is to dwell in sheer fantasy. Chiang rose to power on the bones of the Chinese labor movement. He wiped the Chinese unions out in blood, slaughtering workers by the hundreds of thousands.

As for democracy even in a strictly parliamentary sense, there never was an election in

China. Chiang ruled by force of arms through a tiny clique of corrupt war-lords, bankers and other capitalists. His armies were built by seizing peasants and marching them off in chains.

It is not out of sympathy for the frightful sufferings of the Chinese people under Chiang that American imperialism now refuses to aid him any longer. It is the recognition that his regime is so corrupt and rotten, so incompetent and unstable, that to send it any more dollars and supplies would be pouring them down a rat-hole in which billions upon billions of U.S. dollars had already vanished.

The Chiang regime collapsed primarily from sheer inner rot. Its graft, deprivations and wholesale robbery brought China to economic ruin. Its conscript-slave army deserted by the hundreds of thousands. That is why the Stalinist army was able to triumph.

China is not Greece. The Stalinists command hundreds of thousands of experienced troops. To drive them back, the American imperialists know, would mean nothing less than full-scale U.S. military intervention and war.

Woll, Dubinsky and Lovestone well understand this, as they likewise know the foul dictatorial pattern of Chiang's rule. Thus, what they are demanding, in effect, is that this country dispatch an American army to China to restore Chiang's totalitarian domination. These criminal elements, who profess to speak in the name of American labor, want to send American boys to fight and die on Chinese soil to reestablish a "democracy" and "free trade unions" that never existed outside the minds of the FTUC-AFL labor fakery.

A Catholic Answers Spellman

Cardinal Spellman was not speaking for all Catholics when he demanded that the U.S. Treasury finance Catholic schools and denounced Representative Graham Barden as a "disciple of bigotry" for his federal-aid-to-education bill which provides that federal funds shall be used only for public education.

Representative Andrew Jacobs of Indianapolis, a devout Catholic and member of the House Education and Labor Committee of which Barden is chairman, said in a statement to Catholic laymen that a great many Catholics are opposed to Spellman's action. Answering Spellman's claim that denial of public funds to parochial schools was "discrimination" against Catholic children; Rep. Jacobs said:

"As long as we have the same right to send our children to public schools as anyone else we are not discriminated against. And as Catholics we do not have the right to a separate, publicly supported school system, nor does any other group of people have such right.

"Whatever can be constitutionally done to aid a child will win my support. However, I cannot and will not support any measure that grants public financial aid to private or parochial schools.

"We have the right to build and maintain our churches," the Indiana Democrat said, "but not to build or maintain them with public funds. Our parochial schools are an adjunct of our religion, established for educational use instead

of public schools, solely for the sake of the child's religious training.

"The issue is clear. Either you keep parochial schools and maintain them or take public funds and convert them into public schools, and they will then no longer serve the religious purposes for which they were established."

The Roman Catholic hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Spellman, has joined with the most reactionary big business elements in attacking federal aid to education because their demand for special privilege has not been granted. Catholics are being urged to oppose the Barden Bill by sermons and posters in Catholic churches. One poster reads: "The Barden Bill will impose tax without participation" — although the majority of Catholic children go to public schools in spite of the hierarchy's attempts to segregate them into parochial schools.

Protestant, Jewish and liberal organizations have been aroused by the arrogant campaign of the Catholic hierarchy to shake down the public treasury with the threat to sabotage federal aid to public schools if its demands are not met. Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, led by prominent non-Catholic clergymen of many denominations, declared: "Does the Cardinal wish to fasten upon this nation a pattern of public-supported and church-controlled education from which our forefathers fled, and from which millions of Europeans, including Roman Catholics, demand to be freed?"

Notes from the News

"IN THE FBI WE TRUST" — Lt. Gen. Leslie R. Groves feels quite insecure about the disposition of the atom bomb. The brass hats are now in control under a set-up formally headed by a "civilian" Lilienthal. Groves, former head of the atomic explosives project, now demands that full "power and authority" over the A-Bomb be handed over — to the FBI.

NEW PARTY SENTIMENT — The Columbus national convention of Townsend Clubs voted unanimously to "establish a new political party." The groundwork for this new organization, according to Townsend spokesmen, would be laid immediately.

REUTHERITE "JOKE" — Reutherites in the Cleveland Auto Council elected John Le Blanc as delegate to a conference called by the UE on the Fawick-Airflex strike which was recently defeated through connivance of the company, the

AFL and the CIO right-wing. Le Blanc is the paid FBI stool-pigeon who testified at the CP trial in New York. Reutherites privately refer to this as a joke on the Stalinists. Progressive unionists find it hard to appreciate the humor.

ACADEMIC "FREEDOM" — The National Education Association convention in Boston came out against the practice of singling out teachers for "loyalty" oaths. Then a few days later it played right into the hands of the witch-hunters by approving a resolution to ban Communist Party members as teachers.

RIISING FASTER THAN EVER: The Census Bureau reports unemployment in June took another sharp rise, reaching 3,788,000, the highest figure reported by the bureau since February 1942. Census Bureau reports notoriously underestimate the actual number of jobless.

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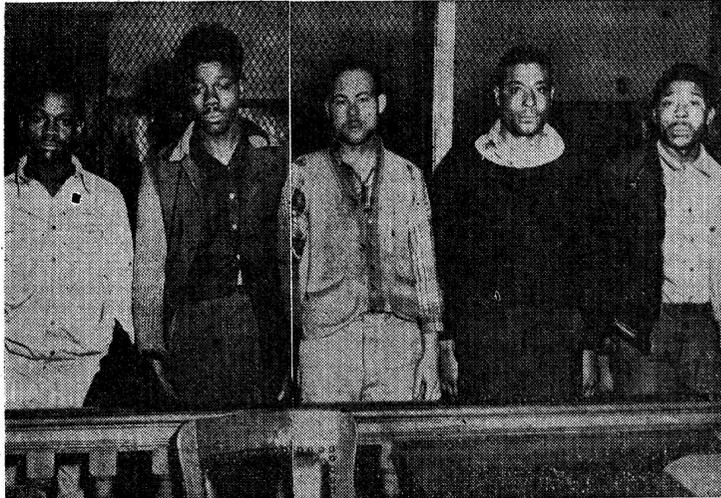
MONDAY, JULY 11, 1949

NUMBER 28

THE MILITANT

NMU Members to Continue Fight for Union Democracy

Court Reverses Death Sentences



Pressure Needed To Win Freedom For Trenton Six

Shown above are five of the Trenton Six, whose death sentences were reversed in a unanimous decision of the New Jersey Supreme Court on June 30.

The court's decision condemned the "confessions" extorted from the defendants while they were being held illegally and without warrants on "suspicion" of murdering a Trenton junkdealer.

WITHHELD EVIDENCE

It also criticized the prosecution for withholding fingerprint evidence requested by the defense and the trial judge for improperly charging the jury and for taking it on himself to pronounce the death sentence on them although the jury verdict was "guilty" and not "guilty in the first degree."

But while the court threw out the convictions, it did not free the six defendants, who are still in jail and may have to undergo another trial in the fall.

Mass protest has won a significant partial victory; but more and stronger protest is needed now to win cancellation of plans for another trial and immediate freedom for the defendants.

Charge Catholic Interference In New York Public Schools

Interference by the Roman Catholic hierarchy in the public educational system of New York City is one of the charges leveled at the city's Boards of Education and Higher Education by the Commission on Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York.

An unprecedented bulletin by the commission, issued on June 27, brought into the open the role of the Catholic hierarchy in fostering censorship of books and publications in public school libraries and influencing the choice of educational officials.

ROLE OF THE TABLET

The charges of Catholic interference were part of a sweeping indictment of public educational policies, which included inadequate physical facilities, unsanitary conditions and overcrowding in the schools. The city administration is dominated by Catholics, headed by Mayor O'Dwyer, who work in close touch with the Catholic hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Spellman who recently called opposition to

The struggle for internal union democracy, a central point in the program of the progressive wing of the trade union movement, will occupy the center of the stage at the coming CIO National Maritime Union convention to be held in New York next September.

The inconclusive outcome of the recent 30-day referendum on the proposed constitutional amendments to expel so-called "subversives" and to require all members to sign a loyalty affidavit has left the issue of internal democracy unresolved. In what was obviously a face-saving formula for the faction led by NMU President Joseph Curran, the referendum was declared null and void because of "irregularities" in the voting.

The yellow-dog amendments were devised, in part, to insure the Curran faction a decisive majority at the convention. They were intended to create an atmosphere of witch-hunting hysteria in which the Curran group could concentrate autocratic power in its hands. But the wording of the amendments was so sweeping in its threat to the democratic rights of the membership, their repressive provisions so all-inclusive, that a storm of opposition developed strong enough to stave off the bureaucratic thrust but not powerful enough to win a clear cut decision.

CURRAN'S NEW DEMAND

A similar proposition, "boiled down" to its essence, Curran has announced to the press, will be submitted to the convention in September. Apparently Curran has learned his lesson. He tried to take in too much territory all at once and tipped his hand. He thought the witch-hunting, red-baiting drive, emanating from Washington and Wall Street, had acquired sufficient momentum to carry any proposition providing it was plentifully sprinkled with anti-communist phrases. But he miscalculated.

Now he proposes to trim his sails, in order to reach his objective in easy stages. But the NMU membership has also learned a lesson by the experience of the struggle. They know what the Curran faction is after. The

process of "boiling down" the yellow-dog amendments doesn't eliminate the poison — it merely lessens the dose. But it's just as deadly in its effect on the organization.

FLAGRANT VIOLATION

An example of the "boiling down" process was given last week in an "Open Letter" distributed to "all officials and members aboard ship and ashore," over the signature of President Curran. The "Open Letter" purports to deal with the problems the union will be called upon to solve at the coming convention, but "boils down" to the proposal to resume the witch-hunt interrupted by the abortive 30-day referendum on the yellow-dog amendments.

Among other things, Curran calls upon the NMU members aboard ship to compel every candidate for convention delegate, to "record in the minutes of the meeting aboard the ship, whether he is or is not a member of the Communist Party or is sympathetic to them."

This edict by the President of the NMU is a flagrant violation of the union's constitution which provides that there shall be no discrimination against any member because of race, creed, color or religious or political belief or affiliation. This is but another form of the hated "loyalty oath" which was rejected in the referendum. But union constitutions mean little to union bureaucrats driven by an inexorable compulsion to lace the rank and file in a totalitarian strait-jacket.

ATTORNEY GEN. CLARK OK'S FBI STOOLPIGEON NETWORK

On July 1 Attorney General Tom C. Clark went out of his way to proclaim publicly that he stood 100% behind the FBI and its director J. Edgar Hoover. Declaring that he had "complete confidence" in Hoover's version of the Gestapo, Clark in effect served notice to the public that the most sordid secret police methods, paid for out of tax money, are to be perpetuated and extended on American soil.

This means the consolidation of a permanent army of stool-pigeons who may with impunity invade the privacy of homes, let alone public places and bodies, including the trade unions. This hand-picked human scum may operate beyond and above the law. As unidentified and unidentifiable informants they are empowered to wreak their malice and commit the grossest injustices upon any individuals or groups they may choose to single out.

OPPOSITE PROCEDURE

This means the complete invalidation of the principle that each man is innocent until and unless proven guilty. Just the opposite procedure will henceforth be instituted. Any one at whom the FBI stoolpigeons point their dirty finger is thereby condemned as guilty and must prove his innocence without being aware either of the charges against him or the identity of his accusers.

Bribery and corruption are to become the norm. Asiatic countries have long known the institution of false witnesses who attend the "courts of justice" ready to testify to anything — for a price. We are to be blessed with the same procedure, with the added refinement that the venal perjurers may "testify" in secret under the cover of "national security."

A monstrous spy network is to be installed, secure from any public probes or intervention, disposing of huge sums without any public accounting, conducting its operations with undefined and unlimited powers.

Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany enforced such practices in the name of naked

LOS ANGELES BANQUET TO HONOR JIM KUTCHER

LOS ANGELES, July 3 — The Southern California Kutchler Civil Rights Committee plans a banquet in honor of the legless veteran as the high point of his visit here.

The affair will be held the evening of July 23 at the Park Manor, 607 South Western, and the price is \$2 per plate.

Among the leading labor and liberal supporters of the Kutchler defense who will speak at the banquet are Carey McWilliams, noted author and lecturer on civil rights; Irvin DeSheller, CIO Regional Director; Attorney A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Attorney Loren Miller of the NAACP.

Funds for the expensive legal fight in Kutchler's defense are being raised through sale of ads and greetings in a souvenir program for the banquet.

A welcoming committee will meet Kutchler at the airport Thursday. A press conference is scheduled for Friday and an informal house party Saturday night.

Militant readers in the Los Angeles area may write for reservations of tickets or space in the souvenir program for the banquet to the Kutchler Civil Rights Committee at 809 Corwell St., Los Angeles 33, or phone AN 2-5390 or RI 7-8356.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 30 — James Kutchler's tour of the Bay Area, although it has been met with an iron curtain of silence from the capitalist press, has been highly fruitful so far. The high point was the reception he got from a big meeting of longshoremen's Local 1 (See story on Page 1), but his other activities here have also gotten a warm response from defenders of civil liberties.

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Fourth International

The Militant has previously reported on the Catholic role in the Hovde case and the Nation ban.

Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, tried to discredit the widely-publicized Protestant Episcopal report by claiming it was "entirely the work of one person," evidently referring to Rev. Leland B. Henry, head of the commission that drafted the report.

Jansen was answered by the Right Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, who expressed full confidence in the commission and has demanded a thorough public investigation of its charges.

Postpone Simpson Trial Until Fall

PHILADELPHIA — The trial of Fred Simpson, scheduled to be held here June 27, has been postponed to the fall session of the courts.

Simpson was indicted for "operating a disorderly house" because he allowed his home to be used for an inter-racial party last March 6 to raise funds for another Negro victim of discrimination, Bayard Jenkins.

The Philadelphia police raided the party, and kept 39 people in jail overnight as part of their campaign to discourage solidarity of Negro and white workers. Magistrate Daly said, "We intend to break this up" when he held Simpson in \$500 bail.

The Citizens Committee for Democratic Rights, which is defending Simpson, intends to use the period between now and the trial to organize further protests against this Jim Crow frame-up.