

24-Hour National Strike Urged to Aid Coal Miners

MARCH 1 — Leading locals of the CIO United Auto Workers and other unions are calling for a national conference of all labor organizations and a nation-wide 24-hour general strike to aid the embattled coal miners.

Angered by Truman's Taft-Hartley injunction against the miners and the "contempt" trial of the United Mine Workers now being heard before Federal Judge Keech in Washington, more and more sections of the labor movement are rallying to aid the miners' magnificent struggle!

A powerful wave of sympathy and support for the miners is sweeping Detroit and other Michigan auto centers. Local after local of the UAW is voting financial aid and collecting food and clothing for miners' relief.

In addition to voting substantial financial contributions, the large Briggs Local 212 and the Motor Unit of Local 600, biggest local union in the country, have unanimously passed resolutions condemning Truman's use of the Taft-Hartley Act and calling for United labor action to back the miners and fight the Slave Labor Law.

"FURTHER MEASURES"

The Briggs Local resolution goes on record "condemning the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against the mineworkers by President Truman" and urging "the International Union, UAW-CIO, and the National CIO to take the lead in organizing a national conference of all labor organizations to consider further measures to aid the miners, including a nationwide 24-hour general strike if further actions are taken against the miners and their union."

Overwhelming and enthusiastic response has greeted delegations of striking mine workers from Ohio and West Virginia who have visited Detroit, Flint and other cities and made desperate appeals

for food and clothing for the hard-pressed miners' families.

Immediate collections of hundreds of dollars were made in UAW local meetings to tide over the visiting UMW delegates who had come to Detroit on a "shoe-string." Thousands of dollars were voted from local treasuries to send to the mining areas for relief.

MONTHLY DONATIONS

Some UAW locals have voted a regular monthly donation for the duration of the mine strike. Local 212 in Detroit, Chevrolet Local 659 and Buick Local 599 in Flint have each voted \$1,000 per month and Budd Local 306, Detroit, \$500 per month.

Ford Local 600's Executive Board set up machinery to mobilize the River Rouge plant workers to collect food, clothing and money. President Tommy Thompson went on Detroit's largest radio station to plead for all-out support for the miners. He urged that carloads of food and clothing be poured into the mine areas.

The idea has been picked up by other locals and a city-wide caravan is being organized to bring relief supplies to the hungry miners.

Everywhere the miners have spoken they have brought with them a spirit of militancy and defiance of the corporations and their government agents. Their slogans — "We're with this to the end!", "No Contract-No Work!" and the "Truman-Taft-Hartley Law" — have been welcomed uproariously.

The labor solidarity being shown by the auto workers should be followed by every union in the land.

Bohannon Is Candidate Of SWP for Congress

NEWARK, March 1 — The Socialist Workers Party here announced today that William E. Bohannon will be its candidate for Congress from New Jersey's 11th District in the 1950 elections.

Petitions to put the name of the party and its candidate on the ballot have already been collected and will be filed later this week.

In a statement to the press accepting the nomination, Bohannon declared:

"The Republican Party has raised the slogan of liberty versus socialism. Truman has said 'me too' to this slogan, and Henry Wallace has echoed Truman on this point. I shall campaign for Congress on the slogan of socialism and liberty versus capitalism, H-Bomb politics, witch-hunts, government strikebreaking and brazen runarounds on civil rights."

Bohannon also called attention to the fact that Rep. Addonizio, the Fair Deal Democratic incumbent in the 11th District, "voted in favor of the toothless and useless FEPC bill prepared by the GOP and passed in the House last week. I regard this as a betrayal of his civil rights promises and will be untiring in my efforts to expose it as such to the voters in this district."

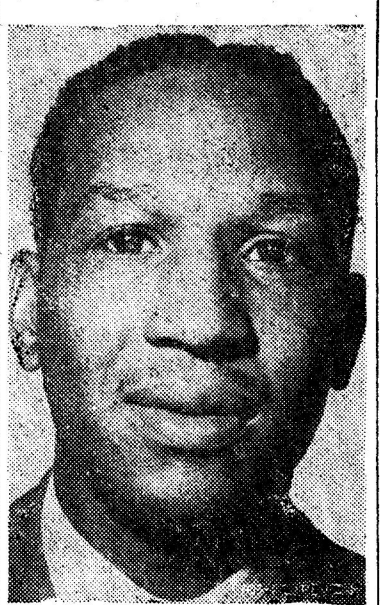
THE WAR QUESTION

"The justified fear that the H-Bomb will make the entire planet uninhabitable" is one of the chief issues in the 1950 campaign, he said. He pledged that if elected he would introduce into Congress a bill to take the war-making powers out of the hands of Congress and the White House and turn them over to the people, "letting them decide by referendum vote the crucial issues of war or peace."

Finally, denouncing Truman as "a specialist in radical-sounding speeches who is actually the biggest strikebreaker in American history," Bohannon stressed that he would use the campaign to promote sentiment for a new party. "Not a party of Big Business like the Democratic and Republican, nor a party of 'progressive capitalism' and cohabitation with Stalinism like the

Progressive Party, but an Independent Labor Party, based on the unions, democratically run by its members, and striving for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government."

This will be Bohannon's third campaign for Congress. He also ran in 1946 and 1948 on the Socialist Workers ticket. He is the author of A Letter to American Negroes, a popular pamphlet dealing with political problems issued by Pioneer Publishers.



WILLIAM E. BOHANNAN

"Life" Offers Only H-Bomb Death

By Joseph Keller
It's a common belief that people who talk about committing suicide, seldom attempt it. But the records of coroners and morgues wholly disprove this. Specialists in mental diseases warn that persons who threaten self-destruction should be closely watched and even put away where they can't harm themselves or others.

What shall our attitude be, then, to a ruling class, possessed of incalculable means of destruction, which threatens not only to destroy itself and its own social system, but to annihilate humanity at the same time? Should we not regard this threat with infinitely more concern than that of mentally-sick individuals? Can we afford to wait and see if it's just "talk"?

That is the problem that faces

Vol. XIV - No. 10



NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

British Working Class Bars Return of Tories to Power

Wallaceite Convention Marks Shift to Right

Political Crisis Set Off By Reduced Laborite Majority

By John G. Wright

The British workers, determined to prevent the Tories from returning to power, rallied in record numbers behind the candidates of the Labor Party. At the same time,

however, the false policies of the Laborite leadership deprived the British workers of the support of large sections of the middle class. The sharply reduced Laborite majority has provoked a political crisis in the country. These were the outstanding features of the Feb. 23 general elections.

After 4 1/2 years in power, the Attlee government went into the general elections, confident of at least a comfortable margin of victory. It emerged with a narrow parliamentary majority of seven seats, with one seat still to be decided in a by-election in March.

The Tories, who in the elections five years ago were reduced to the status of a minority party, were able to stage a strong comeback and are now in a position where they may be able to overthrow the Labor cabinet and force new elections.

The Liberal Party which was reduced in 1945 to a splinter party was able to register virtually no gains. The British Stalinists, who were able to capture two seats five years ago, made a miserable showing and elected nobody.

NEW CORRELATION

The relationship of forces on the parliamentary plane appears as follows:

	Seats in Parliament	Popular vote
Labor	315	13,331,682
Tories	296	12,476,636
Liberals	9	2,618,882
Independents	3	205,739

Behind these bare statistics lies a new correlation of class forces in Britain today. From all reports, the workers in the country rallied even more strongly behind the Labor Party than in 1945. In proletarian areas, it was conceded universally, the vote was "extraordinarily strong for labor." The workers have once again shown that they want the capitalist system abolished and socialism instituted.



CLEMENT ATLEE

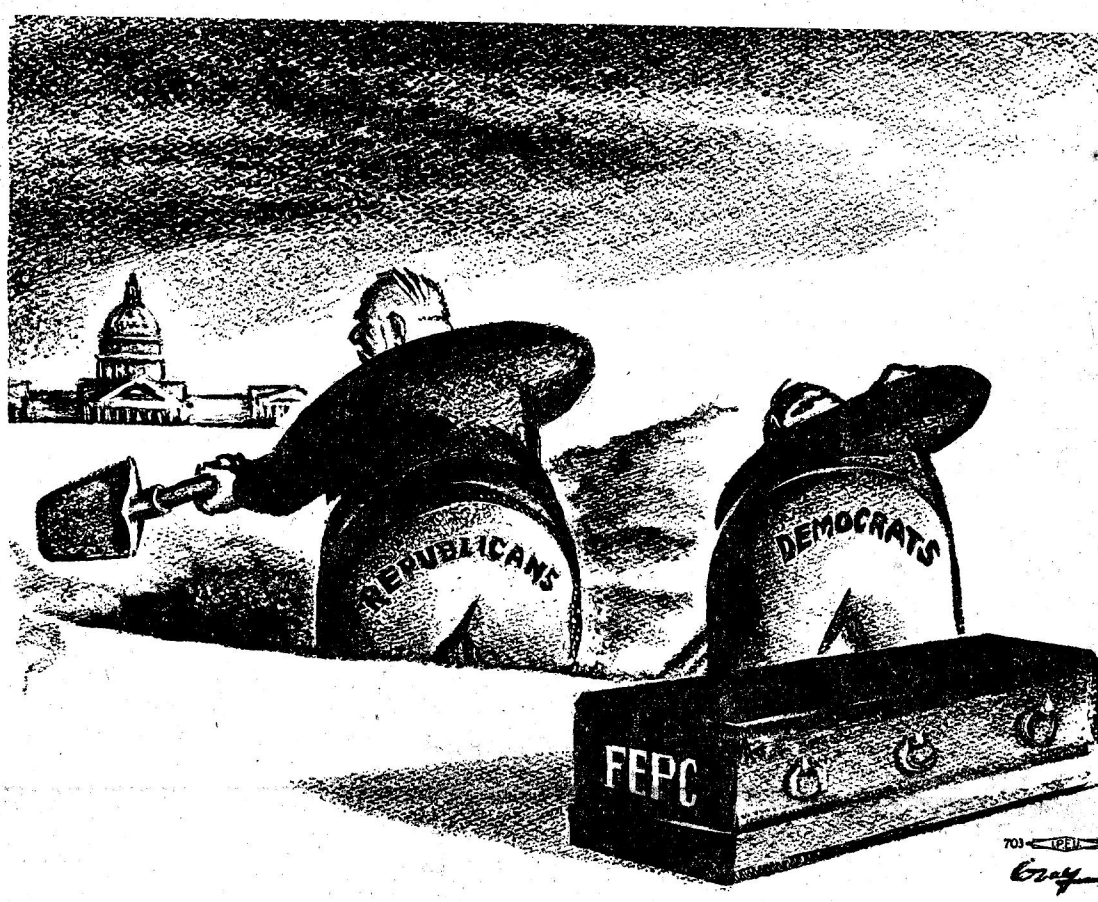
What made the comeback of the Tories possible and what slashed deeply into the crushing majority held by the Laborites in the old Parliament was a shift that took place in rural and urban middle-class areas where the vote was "unexpectedly high" for the Tories.

WHY IT HAPPENED

It was not the policy or the cunning of Churchill's party that brought the Tories these important gains; they were the beneficiaries of policies followed by Attlee and the rest of the top Laborite leadership. These "labor statesmen" deliberately "toned down" on the socialist aspects of the Labor Party's program. By their "fair-shares-for-all" campaign to win over the middle class and the farmers, they threw overboard the basic planks in their own program — and it was the Tories alone who stood to gain thereby.

Again it was overwhelmingly demonstrated that reformist policies, instead of attracting the middle classes to the side of the Tories.

(Continued on page 3)



Trumanites, Republicans Join in Knifing FEPC

By Albert Parker

Effective Fair Employment Practices Commission legislation was knifed to death in the House of Representatives on Feb. 24 as both Northern Democrats and Republicans, betraying their election platform promises, joined to adopt a "voluntary" bill that will give the FEPC no powers whatever to stop discriminatory practices in employment.

On the previous night most of the Truman Democrats had voted against the McConnell (R., Pa.) and Dixiecrat amendments to the original administration (Powell) bill. But a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats succeeded in pushing through the amendments by 221-178.

When the House reconvened the next day, it was confronted with the choice of voting to adopt the toothless bill as amended, or voting it down, or sending it back to committee. A caucus meeting of FEPC supporters agreed to follow the final course, supported by the NAACP and CIO.

But this agreement was flouted by virtually all the Trumanites, except a handful led by Powell.

With these few exceptions, all Northern Democrats voted against a motion to return the emasculated bill to committee, and then voted in favor of the bill which only the night before they had denounced as utterly worthless. It was passed by 240-177.

HELPS TAFT

The McConnell amendment, which gives the FEPC only the power to investigate job discrimination and not to order its abolition anywhere, was supported by the Southern Democrats who realized that it turned the FEPC into "little more than a declaration of principles," as the NAACP put it. Taft, who has introduced a similar "voluntary" measure in the Senate, correctly stated that the House action will greatly strengthen his chances of putting it over in the other chamber.

The Trumanites' support of the amended bill emphasized the fact that there was actually little difference between them and the GOP. While the Northern Democrats spoke in favor of enforcement powers for the FEPC, they

accepted and adopted an FEPC without them. This was in line with Truman's recent promise that he would not administer any FEPC law in such a way as to deprive any employer of the "right" to run his business "as he thought best."

SAY IT AGAIN

The Social Democratic New Leader of Feb. 25 printed a front page editorial, evidently written after the Trumanites voted against the McConnell amendment but before they had changed their line and helped to adopt it. "Such an FEPC is worse than no FEPC at all . . ." it said. "The names of all those who voted for the McConnell betrayal should be broadcast to every voter. The issue itself should be made the touchstone for judging the worth of every candidate who runs for election."

You can say that again. The New Leader of course will not say it again, now that the Trumanites have switched their line, and it will of course call for their re-election on the ground that "such an FEPC is better than no FEPC at all." But the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates will say it again and again throughout the 1950 campaign until they have awakened the voters to the enormity of the Trumanite doublecross.

[See Page 3 for an article analyzing the meaning and consequences of the FEPC sell-out.]

SWP Opens 1950 Campaign in Mich.

DETROIT, Feb. 20 — The Michigan branches of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting in convention today, unanimously voted to immediately initiate a petition drive to place the SWP on the ballot in the 1950 elections. A minimum of 10,500 signatures from at least ten counties are required. It was also learned this week that Norman Thomas' Socialist Party has definitely decided not to nominate its own candidates in Michigan this year.

CURRAN RUNS TO TAFT IN HIRING HALL FIGHT

A union leader has to be really bankrupt to go groveling for help to labor's arch-enemy, Senator Robert A. Taft, co-author of the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor Act. But that's what Joseph Curran, president of the CIO National Maritime Union, did last week.

Curran made a bid for Taft's aid in retaining the union hiring hall, which has been virtually outlawed by the Supreme Court's refusal to review a lower federal court's ruling that held the hiring hall in violation of the Taft-Hartley closed-shop ban.

Curran's appeal to Taft accompanied a complaint that the Senator had failed to "make clear" his position on the question when he testified recently at a Senate subcommittee hearing. Taft had said he was not against the union hiring hall — if it admitted non-union workers.

SNIVELLING PLEA

The NMU president then appealed to Taft to make a "further study" of the union hiring hall and tried to assure Taft that union control of hiring, which the shipowners have fought with implacable hatred, is really in the interests of the shipowners. He said he thought Taft himself would oppose turning over the hall to "finks, Communists and questionable elements."

Of course, it's precisely to finks and company-men that Taft would like to turn the hall over. But Curran threw in "Communists" in the hopes of scaring the daylight out of Taft, as well as reminding him how Curran has

WHAT HE SHUNS

Curran first ran to Truman to get help, because Truman is supposed to be such a "friend of labor." Aside from the fact that it was Truman's Supreme Court, dominated by his appointees, who put the blocks to the hiring hall, Truman has been too busy using the Taft-Hartley law against the miners to help out his political ally Curran. So Curran went from "labor's friend" to its open enemy.

He'll do anything but go to the NMU membership and mobilize them for a real fight. The one program that can save the hiring hall — militant union action — is what he shuns most. He can mobilize his goons to beat up opposition members and assault their caucus meetings. But when it comes to defending the vital hiring hall, he runs to — a Taft.

We Regret

that lack of space prevented publication in this issue of Li Fu-jen's second article on the Chinese revolution. It will appear next week.

"AGE OF OBLITERATION"

"This is the age of obliteration," is the opening line of its two-page, center-spread editorial.

If Stalin doesn't want war, if

(Continued on page 2)

European Notebook

An Italian Liberal's View of Leon Trotsky

By Ernest Germain

After a lag of 20 years, Italian public opinion is today discovering the literary qualities of Trotsky the writer and, in passing, is paying a certain amount of attention to the ideas of Trotsky, the political figure and revolutionary leader. This explains the undeniable "vogue" that his works are now enjoying in Italy.

Four or five of his main works have been widely distributed; it is difficult to find a big bookshop in whose windows his name does not appear! And a more concrete sign of the present interest in Trotsky and Trotskyism in Italy is the publication of a book devoted to a study of his ideas: *Il Pensiero di Trotsky*, written by a liberal professor, Wolf Giusti, a former member of the resistance and the Action Party. Giusti possesses some of the qualities of the classic liberal academic school that have practically disappeared among contemporary writers. He makes no prejudgments at all. He checks his sources. He tries to be impartial. Above all, he carefully reads the works of the writers he discusses. Here is one writer who has not been influenced by the tons of Stalinist slander thrown at the subject of his book — a quality so rare today that it fully deserves to be commended.

WEAKNESSES IN BOOK

Unfortunately, Giusti's good qualities stop at this point. It is an astonishing fact, first of all, that he is ignorant of most of Trotsky's works, namely, all the polemical writings of the period of the Left Opposition and of Trotsky's struggle for the building of the Fourth International. This ignorance is enough to completely befog his vision.

The struggle for industrial planning led by this same Left Opposition in Russia; the struggle against the Stalinist leadership as an organizer of defeats for the international proletariat; the sociological analysis of the degeneration of the USSR as an expression of the usurpation of power by a bureaucratic caste having its own interests — these three component elements in Trotsky's revolutionary doctrine escape him completely.

Giusti is thus led to repeat a legend reiterated over and over again in "historical" text-books and one which the Yugoslav CP leaders today themselves have so much trouble in overcoming: It is the legend that depicts Trotsky as "countering the program of world revolution to the plan of economic development of Russia." The same legend finds its logical conclusion in counterposing the "realism" of Stalin to the "utopianism" of Trotsky.

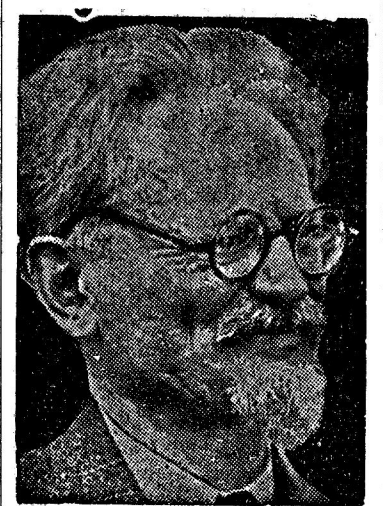
However, the historic truth is plain enough: The struggle for the industrialization of Russia and the struggle for a guiding line of the Communist International that would enable the world proletariat to win victories in two inseparable sides of one and the same fundamental goal of Trotsky: to safeguard workers' power in Russia, while strengthening nationally and internationally the specific weight and class-consciousness of the proletariat.

What triumphed with Stalin was not "realism in defending Russian national interests" but the political counter-revolution which industrialized the country

at the expense of crushing the Russian proletariat and continuing defeats of the world revolution, that is, by creating a world situation that would lead inevitably to the downfall of the USSR if the international working class did not succeed in winning new victories despite the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Elsewhere Giusti tries in vain to reproach Trotsky with the charge — interminably repeated by all the philistines — that he who had himself "suppressed" the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries in Russia, later on protested against the "suppression" of his own faction. Where Giusti sees only "the iron logic of all dictatorships," Trotsky understood and explained dozens of times the iron logic of the class struggle.

Political organizations cannot be judged by abstract or "moral" standards, but only by the role they play in the objective evolution of history. Trotsky did not fight against the Mensheviks on the eve of the October Revolution "out of fanatical sectarianism";



LEON TROTSKY

he fought them because their policy sacrificed the interests of the Russian proletariat to the interests of the imperialist war waged by the Russian and Western bourgeoisie. He did not persecute the Social-Revolutionaries because he was convinced of the superiority of a one-party system; he was compelled to fight them because they had organized and carried out the assassination of many Bolshevik leaders, because their leaders participated in the midst of the civil war in the Constituent Assembly and were even members of the counter-revolutionary government of Admiral Kolchak.

And it was by no means in the name of abstract moral principles that Trotsky protested against the repressions which the Left Opposition suffered in Russia; what he denounced to the international proletariat was this, that Stalinism, usurping the banner

"LIFE" OFFERS ONLY H-BOMB DEATH AS CAPITALIST FUTURE

(Continued from page 1)

forcing the whole world to pay tribute to Wall Street.

What prospect can there be for peace, then? What hope is there to stop the insane drive to H-bomb annihilation? According to Life — and it speaks for a powerful sector of the American ruling class — there is very little. It does not expect the "Communist pur-

pose" to change. It is "worse than idle" to hope for any "lasting agreement" between capitalist America and the USSR to live in peace.

The sole razor-thin hope it holds out is "that the prospect of mutual obliteration will sink in upon and affect the guiding minds of Soviet Communism." In short, if Stalin realizes that American capitalism is ready to destroy itself and the world, maybe the Kremlin will submit. Maybe it will fear suicide more than the American capitalist class does.

This does not appear to Life's editors as a commentary on the stark madness of American capitalism. It is not the totalitarian Stalin, the Kremlin despot, who has sunk so low that he threatens the earth with obliteration. It is the capitalists of America who, in effect, say they are ready to destroy the world unless they get their way.

A ruling class that offers the world nothing more than H-bomb incineration has exhausted all its pretensions to rule. It is more than bankrupt; it is a murderous maniac which must be put away where it can do humanity no harm.

There is only one force capable of saving the world from this raving, irrational monster. It is the revolutionary workers and farmers of the world, and of the United States in particular. Their organized might alone is capable of wrenching the H-bomb from the hand of American capitalism. They alone can bring permanent peace — the longed-for "freedom from fear" — by taking the power from the capitalists and their political agents, setting up their own Workers and Farmers Government and replacing suicidal capitalism with a sane, planned socialist world order.

Wallaceites Move to Right

(Cont. from page 1)

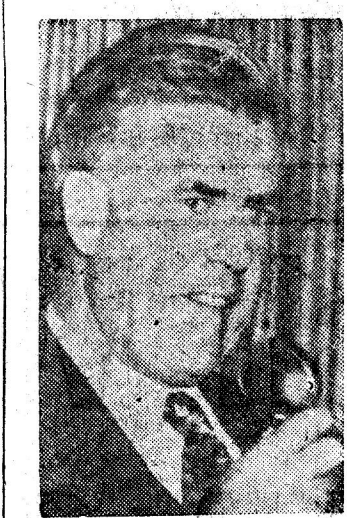
gressive party." This was no idle phrase; it can only be construed as Rogge's preparation to join his "non-communist progressive" friends in their own party (i.e., the Democratic Party) if they fail to heed his plea.

This tendency to get out from under was made even more explicit by Henry Wallace himself. "The rallying point can be the Progressive Party, not the Progressive Party of today, with its narrow range of support, but a new broader, forward-looking party. . . . What party could that be except the one which includes in its fold the labor bureaucrats, the New Deal liberals and the 'Talented Tenth' of the Negro movement, namely the Democratic Party?"

GAP IS REDUCED

In Wallace's eyes, the gap between the Truman Democrats and himself on foreign policy is steadily narrowing. He sees more supporters in those circles for his policy of a deal with Stalin. "We in the Progressive Party," Wallace said, "are no longer alone. . . . even such stalwarts of the cold war as Senators McMahon and Tydings, question the policy of force and urge an alternative." He revealed that he had written a "warm letter of congratulation" to McMahon when he made his proposal for the U. S. to put up \$50 billion in credits if the Soviet Union would accept the Baruch Plan!

Wallace confined himself to declaring that the U. S. and the Soviet Union are "the two big brutes of the world." The policy statement adopted by the convention was even milder, stating that both these countries "have made mistakes" and that the Progressives "are not apologists for Russia." These statements were a gesture in the direction of those Wallaceites who are preparing to move over into the State Department camp, but their value as a "disavowal" of Stalinism was demonstrated when the Stalinist floor leaders at the convention took the lead in squelching



HENRY WALLACE

opposition to these formulations and in voting for them.

The truth is that the Wallaceites remain apologists for the Kremlin. Despite all the rumors and the furor that preceded the convention, the deal patched up between them and the Stalinists favors the State Department, as noted above, and the Stalinists. Not one solitary word of criticism of the Kremlin's "cold war" against Yugoslavia, let alone any call for the defense of Yugoslavia, found its way into the policy statement. And that's exactly the way the Stalinists wanted it. They would have swallowed a hundred times sharper bone than the implied criticism of their policy towards Israel and on other questions but they would have split the party rather than accept a resolution in defense of Yugoslavia.

Confronted with their first acid test, the great Wallaceite "champions of peace" caved in. Thereby they demonstrated that they are prepared to sacrifice Yugoslavia to Stalin's tender mercies if he makes that a mandatory condition for a deal with Washington. The events at the convention and the ambiguous policy statement, silent about Yugoslavia, cannot otherwise be understood.

Seen in that light, Rogge's

timid criticism of "the conduct of the Cominform countries toward Yugoslavia" — and that was the only remark of his kind at the convention — reeked with hypocrisy. He was covering up with a little lip-service the deal he and others had made with the Stalinists BEFORE the convention to betray Yugoslavia by ignoring it in the basic document of the convention.

The second part of the deal, on civil liberties, was less favorable to the Stalinists. They had before them the precedent of the Bill of Rights Conference last summer where their adamant refusal to defend the rights of the Trotskyists had led to an open split with their liberal allies. They could not risk such a scandal at the Progressive Party convention.

Hence the compromise in the policy statement which reads: "End prosecutions under the provisions of the Smith Act which prohibits the teaching or advocacy of ideas. Grant unconditional pardons and restore civil rights to all persons convicted under these provisions. . . . Reinstate all those dismissed because of political opinions or associations."

The Stalinists knew they could not evade this statement which obviously provides for the defense of the 18 Trotskyists convicted under the Smith Act in Minneapolis and James Kutcher; so they limited themselves to keeping any specific mention of the Trotskyists out of the party program. It remains to be seen whether the Progressive Party as such, and not merely some of its members, will take more positive action than writing a resolution for the defense of Trotskyists. The Stalinists, on their part, will undoubtedly continue their disruptive rights by insisting on their fraudulent claim that the 18 Minneapolis victims were convicted not for "the advocacy of ideas" but for "acts" aimed at "overthrowing the government by force and violence."

GLUED TOGETHER

The Stalinists have succeeded in gluing together the broken pieces of their People's Front. How long it will last, is another matter. That depends on many questions, such as developments in the "cold war," relations between Yugoslavia and the Kremlin, new negotiations between Truman and Stalin.

But for the time being and until some new and more substantial swindle is created, the Progressive Party will serve Stalin's American hacks as the pressure instrument to affect a change in Washington's attitude towards the Kremlin. The interests of the American workers are secondary or non-existent in this game. They were not interested even in discussing how to create a genuine anti-Wall Street party based on the millions of organized workers.

So too the great ideas of Marxism and Communism, which the Stalinists falsely claim to represent, were not worthy of their defense at the Progressive Party convention. They let pass without a single word of rebuttal the charlatan attack of the demagogue Wallace who committed the party to the anti-Communist and anti-Socialist program of "saving capitalism from itself." In effect, he told the Stalinists to get out if they wanted to promote any other program than that of "progressive capitalism." They took that as well without comment or reply.

Such is the true nature of this branch office of the GPU: They

Labor Chieftains Copy Govt. Purge, Says V. R. Dunne

MINNEAPOLIS, Feb. 26 — V. R. Dunne addressed a large meeting here this afternoon in the Minnesota SWP headquarters, as part of his national tour on "Labor and Civil Rights."

"The main object of the government witch-hunt is to set a pattern for the trade union bureaucrats to follow," Comrade Dunne stated. "Murray & Co. have copied the government purge and copied it with a vengeance," he added.

Enlarging on his subject, the speaker, a former organizer of Local 544-CIO (Minneapolis truck drivers union), said, "Before Wall Street and the Washington bureaucrats can enter another world war, they must get the trade union leaders to take orders from the State Department and not from labor's rank and file. This is being done without much of an argument on the part of the trade union tops."

The talk was followed by a lively question period, and the audience contributed generously to a collection. Following the meeting, a supper was served.

would split at the drop of a hat if it even appeared that the Wallaceites were running afoul of the reactionary policies of the Kremlin but they swallow all attacks on the principles of the working class movement without a murmur, as if it were their favorite drink.

ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

The Second Convention of the Progressive Party has confirmed to the hilt what the Trotskyists said about it in its inception in 1948. As a splinter capitalist party it has proved neither an effective alternative to the two old parties nor an arena for

radicalized, anti-capitalist workers and intellectuals. Those who remained have had to drink the bitter dregs of disintegration, defeat and now even of the betrayal of the independent Third Party aims avowed at the founding convention.

Their courage and devotion in standing firm amidst the raging anti-red hysteria was deserving of a better leadership and a better program. But they will never get that until they think their ideas out to the end, until, that is to say, they arrive at the conclusions of consistent revolutionary Marxism, of Trotskyism. There is no other way.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Local Goes Over the Top In Sub Campaign

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party went over the top in its campaign for subscriptions to The Militant. The final score was 114% Figuring two points for every six months subscription, the New York comrades made 41 points over their goal of 300.

High scorer was Jane of Brooklyn. She accounted for 26 points. Julius of Brooklyn came second with 14 points and Lucille of Downtown Third with 13.

Brooklyn Branch took top honors in the city, scoring 125% of their goal of 80 points.

The Youth Branch hit an even 100%, punching through to success in a last minute sales rally at the social held during the City Convention of the New York Local.

Literature Agent Bert Deck reports that the Los Angeles Local is now making regular sales at four factories, two campuses, two housing projects, two street corners and two union meetings. Special sales at other promising points help keep the nickels rolling in that add up to a small but encouraging profit for the Literature Department.

"Helen and Ruth have been out twice in the last week," Bert writes. "They sold the following: on the campuses, 29 Militants, 3 copies of the magazine Fourth International and 3 pamphlets; on street corners, 38 Militants; at factory gates about 20 Militants, the majority to Chrysler workers on strike."

The new feature, "European Notebook," has struck a responsive chord in Los Angeles, according to Bert. "Everyone here is quite excited about the German series in The Militant. He gives us a live picture of the European scene; a real addition to the paper!"

Bert suggests that another good feature would be a "Workers Question Box" that would "carry an answer each week to a question asked by a Militant customer." The questions could be sent in either by readers themselves or by members of the Militant Army, who sometimes get questions of unusual interest while sub-getting and selling the paper. What do our readers think of this suggestion?

The Detroit comrades, slugging away at present in a campaign against any further increases in street car fare, are managing at the same time to keep up sales of literature. They have met with good response on the picket lines of the Chrysler strike.

"The Youth Group had another fine sale," Detroit's Literature Agent Howard Mason writes. "They sold 22 Militants, 5 FI's and 3 copies of the Negro Struggle pamphlet. At a meeting where DuBois spoke, two comrades sold 15 copies of this pamphlet and 2 Militants."

Detroit is now planning election activities but decided to take three weeks for an energetic campaign in behalf of The Militant. The emphasis will be on friendly calls to make sure Militant readers don't overlook sending in that renewal blank when their sub expires.

New Haven is likewise starting renewal work this week, according to Literature Agent N. S.

And Literature Agent Marianne Stanley tells us that Seattle is finishing up with the map work and briefing for a campaign on renewals. After the campaign "we plan to set ourselves a minimum quota to keep up each month."

The Seattle comrades are doing unusually well with sales of single copies. "Last week we again sold a total of 75 Militants," Marianne reports. "Sixty were sold at various unions and 12 on the

campus. In addition we sell about 15 each week on newsstands." In view of these encouraging sales, the Seattle comrades decided to increase their bundle by one-third.

Our thanks to J. M. of Boston for a \$5 contribution. "I want to send birthday congratulations to Comrade Cannon," he writes. "I've saved every one of his magnificent speeches that I've had the honor of reading. Also my best wishes to Laura Grey, the greatest living cartoonist in the world. Long may she continue her wonderful work!"

J. M. asks us why we don't still emphasize our defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack as we did during the war.

Our answer is that in the struggle for our main goal, world socialism, we do continue to defend the remnants of the economic and social gains achieved by the Bolshevik revolution. But the greatest danger to these gains at present comes from inside the USSR, from the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Outweighing by far even this in importance is the fact that the Stalinist bureaucracy is also the greatest obstacle within the world labor movement to the struggle for socialism.

That is why, since the invading armies of German imperialism were hurled out of the USSR, the need to end Stalinism and to cleanse the labor movement of its deadly influence has appeared uppermost in our press, as in the period before the armed attack.

In the final analysis this is not only the best way to save what is worth saving in the Soviet Union but it is also the best way of defending the Soviet people from another imperialist attack and ourselves from another world war.

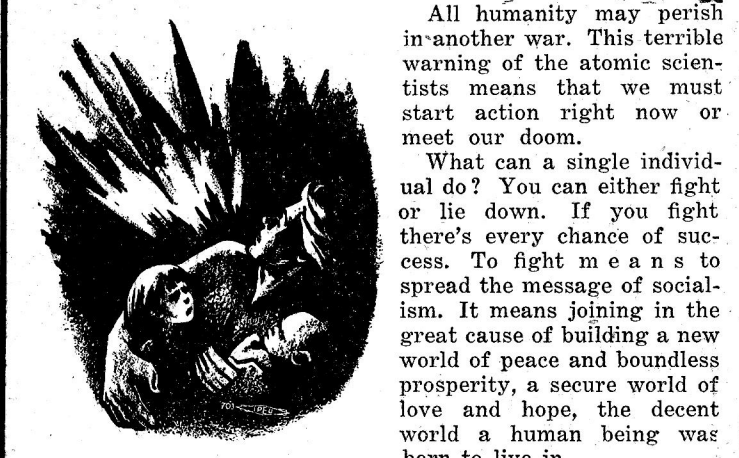
ACLU Will File Brief Supporting James Kutcher

The American Civil Liberties Union announced last week it will file a brief supporting James Kutcher's suit, "which will provide a decisive test of the government's loyalty program."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- AKRON — For information, write P.O. Box 1342.
- BOXTON — Workers' Educational Center, 10 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., open last Sat. of month.
- BUFFALO — Militant Forum, 628 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone MA 3100 8900. Every afternoon except Sun.
- CHICAGO — 106 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4787.
- CLEVELAND — Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade St. Ave.).
- DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TY 7-6267. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m.
- ELINT — Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2490. Open House Saturday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES — Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone Vandyke 8001.
- LYNN, (Mass.) — Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE — 817 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-3337.
- MINNEAPOLIS — 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW HAVEN — For information write P.O. Box No. 1018.
- NEWARK — 428 Sprinfield Ave.
- NEW YORK (CITY) (Hq.) — 116 University Place. Phone GR 5-5149.
- HARLEM — 103 W. 110 St., Rm. 22. Phone MO 2-1890. Open discussion. Thurs. 8 p.m., 7.
- BROOKLYN — Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
- CHELSEA — 180 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-3488.
- OAKLAND (Cal.) — For information, phone Templebar 2-8182 or Templebar 2-8735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cypress St., Oakland, 7.
- PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open every Thurs. evening at 8.
- PITTSBURGH — 1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class Thurs. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.
- SAN FRANCISCO — 1730 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p.m.
- SEATTLE — "For information, show TP 5293."
- ST. LOUIS — "Mandell Bldg., 1st Ave., R. 201. So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9878. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch meeting Tues., 7:30 p.m. Library, bookstore."
- TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1502, Toledo 3.
- WORCESTER, (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 554, Worcester.
- YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., phone 3-1355. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

Don't Wait for the H-BOMB



All humanity may perish in another war. This terrible warning of the atomic scientists means that we must start action right now or meet our doom.

What can a single individual do? You can either fight or lie down. If you fight there's every chance of success. To fight means to spread the message of socialism. It means joining in the great cause of building a new world of peace and boundless prosperity, a secure world of love and hope, the decent world a human being was born to live in.

The first step is an easy one. Begin reading The Militant every week. Start your subscription to America's leading socialist weekly now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send only \$1 for a six-months subscription or \$2 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

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THE MILITANT Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 West 15th St., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN



"The capitalist world has no way out, unless a prolonged death agony is so considered. It is necessary to prepare for long years, if not decades, of war, uprisings, brief interludes of truce, new wars and new uprisings. A young revolutionary party must base itself on this perspective. History will provide it with enough opportunities and possibilities to test itself, to accumulate experience and to mature. The swifter the ranks of the vanguard are fused the more the epoch of bloody convulsions will be shortened, the less destruction will our planet suffer. But the great historical problem will not be solved in any case until a revolutionary party stands at the head of the proletariat."

—Leon Trotsky, Manifesto on the War, 1940



LENIN

The Way to Aid the Miners

We hail the labor solidarity shown by Briggs Local 212, Ford Local 600, Chevrolet Local 659, Buick Local 599, Budd Local 306 and the many other local unions of the CIO and AFL which are responding so eagerly and generously to the appeals of the miners for relief to carry on their magnificent strike struggle. We are equally in hearty accord with the proposal of Briggs Local 212, which calls for a "national conference of all labor organizations to consider further measures to aid the miners, including a nation-wide 24-hour general strike."

The Taft-Hartley Law, it could strike this law a damaging, if not fatal blow. Before the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, The Militant and the Socialist Workers Party had urged organized labor to meet it with a united Congress of Labor and a national 24-hour strike. Many local unions at that time supported this proposal, but the top union leaders opposed it and tried to halt Taft-Hartley with telegrams. After it was passed, these same union leaders sought to "live with" the Slave Labor Law or placed reliance on Truman to get it repealed. Truman, instead, has used it as a terrible weapon against labor, personally invoking its injunction features eight times and now for the third time against the miners.

What the Liberals Don't Understand

No better statement on the legal issues involved in the Kutcher case has appeared in the daily press than the splendid editorial published by the Washington Post, reprinted on Page 4 of this Militant. It is a rare occasion when a civil liberties case of this type gets such a fair and unbiased presentation in the general press. But there is one aspect of the case of the legless veteran that appears to have stumped the editors of the Washington Post. They can't figure out why the government went after James Kutcher to begin with and why it has persisted in carrying through its victimization of him.

... the purpose of the purge is to terrorize and intimidate dissident political opinion, especially revolutionary socialist opinion. The special circumstances in my case [Kutcher lost both legs in action in Italy], instead of deterring the government in this aim, only made it a more dramatic demonstration of what they wanted to achieve. "We have called my case a test case. The government and the evil forces behind this inquisition regard it in the same light. If they can get away with my discharge, then they have really made the purge stick. This may seem fatuous from the point of view of those who don't want thought-control in this country; but it's not at all fatuous from the viewpoint of those who do want thought-control."

Another Blow at Bill of Rights

The U. S. Supreme Court has hacked another gaping hole in the legal foundation of constitutional liberties, the Bill of Rights. By a 5 to 3 vote on Feb. 20, the court upheld the power of federal agents to search private premises and seize property without a warrant, if such search and seizure are conducted incidental to an arrest. This overrides previous Supreme Court decisions. This decision, in effect, nullifies the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, which states: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized."

He said that "arrest under warrant for a minor trumped-up charge has been familiar practice in the past, is a commonplace in the police state of today, and too well known in this country." The ruling would permit federal officials to invade private homes at will and seize property without a warrant "merely because of the legality" of an arrest on phony charges. Frankfurter also made an unprecedented attack on the political character of the court's ruling. He expressed the fear that it might give "fair ground for the belief that law is the expression of chance — for instance, of unexpected changes in the court's composition. . . ." This clearly referred to the fact that it was Truman's appointees on the court who put this ruling over. Thus Frankfurter indicated how the court has been molded to fit the purpose of Truman's witch-hunt and how little it can be depended on to uphold civil liberties. Instead, it has given a virtually free hand to agencies like the FBI, which is already engaged in illegal wiretapping, to break into anybody's home, search it and seize anything they like, provided they also cook up a "legal" arrest.

Capitalist Propaganda and British Election

By Paul G. Stevens The capitalist press and politicians in the United States have greeted the close election victory of the Labor Party in Great Britain with striking unanimity — as a smashing defeat for socialism. This peculiarly perverse interpretation is followed up by virtual demands that the Labor Party cease and desist from ruling that country. In any case, the Laborites are urged to respect the "will of the majority" and refrain strictly from any further nationalization measures and from applying anything at all that smacks of socialism. For their argument runs, the Labor Party only received some 46 1/2% of the total popular vote cast, and therefore its mandate was rejected by the people.

Any manifestation of independent labor power must be undermined. But the perversity of this manipulation of the popular vote is even more crass when we regard the actual absolute figures. The Tories, to be sure, increased their total vote from nearly 10 million in 1945 to close to 12 1/2 million in 1950. But the total Labor vote also rose from 11,900,000 in 1945 to 13,331,000 in 1950; that is, a gain of about 1 1/2 million in votes. This constitutes the biggest popular vote ever registered for any single party in British history. And that is what the capitalist apologists in America attempt to put over as a defeat for socialism!

WORKING CLASS SOLID But it is important to consider other, deeper aspects of this picture. Although details are still scanty, it is evident from all reports that the vote for Labor in the working class districts throughout the country was unprecedented, majorities often running to 85 and 90% of the total. On the other hand, the vote for the Tories in most middle class areas was also unusually high. This indicates an extreme degree of class polarization and social tension. When we recall that capitalism had bankrupted the country in the course of several decades that included two world wars, and that the reformist Labor government of 1945 took over a bankrupt economy in which its methods of applying a "socialist" policy were reduced to a "fair share for all" of the resulting impoverishment, the election can be seen in a much sharper light.

LABORITE "STRATEGY" The essence of this strategy was to win the middle class by minimizing the "socialist" elements in the Labor Party program. (This strategy was merely the electoral expression of the Atlee government's whole course since 1945 — that is, compromise with capitalism, class-collaboration, half-way measures to solve the insoluble crisis of British economy within the framework of capitalism.) This strategy, to put it mildly did not work; this was what really suffered a crushing defeat in the elections. Instead of attracting the middle class, the indecisive and irresolute policy of the Laborite leadership repelled them and drove them into Churchill's hands. The only way to win the middle class is by showing them that you mean business — either about building socialism or maintaining capitalism.

DEWEY'S STATEMENT In this connection it is interesting to note the comment of Thomas Dewey, erstwhile Republican candidate for President, whose personal pride did not permit him to join in with this unanimity of his fellow capitalists. He is quoted to have remarked: "It's a curious thing that Mr. Atlee won by the same margin President Truman did in 1948. Yet it was regarded as a defeat for the Labor party. Actually Mr. Truman got about the same percentage of the popular vote as Mr. Atlee did." Dewey's comment is sufficient to unmask the whole capitalist line on this score as a hoax. They know that absolute majorities have been rare enough in parliamentary elections. But while it would not occur to the press lackeys to challenge what they call a plurality when a capitalist party is involved, they are quite prepared, tongue in cheek, to dub the same thing as a "minority of the popular vote" in the case of a Labor party.

Whatsoever they may have thought about the Morrison-Atlee strategy of "moderation" before the election, the rank and file have now been able to observe in action that appeasement does not pay, and they are less likely than in the past to tolerate its continued practice by their leaders. They know that it was their own splendid turnout and display of solidarity that resulted in a Labor majority in the House; they know also that it was the proven inadequacy of their leaders' policies that resulted in the majority being so slim. Where these two aspects of the election experience have been assimilated by the British workers, the capitalist propagandists will find they were premature in celebrating the defeat of British socialism.

WORKING CLASS IN BRITAIN BARS TORIES FROM RETURNING TO POWER

(Continued from Page 1) workers, drive them inexorably into the arms of the capitalists. Atlee, Bevin and Co. never understood — and never will — just what it was that produced the Labor landslide in 1945, in which the leftward shift of urban and rural petty bourgeoisie played so prominent a role. Five years ago, they marched to the polls convinced they could no longer continue to exist under the capitalist rulers; they wanted the workers to take the fate of the country into their own hands and they expected a new social system to be installed and were prepared to back it to the hilt. The conservative N. Y. Times correspondents reported at the time: "The middle classes revolted. This 'nation of shopkeepers' voted for socialization. Even the rural population abandoned . . . its feudal inheritance."

British workers will not yield so readily and easily as their official leaders. Their pressure on the leaders will mount. They will also become more insistent in their immediate economic demands. CLASS STRUGGLE The process of political differentiation inside the Labor Party will be greatly speeded up as the political crisis inside the country intensifies. Ahead lies a period of the most favorable conditions for the crystallization of a genuine left wing and for the emergence of a resolute revolutionary socialist leadership, that will challenge the policies of the Atlee leadership. Years ago, in dealing with the political alignments in Britain the Labor Party on the one side and the Tories on the other, Trotsky wrote: "We are dealing here not with the rivalry between two parties, but with the destinies of two classes."

MIDDLE CLASS ROLE But their hopes were quickly dashed. Under the guise of introducing socialism "gradually," the Laborite leadership used their long tenure in office only to institute a number of structural reforms, carried out in amicable collaboration with the capitalists. The capitalist system was stabilized and preserved intact. The middle classes began to vacillate and to move away from the working class. They became easy targets for Tory demagogues who were placed in a position where they could promise to do everything the Laborite leadership did and do it more "efficiently" and "cheaper." The middle classes are capable of tearing themselves loose from the capitalist rulers and throwing in their lot with that of the workers — provided a resolute course toward revolutionary socialism is followed. This was demonstrated in the 1945 elections. Following such a course, they fall easy prey for capitalist demagogues. That is one of the main lessons of the recent general elections. With a resolute leadership, determined to follow a bold revolutionary socialist program, even

TORIES BLOCKED But victory is far from assured as yet to the Tories. The very gains they have made point up the blind-alley in which they and their system have arrived. They still cannot rule in their own name; the mass opposition of the British workers, the decisive section of the population, remains an insurmountable obstacle in their way. The country is now split into two hostile camps. The bourgeois-democratic parliamentary system is, and for an indeterminate period ahead will continue to be, in the throes of crisis. This political crisis must unfold under the conditions of sharply accentuated class struggle. The

CAUSE AND EFFECT OF THE FEPC BETRAYAL

By Marshall Haynes

The "voluntary" FEPC bill passed by the House of Representatives has no penalties whatever for violation. On the surface it seems that this is merely another kick in the teeth for the Negro people. That is true. They have been kicked again and kicked hard. But a careful examination of the events and related circumstances will show that this FEPC fiasco is a landmark — one definitive stage in the remorseless progress of the class struggle in America towards a shattering climax. This climax may be delayed; we offer no time-table. But the signs of inexorable development are there to be read.

First of all, the events themselves. On Feb. 15 President Truman, in a very special interview with Arthur Krook of the N. Y. Times, stated that he would not administer any FEPC in such a way that it would deprive any "citizen of the right to run his own business. . . as he thought best." The President spoke the literal truth, only he did not go far enough. The truth is that no capitalist administration, Democratic or Republican, could effectively administer a bill to end discrimination in employment, and least of all in the South. The Southern system rests upon the super-exploitation and humiliation of the Negroes. The planters, the merchants in the small towns, hold the Negro sharecroppers in a grip of iron, only the more easily to cheat them, and by this means to cheat the poor whites also. Hundreds of thousands of white-collar jobs are the exclusive preserve of whites.

The Trumanites Expose Themselves

Obviously his Feb. 15 statement was an invitation for the House to do exactly what it did — pass a bill which relieved the administration of any pretences of having to administer anything. As a campaign slogan, the FEPC did well in 1948. It may perhaps do better in 1950. That is all. But while Roosevelt, that great democrat, never said a word against the Southern system, Truman has been forced first to denounce it and then to show quite openly precisely why he does not propose to touch it. So much for the administration.

But besides the administration and Congress there is the American people. Both parties in 1948 had declared themselves in favor of "civil rights." Many millions of the population were serious about "civil rights." Hence the character of the session, in the words of the Times, "one of the longest and most turbulent. . . of the House in years." And as a result of the conflict between the people and their "representatives," the real attitudes of all participants are being clarified.

Degrading Behavior of Negro Leaders

The cynicism and brutality of Congress and the administration are exposing another type of Negro leader — the board of the NAACP. At its meeting last month, the NAACP board refused to cooperate with the American Legion in its war against "communism" because the American Legion maintains Jim Crow posts in many parts of the country. To refuse to cooperate with the fascist-minded American Legion is praiseworthy. But what institutions in the world maintain so many Jim Crow posts as the American government and Congress? They teach the American Legion Jim Crow, not vice versa. The NAACP board, having been instructed to lead a mobilization to Washington against the hypocries of Jim Crow Truman, turned the thing on its head and laid the mobilization at the feet of Truman, where it was in the proper position to receive the latest attention of the Presidential boot. Though the NAACP board can expose the Stalinists (now trying to infiltrate and take over the organization) as being interested in nothing else but Moscow's policy, it has nothing of its own with which to fight them. Its policy of hanging on to Truman and the Democratic Party is now an exploded bubble. And that is why the NAACP is in its biggest crisis despite the readiness of the Negro masses to fight for their rights as never before.

The degrading spectacle presented by the Negro leadership is not passing unnoticed. Writing in the Feb. 23 Pittsburgh Courier, Columnist Joseph D. Bibb notes that since the civil rights issue "has been handled so contemptuously by both Republicans and Democrats, it begins to appear just how ineffectual the colored political bigwigs are. . . 'Pollyannas' who cheerfully point to progress, fail to note the contributions that the colored votes are making toward the continuance of political factions in office. The whole set up is proving putrid and disgusting." His entire article is devoted to this. It has been said before but rarely with such passion and violence. The only way of struggle, Bibb ends, is the way of "crusade and conflict." And this was written before the final blow-up of FEPC.

The Negro struggle is not taking place in a vacuum. P. L. Pratts, another Courier columnist, writes in this same issue, not as a Negro but as a simple American citizen, about the H-Bomb. "Thinking about its possibilities of destruction stops you dead in your bedroom slippers. Whatever conclusions you may have reached about almost anything, you are compelled to ask yourself whether you had better not think through everything again. The old values seem to lose their essence. The props are knocked out from under your convictions."

And a little later he adds: "Inasmuch as we seemed to have cast aside all sense of morality in our erstwhile preparations for a third world war in which we would have held the advantage of the most atom bombs, this writer thinks that the emergence of the hydrogen bomb may be all to the good. Our fears will prove more important than our conscience. We don't all want to get killed. In the past we could select the ones to be killed. In the future, we will be selected." Here once again, it is an American Negro who, trained by centuries of living with lies and hypocrisy, brushes aside as nonsense the moral and democratic pretensions of the American capitalist system and its perpetual wars for democracy. Bibb and Pratts are not revolutionaries. They are merely journalists reflecting Negro opinion. But who can doubt that they express, even if only partially, the effect on the people at large of the shameless dishonesty of the rulers of the country at home, and the perils into which these same rulers have led the country on a world scale? And who can doubt that the FEPC betrayal is another landmark in that harsh but necessary education that is preparing the masses for the role they have to play in building a better world? The collected papers and addresses of Woodrow Wilson as President show that he never mentioned the Negro question once. It was the mass upheaval of the March on Washington Committee that extracted (with groans) a few words from the teeth which Franklin Roosevelt had kept tightly clenched on the Negro question for eight years. We can be sure that the forces which have compelled Truman and his followers to expose themselves will continue until, with their own hands and in their own way, they obliterate from the American scene this Jim Crow course of three hundred years.

Cochran's Tour

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor": New Haven Mar. 8-9 Boston 10-11 Lynn 12 Worcester 13 Buffalo 16-17 Flint 18-19 Detroit 20-22 Toledo 26 Milwaukee 28 Chicago 29-31 Minneapolis-St. Paul Apr. 1-4 Seattle 5-8 San Francisco-Oakland 9-12 Los Angeles 15-20 St. Louis 22 Cleveland 23-24 Akron 25 Youngstown 26-27 Pittsburgh 28 New York 30 May 1 Philadelphia 2 Newark 6

The Washington Post, which is regarded as the most authoritative newspaper in the nation's capital and is closely read each morning by government officials in all departments, printed a significant editorial on The Kutcher Case in its Feb. 23 issue. Following is the full text:

Some very grave defects of the loyalty program are revealed in the civil suit filed here in the Federal District Court in behalf of James Kutcher. The suit challenges the loyalty program as unconstitutional and contrary to proper judicial procedure. In addition, it attacks the constitutionality of Section 9-A of the Hatch Act forbidding Federal employees "to have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of Government in the United States."

Mr. Kutcher, a Purple Heart veteran who lost both legs at the Battle of San Pietro in Italy in 1943, was dismissed on loyalty charges from his job as a clerk in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration in 1948. The finding of disloyalty with respect to Mr. Kutcher was based on his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, an organization designated "subversive" by the Attorney General. The Socialist Workers Party is an anti-Stalin splinter group reflecting the Trotskyist deviation from what is now orthodox communism. It is a legal political party, polled about 13,000 votes in the 1948 national election and advocates production for use, socialization of all industry and creation of a workers' and farmers' government. It resolutely denies that it seeks to achieve these ends by violence or any other unconstitutional means.

Yet the Attorney General put the party on his blacklist without publishing his reasons and without granting it a hearing.

Moreover, he held the party to be an organization within the purview of Section 9-A of the Hatch Act and membership in it to entail, therefore, mandatory removal from the

Government. Thus Mr. Kutcher is the victim of a dual arbitrariness. The organization to which he belongs has been arbitrarily held to advocate what it denies advocating. And the advocacy imputed to the organization has been arbitrarily imputed to Mr. Kutcher through the mere fact of his membership — an assumption of guilt by association which the Supreme Court in the Schneiderman case denounced as invalid and repugnant to American law. As a result, Mr. Kutcher has been severely punished not only by the loss of his job and a blacklisting that may close all other avenues of employment to him but also by an official finding that he is "disloyal" to the country in whose service he was grievously wounded.

One cannot help wondering, anyway, why the United States goes to so much trouble to punish James Kutcher. The loyalty program is supposed to protect the national security. But the national security needs no protection from a legless file clerk working in the Newark branch office of the Veterans Administration. The punishment of Mr. Kutcher serves no national interest. It serves no interest save vindictiveness. And Mr. Kutcher is made the target of this vindictiveness solely because he entertains certain unorthodox and unpopular political opinions.

It would be worth while, quite apart from constitutional and legal questions, to reckon the cost of a loyalty program that can produce such results. Among these costs are the vesting of absolute discretion in a single political appointee, the Attorney General, to proscribe voluntary associations of American citizens; the stigmatization of individuals as disloyal by a star-chamber administrative tribunal ignoring the elements of due process of law; the restriction of the right of advocacy guaranteed by the First Amendment, at least as far as Government employees are concerned. Is the security of the United States really safeguarded by the sacrifice of such cherished safeguards of individual liberty?

URGE MORE MILITANCY IN CHRYSLER STRIKE

DETROIT, Feb. 26 — With newspaper propaganda and union-busting contract demands, the Chrysler Corporation is trying to beat down the auto workers now in their second month of strike.

"Union representatives are stretching out negotiations" with their new contract proposals, claim company mouthpieces in full-page ads. These fail to mention that under the old agreement, the millionaire owners undermined union strength and thus brought on the present situation. "If the union wants pensions, Chrysler's offer is a good way to get them," state company ads. Chrysler has offered only three cents an hour for a pension plan that is controlled lock, stock and barrel by them, without even the guarantee of a special fund set aside for old age payments. The union has proved that this kind of fund would make it possible for the company to cut off pension payments during depression years, certainly "a good way" — but not for workers.

Meanwhile, destruction of the union's hard-won rights is proposed by company negotiators who have introduced new requests. One of these is a legal blackjack to terrorize workers with a harsher "company security" clause than now obtains. This would penalize workers for "unauthorized strikes." Militants think such a penalty clause could hosebreak the union. While the company speeds up production

lines at will and violates seniority rights, the union would be hamstrung by such a clause.

Also this past week, auto barons turned down a Blue Cross Hospital suggestion that Chrysler agree, after the strike is settled, to deduct insurance back payments from workers' pay checks. Compliance with the suggestion would not have cost the company one cent. Refusal to comply has been called "a callous disregard for the men who make the company's profits."

Fighting against these selfish tycoons, the UAW has stuck to its goal of a 10c. hourly wage increase or a pension plan, and for a decent contract including seniority defense, a union shop, more vacation pay, and wiping out company "security" clauses. Aid is being furnished from strike funds to needy, while \$200,000 has been contributed to workers to pay Blue Cross Hospital insurance and prevent policy cancellation.

In the meantime, the union still permits free entrance to plants to powerhouse, maintenance and office help, as well as Chrysler executives. Dissatisfaction with this policy as well as the lack of union membership meetings mounts daily. Chrysler 7, one of the few locals holding membership assemblies, gives no publicity to them. As a result, these have become small and ineffectual.

Resentment against this "show militancy by staying home" strategy broke into the open at a Dodge flying squadron session. Here a motion was passed asking the local strike committee to provide for an immediate membership meeting. Reasons for the request were to permit workers to decide strike policy, to keep them informed of negotiations, and to strengthen morale against company propaganda.

The company remains adamant in refusing to make any concessions. Many unionists feel the corporation is relying on Truman to break the coal strike. According to these unionists, the company hopes that a busted coal strike would weaken the morale of auto workers, and permit a strike settlement favorable to auto barons.



CHARLES SWETT

SWP Asks Labor To Prevent Boost In Detroit Fare

DETROIT, Feb. 26 — The campaign of the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party to stop the proposed fare increase of the Detroit Street R. R. won a round here last week when it was announced that the proposed increase in DSR fares may be delayed for several weeks. Before the issuance of the SWP handbill, the DSR Commissioners had urged that the hike be put into effect immediately.

The SWP had distributed thousands of handbills throughout the city condemning the proposed increase, calling for reduction in fares and offering a program designed to put the burden of transportation finances on the shoulders of the employers, big real estate interests and coupon-clippers. The leaflet further demanded a public hearing which previously had been denied. So hot was the response that Mayor Cobo was forced to announce he would call a Common Council hearing on the fare increase.

All over town, enthusiasm greeted the party's message. The standard answer of the capitalist politicians to every DSR crisis has been and remains higher fares, poorer service and increased indebtedness to millionaire bondholders. They continue to cover up their own responsibility by a red-baiting, union-busting campaign against the DSR workers and their unions which are seeking higher wages and better working conditions.

GOOD RECEPTION

The Trotskyist working class answer hit the nail on the head for the working people of Detroit. A number wrote in expressing approval and offering suggestions. In the auto plants the leaflets were posted on the walls. Particular enthusiasm was expressed by the DSR operators, who said the handbill answered a long-felt need.

The Stalinists, acting through the Progressive Party, have instituted court action against the proposed increase, but offer no program of action for the masses. They make no effort to encourage the organized labor movement to take action but desire merely to gain publicity for themselves. Court action as part of a genuine mass campaign would help but cannot achieve much unless it is accompanied by militant struggle involving the unions and their membership.

The Trotskyists are bending every effort to encourage the rank and file to demand of the union officials that they take action. If the auto union officials would be willing to lead a serious fight, no increase could be put over and real progress could be made toward putting the burden on the rich.

"Loyalty" Board Fires Trotskyist On Alaska Job

The long, vindictive arm of Truman's witch-hunt "loyalty" purge has reached all the way up to frozen Alaska to victimize Charles R. Swett, a laborer on the government's Alaska Railroad, because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Swett's political views are publicly known, since he ran for U. S. Senate from the State of Washington on the SWP ticket in 1946.

Swett was ordered "removed immediately" from his job, after a hearing on Feb. 14 before the three-man Auxiliary Loyalty Board No. 4 of the Department of Interior. He was charged with "possible disloyalty to the United States" solely on the grounds of his belonging to the SWP, which had been placed on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist without a hearing or even specific charges. This is similar to the famous case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran.

The "hearing" was a cut-and-dried affair. The Board's verdict was determined in advance by the fact that it could not question the Attorney General's "subversive" listing and was required automatically to fire anyone connected with an organization arbitrarily placed on the Truman administration's blacklist.

THE CHARGES

The original notice of possible removal action was contained in a "personal and confidential" memorandum, dated Nov. 16, 1949, sent to Swett by the Office of the Secretary of the Department of the Interior in Washington. He was given 14 days to reply to charges in writing and to ask for a hearing.

Among the "charges" cited in the memorandum were that Swett had been "a candidate for the United States Senate from the State of Washington in 1946 on the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party" and that he had "contributed articles to the publication, The Militant." He was also charged with speaking at and attending various meetings sponsored by the SWP in Washington state in 1946 and 1948.

In a letter requesting a hearing on the charges, Swett scathingly informed the Interior Department witch-hunters:

"I most certainly do not deny the allegations made in your letter of Nov. 16, 1949! After all,

why should I! Isn't it my privilege as a free man, to conduct myself in accordance with the high est ideals that I know? Or has it boiled down to the fact that by failing to abide by the will of those in power I must suffer the consequences? Must I bow before the dictates of a select few who have set themselves up as 'guardians of the public welfare' and who seem to be the determinant factor in what one shall or shall not think, write or speak? Where does the sanctity of the individual enter the picture? Where does liberty end and regimentation begin?"

HIS CONVICTIONS

"Always I have sought to bring about the greatest good for the greatest number. Anything less is anathema to me. The decency and acuteness of the suffering of the underprivileged around the world — and this in an age of great technological achievement — has convinced me that there must be the equivalent progress in the social and economic spheres of our daily living. Anything which stands in the way of this must be considered parasitical in nature and dealt with accordingly. The real enemy of the people is made up of those who seek to stem the tide of history by maintaining the status quo regardless.

"Today, as always, I stand on my convictions. If any man wishes to castigate me for this, so be it! Things have reached a sorry pass when a man must be stamped a criminal for trying to think his way out of this social mire! However, any negative action that you may take will only serve to deepen my convictions and make me more determined to see that justice and equality become more than political footfalls."

For holding these views, Charles Swett was branded "disloyal" by a hand-picked loyalty board, fired from employment on the Alaska Railroad, "an agency of the Federal Government," and denied "compensation paid from funds appropriated by Congress."

He was given until March 1 to make a further appeal to a higher board.

RED-BAITERS BOLT CIO LONGSHOREMEN FOR AFL

By D. Rossa

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 19 — A red-baiting opposition group formed a few months ago in the CIO Warehouse Union, Local 6 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, bolted this

week to the lush payroll of the AFL Teamsters, and charter in hand, began raiding operations.

Description to the rival union came after the right-wing group won every seat on the S. F. executive board, which represents the primary division in the local. Top posts were not contested. Their raiding now shows that they were not primarily interested in "getting union democracy" or even in getting rid of Communist Party domination. If they really wanted to do this, the logical thing to do would have been to stay in the union and present a program.

Their "shopping around" for new affiliation, with no authority from the union membership, was the first open indication of the real nature of the right-wing group. A group of 18 of them went to Tim Flynn, CIO regional director, to find out what they could expect from the CIO and it was also understood that they had been meeting with Teamster officials.

THEIR SUPPORTERS

In its early stages, the revolting group was supported by various people and political tendencies for various reasons, united loosely only on the idea of opposing the Stalinist oppression and raiding of the union treasury. The Murray supporters dropped away only when it was seen that the right wing leaders were organizing for the Teamsters. Elements from the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists were also whooping up "anti-Communist" hysteria while offering nothing themselves.

From the time the local was first organized, the Stalinists have been in the leadership and the membership has been looking for a way to present criticism without being pounced on by an or-

ganized pack of bloodhounds. The members have wanted their strikes properly conducted and tightly organized and they have wanted their dues used for a strike fund rather than liberal donations to the Peoples' World and the California Labor School.

Because of their deep resentments and because they have been surrounded by a constant bombardment of anti-communist hysteria by the press, the radio and the Murray bureaucrats within the CIO, support was given to a group which the membership now sees has all the evils of any red-baiting group.

They see they have supported a group which rejects the union entirely.

THE BECK VARIETY

All this right wing had to offer is an exchange of bureaucrats — the Stalinist for the Dave Beck variety — which typically, as in Oakland, puts a local in receiver-ship for voting to respect picket lines!

The CIO contract expires June 1 and the AFL group says it will call for an NLRB election then. AFL warehouse wages are lower all along the West Coast than those of the CIO. In San Francisco they are the same as the CIO (\$1.47 1/2 base pay) but their wage raises and conditions have been granted only after being won by the CIO.

U. S. Coast Guard Uses Blacklist in Private Jobs

Three marine radio operators say they are going to challenge in the courts a decision by the U. S. Coast Guard to deny them radio officer licenses because they were "affiliated with or sympathetic to principles" of organizations on the "subversive" list. The licenses were sought for private employment.

"Fame Is the Spur"

By Ruth Johnson

Out of Labor Party-governed England has come a film remarkable for exposing a Labor Party leader's degeneration into a servant of bosses and kings. Fame Is The Spur is worth a top place on your movie-list.

Its title comes from a poem by John Milton, which calls the quest for fame "That last infirmity of the noble mind." As the picture unfolds, each step away from principle is dictated by this yearning for prestige.

Hamer Radshaw begins his career as a poor boy in a small English town. We see him listening with awe to his grandfather's story of Peterloo, where in 1815 the British cavalry trampled and murdered unarmed men and women who had gathered to protest an injustice. A sabre dropped by one of the dragoons has a place of honor in the Radshaw house as the symbol of struggle against oppression.

Hamer and his chum, Arnold Ryerson, hear a socialist speak on a street corner. Hamer is fascinated by the orator's ability to sway the listeners; Arnold, by the idea of working class organization. As Hamer becomes the "labor statesman," Arnold remains the honest, principled rank-and-filer.

Michael Redgrave gives a superb performance as Radshaw, developing every facet of the contradictory forces in his youth, and the gradual triumph of personal ambition. Hugh Burden is excellent as Ryerson, though his role is much less satisfying. The authors have warm sympathy for the masses, and draw the class line precisely, but they never indicate any faith in the power of the Ryersons to achieve their aims.

Hamer Radshaw wins a seat in Parliament in the difficult days of the 1890's, when Labor Party meetings are small. He rises steadily, yet seeks to rise faster still. Asked by Ryerson to express the Labor Party's solidarity with the striking miners in Wales, Radshaw tries to use the meeting to make a name for himself as an orator. He flourishes the sabre of Peterloo and inflames the hungry workers into an assault on the mine. Unprepared and unled, the attack is disastrous. A cavalry officer kills a miner; the rest of the workers drift away in despair.

Hastily denying all responsibility for the tragedy, Radshaw scurries back home. He will have

no more to do with militant struggle. The sabre is mounted in a handsome sheath.

Now Radshaw becomes a full-fledged "labor statesman." At the request of the mine owners in the First World War, Radshaw goes to Wales to try to talk the strikers into "national unity" with the bosses. The scene in which the strikers repudiate Radshaw is the most powerful attack on all bureaucrats.

"I've been fighting all my life for the workers," Radshaw complains.

"And now you think it's time they fight for you!" a striker answers bitterly.

"But this is your war," Radshaw argues.

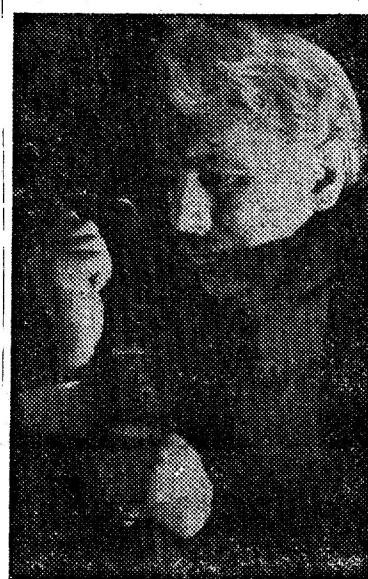
"Tell that to Ryerson. . . he's in jail!" says one miner, as they walk out.

Radshaw fails, but his attempt solidifies his growing friendship with "important people" — Lords and Ladies and industrialists. Then his newly established respectability is threatened by his wife's fight for women's rights. The suffragettes are "agitators" and "rowdies," he tells her. When she is slapped and dragged from a meeting for interrupting his speech, he clears his throat briefly and proceeds.

With the Labor Party the biggest single party in the House in the depression years, Radshaw arranges his final sell-out. He maneuvers a coalition with the Tories and Liberals, to balance the budget by cutting the dole. Tossing the unemployed to the lions of capitalism wins Radshaw the final reward. . . a title from the king.

But his triumph is his emotional undoing. Radshaw begins his acceptance speech with his usual references to how far he has come since boyhood. Memories overwhelm him. He is hated by the workers he once meant to help; Ryerson has broken with him; his wife is gone, her death hastened by a hunger-strike in prison. Now a senile man of wealth, Radshaw dissolves in tears. He takes down the sabre of Waterloo to look at it once more. The sword is rusted in its sheath.

Fame Is The Spur is said to be patterned on the life of Ramsay MacDonald. It is just as correctly the story of trade union misleaders and political opportunists the world over.



MICHAEL REDGRAVE as Hamer Radshaw in the film, Fame Is The Spur, reviewed on this page.

Kutcher Addresses 20 Meetings in Philadelphia on Civil Rights Fight

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 25 — Henry F. Shepherd, president of the local CIO Council, announced last night that his organization supports the fight of James Kutcher.

At a meeting here at the Broad Wood Hotel, sponsored jointly by the CIO Council and the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, Shepherd pointed out that the Kutcher case was indeed labor's battle. Recalling the witch-hunt after World War I when he himself was framed, Shepherd said "We must alert labor. What happened to Kutcher can happen to us."

Rev. Luther E. Cunningham, pastor of St. Paul's Baptist Church, condemned the "loyalty" program and called for a new Bill of Rights. "It is not the James Kutcher who are disloyal in America. The disloyal are the Dixiecrats, those who oppose the FEPC and support the poll tax, those who uphold lynch law and racial discrimination," he said.

George Novack, national secretary of KCRC, branded the FBI for its role in hounding individuals for ideas and in establishing guilt by association. He pointed out that it is the FBI that now determines in actuality

who works for the government and who does not.

Willam Gardner Smith, Pittsburgh Courier reporter and author of Last of the Conquerors, chaired the meeting and emphasized that the Negroes, who know only too well what it means to have their rights trampled on and taken away, must support Kutcher's fight for his rights.

The Friday night meeting was one of the highlights of Kutcher's two-weeks stay in Philadelphia. He spoke at 20 meetings, including union locals, church congregations, veteran groups and local NAACP.

Support for the case has come from individuals and groups. At the Sunday morning meeting at the Wesley AME Zion Church, a collection of \$10.47 was taken up. The Textile Workers Joint Board and Dyers Local 208 have sent in their contributions.

Among the latest to endorse the case is Local 195 of Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Detroit KKK Elements Threaten Violence

DETROIT, Feb. 26 — A grimly determined audience of 500 gathered at the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church here today in an emergency meeting called by NAACP leaders to counteract renewed activities by rabid anti-Negro forces, KKK elements, segregationists, etc.

In the recent period there have again been cross burnings in Detroit. One was burned on Feb. 10 on the property of Mr. and Mrs. James Waterman, Negroes who had recently bought their own home. One week later an organization calling itself the "Greater Detroit Neighbors Association, Unit 5," held a meeting at Sportsman's Hall with the obvious intent of organizing a

campaign of terror against white people who sell their homes to Negroes, and Negroes who buy them.

Speakers at this meeting made open calls for violence to preserve lily-white neighborhoods. Since the courts cannot be used to bar Negroes from these neighborhoods, one speaker said, "We have to use other means."

Another speaker told how a woman in Detroit who had sold her home to a Negro had been "tracked down" to Columbus, O., "where our agents will make life miserable for her. Woe is her. We know how to take care of traitors!" These sinister developments were described at today's protest rally by Herbert Hill, NAACP assistant field secretary who had attended the meeting of the "Neighbors Association."

James Waterman also spoke, giving details about the burning

of the cross in front of his home and voicing his determination to stay where he is, come hell or high water.

The NAACP will demand a hearing before the Housing Commission and the Mayor, at which they and a committee representing labor organizations and churches will demand action to protect Negro home-owners and whites who want to sell their homes to Negroes.

It will also take all the legal steps necessary to force the Housing Commission to discontinue its policy of racial segregation in public housing, which serves to encourage the KKK elements.

Several speakers said that mass mobilizations and action would be necessary if these steps did not bring relief from the menace of the Jim Crow attacks.