

The official copy of these minutes in our possession con- do worse than check with local porting, if the Pulitzer Prize comtains the following warning at unions as to the political beliefs mittee were not guided by politithe top of the first page: "Con- of employment applicants. Local cal considerations. For Miss fidential—For use of members unions are in a better position to Strong, wherever she has travelonly and not for publication." In know if applicants are commun- ed, in Europe or in Asia, has an addition to Nathanson's speech ists, fellow travellers or neither." and his "confidential" replies to questions, the minutes include the names of all those in attendance.

0

that his advocacy of job dis-Typical of those present were Clayton C. Cole and E.-D. Stark- crimination applied only to "communists" and "fellow travellers," weather, respectively of the labor the employers use these terms to relations and industrial relations cover the entire area of union departments of North American militants. Aircraft, Although this group

uses the label of "Town Hall," it Nathanson indicated, moreover, is a private body which meets in closed session. Only invited guests that the UAW top leaders have may attend. Nathanson's advocacy of poli-

tion to answer. The employer can zer Prize for foreign news reamazing faculty for giving American readers the clearest answers

WITHOUT COMMENT

The Feb. 16 Daily Worker published without comment the facts of a brief United Press dispatch about the arrest of Miss Strong, for more than two decades a wellin answer to another question, known apologist for Stalinism and regular visitor to the Soviet

**Slander Against SWP By Farrell Dobbs** in mind others than members or Union. The dispatch quoted a Tass sympathizers of the Communist news agency report that Moscow Stalinist) Party. He described newspapers had announced the

| ing," he said, "were they extend-| defend civil rights in the first

Feb. 16-Smother the truth under aside as "kip-service." calling where Trotskyists are concerned

Christ who took the Sermon on the Mount seriously. Pope Pius XII has not mentioned humble John Tsoukaris while denouncing the Hungarian government for daring to try a "Prince of the Church" in a civil court. With few exceptions, the clergy of all the other rich and powerful churches who joined in the chorus about the Mindszenty case have kept indecent silence about John Tsoukaris.

Truman and Acheson have not called Tsoukaris's court martial a "kangaroo trial," nor threatened diplomatic steps against the Greek government, as they did against the Hungarian regime. No capitalist politician has risen in Congress to enter his protest in the Congressional Record. The United Nations is not implementing its "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," which says that "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. . . freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

#### **Demolishes Hypocritical Claims**

By Farrell Dobbs FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Davis brushes these statements the statements of the truth is forbidden, especially the truth is forbidden, especially though John Tsoukaris was not a Stalinist, it was enough that he

their political opponents, including Cardinals. But the case of John

ALL MILITANTS MEANT to the questions uppermost in Although Nathanson claimed their minds."

tical discrimination in employarrest of "the notorious intellihow the "forces behind Walter ment and his offer of aid to the gence agent, the American jour-Reuther . . . have worked hard" corporations to carry out this nalist. Anna Louise Strong, who, to fight "communists . . . all the policy was stated specifically in through negligence of certain forway down to the local level" and his answers to questions from eign relations officials, made her corporation spokesmen at the (Continued on Page 2) way into the U.S.S.R."



A meeting of the Industrial Relations Section of Town Hall was held at 12:00 o'clock noon on Wednesday, September 22, 1948 in Conference Room 5 of the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles. Those present were:



The campaign against communism is an old and continuing fight. The campaign was an active one in labor unions before the battle against communists became a national sport.

It takes hard work to rid local unions of communists. You can't beat them except activizing the members - sometimes even stealing some of their own tactics and using them against them. You must be as active and interested as they are. You must out-think

QUESTION: Do you advocate that employers not hire known communists in view of the fact that the communists party has never been outlawed? ANSWER :

Yes, they should not hire them. They should realize that there is no obligation on the part of any employer to hire any particular man. Hiring them is not in the interests of national security. Contracts containing "no discrimination" hiring clauses, are intended to protect color, religious and sex minority groups.

QUESTION: Would you extend this bar to employment to include fellow travellers? ANSWER : This is a hard question to answer. The employer can do worse than to check with local unions as to the political beliefs of employment applicants. Local unions are in a better position to know if applicants are communists, ellow travellers or neither. Before advising that this employment bar he

Photostat of portions of minutes of "Industrial Relations Section of Town Hall" meeting where Benedict Nathanson, UAW Aircraft Division Director, urged West Coast employers to bar "communists" from jobs.

seekers of the truth with stink an eulogy of the Trotzkyists." Let the truth. bombs' of slander-that is the Stalinist method.

us examine the "eulogy."

Answer to Ben Davis'

Benjamin J. Davis, one of the A TRUTHFUL REPORT 11 Stalinists now on trial, uses "Ironically," Moon said, "the the Feb. 13 Worker to confuse and lic support on the grounds that disorient the Negro people. Davis all dissident elements are threat- der." That lie was invented by NAACP, for his remarks about Trotskyites whose leaders were sky and the atrocious lynching of imperialism. the trial of the Stalinists in the tried and convicted under the same the rest of Lenin's Central Com-

Feb. 5 N. Y. Age. guarantee of freedom of expres- coming to the defense of the ac- betraying the country to Hitler.' sion" and upheld the Stalinists' cused anti-Stalin Communists." That crude lie was concocted by contention that their civil liberties are invaded by the thought-con- Trotskyists turns out to be mere- their sabotage of the campaign trol prosecution. "Civil liberties ly a truthful report that the in defense of the Trotskyists who would be utterly without mean- Stalinists sabotaged the fight to

act [in 1941]." The Stalinists, he mittee.

## PHILA. TRANSIT WORKERS SHOW POWER IN STRIKE

#### By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16 - Now in its sixth day, with no indication of a settlement, the strike by Local 234 of the Moon defended the "civil rights" CIO Transport Workers against the Philadelphia Transporta- of the hated Klan to terrorize and tion Co., finds the workers' ranks

the charge that 85% of the PTC solid. Not a street car, bus, subworkers opposed the strike. The ers," fascists and the Klan. His way or elevated train moves as the strikers continue the fight for perfect refutation of this charge was provided when the strike vote | impression that Moon favors freebasic working conditions won by meeting was broadcast over the most of organized labor years ago. The taxi drivers have also been local radio. The vote was practically unanimous. The tremendous on strike for two days. ovation of the workers shook the

The solidarity expressed by all foundations of every home with other unions toward the 11,000 a radio receiver. TWU members is surprising and

It may come as a shock to some disheartening to the anti-labor people that American workers to-PTC management who had hoped day should be forced to strike that fear of another fare increase for such elementary demands as (the third asked in two years) the 40-hour week, overtime pay and the inconvenience suffered by for overtime worked, extra comother workers would induce hospensation for week-end work, not tility toward the strikers. to mention decent wages. But it's A sham struggle against a fare

true. increase has been the city administration's pretext for trying to TRUTH ABOUT WAGES pressure the workers to accept a The company's claim about high 3-cent increase instead of the 20 wages clashes violently with the cents they demand. One member facts. From pickets at the Ridge of the City Council sought to raise

Depot, I got the following inforthe scare that granting the union mation: M'aintenance men get an demands would require a 33c fare! average of \$42 a week; car clean-(The fare is now 10c-13c.) Other ers earn only \$1.18 an hour, and councilmen called for the declarasince they seldom have a full tion of a "state of emergency" week's work, average about \$30 so the Mayor could request troops take-home pay; a fireman and and the National Guard. watchman I spoke to averages

The capitalist press here is fill-\$38 take-home; the roadway ed with anti-union propaganda. Among other things it has printed (Continued on page 2)

or anyone else as a matter of a blanket of lies and drive off Moon's article "little more than Davis therefore tries to smother religious principle. It is no secret that the Stalinists are capable of framing up

He repeats the big lie of the discredited Moscow Trials that Tsoukaris at one blow demolishes the hypocritical claim of the Ro-

Moon's alleged "eulogy" of the the Stalinists as a pretext for were imprisoned solely because of their Marxist ideas.

Moon, who is not a Trotskyist, and can best be described as a New Deal Democrat, stated the civil libertarian view that freedom of ideas should extend to all. including fascists and the Ku Klux Klan. Here Davis finds raw material from which to fabricate further monstrous lies.

He maliciously insinuates that murder Negro people. And he lumps together "Trotskyist wrecksinister aim is to create the false dom of ideas for the Trotskyists only because he holds that fascists and the Klan should have freedom of ideas.

Davis cuts two more lies from (Continued on page 2)

#### **Report Dutch Troop Revolt in Indonesia**

According to a Feb. 14 Associated Press dispatch from Singapore, a revolt of Dutch troops was put down in blood recently. Some 213 Dutch soldiers stationed at Fort De Kock (Bukitinggi), Sumatra, were executed "for revolting against their command."

Whether t h e y rebelled against fighting in a colonial war of conquest was not indicated. The source of the report was the Singapore office of the Republic of Indonesia. The office said that the slain men's bodies were buried in a fish pond.

"Trotskyism is not a political man Catholic hierarchy, the Truman administration and the capitaltrend or political party," that it ist press that they are championing "religious freedom" in their the lie-and-slander technique in Communists, who now seek pub- is "gangsterism, disruption, propaganda campaign around the Mindszenty case. They are merely wrecking, assassination and mur- using the issue of "freedom of religion" and the Mindszenty affair as one more means to prepare public opinion for a Third World spits venom at Henry Lee Moon, ened by the Smith Act, lifted not Stalin as a gruesome alibi for the War and to justify and incite the witch-hunt in this country against public relations director of the a single finger to aid the brutal assassination of Leon Trot- any who dare to oppose the foreign and domestic policies of U.S. Moon branded the Smith Act added, "also sought to prevent "violative of the constitutional believers in civil liberties from that the Trotskyists "were caught coming to the defense of the act between the liberties and between the Hitler"

## **JOIN KUTCHER DEFENSE**

Arthur Garfield Hays and Thomas I. Emerson, two of the country's foremost legal authorities in the civil liberties field, have just joined the National Committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is ?

defending the legless veteran of the American Civil Liberties fired from his government job on account of his political opinions. Mr. Hays is General Counsel

#### **Protest on Purge By Willard Motley**

CHICAGO - Willard Motley, author of the best-selling novel, Knock On Any Door, issued the following protest against the discharge of James Kutcher:

"James Kutcher's loyalty was not questioned when he was sent into battle. Why is it questioned now that he has come home minus his legs? Surely our gratitude

is a strange thing indeed! "The most subversive thinking in this country today is the perverted idea that mass purges (tragically misnamed 'the loyalty program') without benefit of

judicial procedures are in the spirit of the democratic processes. "A loyalty program is called for, yes. A loyalty program rooting out those who advocate this subversion of the Bill of Rights, not a 'loyalty program' which persecutes a loyal, legless veteran who has never denied his ideas nor dreamed that he had to denv them. "When the Bill of Rights is forced underground, this is sub-

versive indeed, and it would seem entire question constitutes a that subversion is rife among us forceful condemnation of the ad--not in the James Kutchers, but in the men who are trying to force upon us this vile programor it pogrom?"

Union and has conducted the legal defense in many of the most celebrated civil rights cases of the present generation. He is best-known for his work in the Scopes "anti-evolution" trial at Dayton, Tenn.; in the attempted frameup of the anti-fascist Athos Terzani in Queens County, N. Y.; and in the fight for free speech and union organization against Boss Hague in Jersey City, N. J. He became internationally famous for his role in the Commission organized to hold a countertrial of the Nazis' Reichstag Fire frameup of the German Communist Party.

Professor Emerson, a former general counsel of the Office of War Mobilization, is now Professor of Law at Yale University Law School. He is also a national committeeman of the Progressive Party and was its nominee for Governor of Connecticut in the recent elections but withdrew in favor of Chester Bowles, the present Democratic incumbent. Professor Emerson has published a 143-page report on the government's loyalty program in a recent issue of the Yale Law Journal, written in collaboration with David M. Helfeld. This comprehensive survey of the ministration's purge activities which are compared to those of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

#### Page Two

THE MILITANT

Social Democrats Endorse Witch-Hunt in Colleges

**Zipper Plant Zipped Shut** 

#### By George Breitman

The New Leader, rallying center for Social Democrats, Trumanite liberals and assorted Stalinophobes, has now given its formal blessing to the spreading invasion of the witch-hunt into the field of education. In

no service for capitalist reaction which the New Leader is unacademic purges.

system. . . It is well to have among the instructors teachers belonging to all parties and to all "opinion groups from the most conservative to the most radical... Americans have always believed this sort of intellectual variety." BUT-

"But in this system of academic freedom, the Communists present a special problem. Can we increase and preserve our freedom

of teaching by hiring and retainnot free? Members of the Commen under the influence of Communist thought have made intellectual commitments. They, critically. What they are bound Any university or educational system is justified in rejecting such instructors on purely educational grounds. . .'

the teachers not on the basis of certain political or theoretical differences - but on the ground that those who have such differences are automatically un-Jones because he tends to accept Marxist ideas — that's too crude. Fire him on the ground that he isn't a good teacher — that sounds more "democratic" and

The formula is not original, of from one school of reaction or another. Stalin uses it in his purges too; educators ousted are not only accused of deviating

addition, as proof that there is ism, he is also the country's fore-most publicist for the victory of deGaullism in France. Should he willing to perform, it has offered be fired from the teaching staff to the witch-hunters — free of of New York University because charge - a "non-political" for- of these intellectual commitmula which they can use as a ments? Obviously not, according "democratic" mask for their to the New Leader, which has

just completed the publication of Most attacks on democratic three articles by Burnham exrights begin with expressions of tolling deGaullist authoritariandevotion to democracy. And the ism. In short, it is not mere belief New Leader editorial of Feb. 5 or advocacy of belief, no matter is no exception: "Freedom of how reactionary, which disqualteaching is an ancient and ifies a man as a teacher in the respected part of the American eyes of the New Leader.

"Intellectual commitments," then, is Social Democratic jargon for "dangerous thoughts" dangerous, that is, to capitalism. Teachers with pro-capitalist commitments are acceptable to the in the freedom which provides Social Democrats; advocates of "free enterprise" and agitators for war against the Soviet Union

are not "sterile and prescribed" and can be depended on to give their students the objective truth.

But those teachers who quesing as instructors men who are tion or reject the premises of capitalism-either from the viewmunist Party or, often enough, point of revolutionary Marxism or of Stalinism, which the Social Democrats join the Stalinists in identifying as one and the same themselves, are not free to ap- thing although they are opposites proach problems openly and -such teachers are congenitally incapable of presenting the truth to teach is sterile and prescribed. and must be driven from the campus. This is the gospel of democracy, 1949 model, as interpreted by the ideologists of the coming war of "democracy And that's the formula. Purge against totalitarianism."

WHERE DO THEY STAND? Almost simultaneous with the the passage by the Oklahoma able to teach the "objective House of Representatives of a truth" and are not qualified as bill requiring the signing of an questions therefore present themteachers on "purely educational "anti-communist" oath by both selves:

less "discriminatory." (Continued from page 1)

cism," the Trotskyists. from schools in the Soviet Union the attitude of the Negro people THE 18 TROTSKYISTS CON- offer. toward the 18 Trotskyist defendbut also of failing in their duty as teachers, And when James Wutcher was fired in Newark he from the Stalinist political line ants in the first thought-control

11:42

Scene at soup kitchen of strikers at the zipper manufacturing Conmar plant in Newark, N. J., which was shut down for two weeks until the company met the demands of the strikers, members of the CIO United Electrical Workers. The strike was supported by AFL machinists also employed in the plant.

University of Oklahoma. (These New Leader do anything but suplegislators evidently believe that port such a measure in principle? if teachers with "intellectual com- If it is in the interests of the mitments" have no place in Social Democratic concept of the schools, then neither have academic freedom to purge the students with such commitments.) school of those with dangerous The bill, now under consideration thoughts, why should they balk pleas for special privilege will by the State Senate, would subject violators to a \$500 fine and 10 days in jail. It has aroused a veritable storm

academic organizations-none of of democratic socialism" like the

affidavit introduced in the Taft-**UAW Officials'** Hartley Law.) **Collusion With** AN UNEASY PLEA Throw them out, but give more freedom to those of us who sup-

editorial ends: "As long as teachers are democrats, as long should be encouraged to follow the truth and to encourage freedom of thought and discussion among their students. The effort to root out Communists-who are against freedom-must logically be accompanied by a conscious of freedom.

There is good reason for this measy note in the Social Democrats' plea to the ruling class. They know well enough that witch-hunters don't always stop to draw fine distinctions about treating "democratic socialists" or even liberals differently from Marxists or Stalinists (see, for example, the dismissal from Olivet College of Professor Tucker . P. Smith, a member of the Socialist Party which is blood-brother to the Social Demo-

cratic Federation.) They know from the way Hitler treated the German Social Democrats that reactionaries are not always properly grateful for anti-comnunist formulas and tend to lump together and destroy every organization associated with the labor movement.

reason for trepidation, but their

port you in this move—that is the note on which the New Leader Bosses Revealed (Continued from Page 1) how "many locals have expelled as they are not disloyal, they these undesirables from office" under the UAW constitutional

> Nazis, Fascists, etc." from union posts. He cited as an example the attempted expulsion from office Local 216, Southgate, Calif. The majority of these officers were

prominent union militants and well-known anti-Stalinists who, at the same time, opposed Reuther's policies. Moreover, they were not charged with being "communists. Nazis. Fascists. etc.," but with refusing to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. Nathanson added regretfully that the expulsions were "not achieved in this instance" because the membership' would not ratify them. In his main speech, Nathanson

incited the corporation representatives to intensify the witch-hunt and job discrimination by his scare-talk about "the extent to which communists are migrating

The Social Democrats have good the extent of this migration. Every day applicants for employment would come in asking about employment opportunities in aircraft. Most of these applicants were from the East and many of access to the Atlantic. And it use of Communist jargon." Nathanson revealed that he and

the Social Democrats favor the recruits to its list of contributors



**Answer to Ben Davis' Slanders** 

Moon, who has exposed a Stalin-| Marxist-Leninist principles, have | is a member of the Communist the whole cloth when he accuses ist act of treachery. Here is the offered the Stalinists a united Party. The courtroom was thrown the communists" is by "sometimes course. It is borrowed, as virtually Moon of upbraiding the Negro and Secure into the into an uproar, with all five de-all Social Democratic ideas are, neople for "not rallying to the DR. DuBOIS WAS AMONG Smith Act and in defense of its fense lawyers on their feet obfront to fight for repeal of the into an uproar, with all five de- even stealing their own tactics." support of these agents of fas-cism." the Trotskvists. THE FIRST TO JOIN THE latest victims. With their typical jecting. CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COM- disregard for correct principles, After

Moon didn't say a word about MITTEE FORMED TO DEFEND the Stalinists have rejected that

#### JUDGE'S ACTION

After heated debate of the con-stitutional issues involved in Mc-Gohey's question, the judge or

the request, of defense counsel Kutcher was fired in Newark, he Negro people did lend their sup- garbage with your bare hands. the Stalinist of further evidence could either answer the question, was not accused of believing in port to the defense of the Trot- But it is necessary to expose every in support of their charge that the judge said, or refuse to an-

## World Events By Joseph Hansen 📥 Scandinavia Looks

**Down Gun Barrel** Of U.S. Imperialism Scandinavia is looking down perialism. The Danish, Swedish and Norwegian governments have been told to sign up for protec-Why is the State Department so set upon forcing these traditicularly Norway, to line up now effort to increase the boundaries of six officers in General Motors in the projected war against the Soviet Union? Why not let them try to keep out of the slaughter

> as in past wars? The answer is that the war of aggression plotted by Wall Street is the most meticulously-planned the world has yet seen. Not one of the small countries in the vast military coalition is to be permitted to drag its feet.

The "good" little countries who agree promptly to take protection can count on Marshall Plan carrots and Atlantic Pact armaments. Those who offer even token resistance will be given a taste of Wall Street's economic and financial persuaders.

STRATEGIC AREA

Scandinavia occupies a strategic to California . . . something that place on the military maps of is not realized by most people." He added: "During the speaker's inter-continental warfare. Flanking the narrow Skagerrak and work at a San Diego office of Kattegat straits, Scandinavia conhis union he was made aware of trols passage to the Baltic just as Greece and Turkey control passage to the Black Sea. Control over these bottlenecks signifies power to deny Soviet shipping

them could be identified by their | must not be forgotten that these are likewise the gateways to key invasion routes. In addition, Norway dominates the lanes to his associates have adopted, in part, the methods of the Stalinists Murmansk.

This is not all. If you place a hemselves in suppressing the compass on a spherical map, cenank and file and victimizing tering one leg on Oslo, the capital enuine militants who oppose the of Norway, and trace a circle eadership's policies. It was the with a 2,000-mile radius on the Stalinists especially who acted as fingermen for the corporations earth's surface, that circle will against union militants during the cover virtually all the main inwar. Now, Nathanson boasted to dustrial areas of the Soviet Union, most of the main cities and the the assembled corporation representatives, he and his colleagues heaviest population areas. A 2,000-mile flight is well within have found that the way to "beat the range of present-day heavy

bombs.

bombers carrying atomic missiles Norway is thus of vital im-



and can't possibly get home from

work until 8 at night. All for

eight hours' pay. Although he may be "off" those hours in be-

tween, his time is not his own,

since he must be available for

(Continued from page 1) forced the State Department to campaign against the Moscow angs, mostly Negroes, for labor eadership avow that Norway will not be which is strenuous and often high-The Leader does not report the ly skilled, earn the magnificent compelled to grant bases to the exact differences between these sum of 98c to \$1.10 an hour for United States under the North Stalinists and the official Kremlin a 40-hour week and must work Atlantic Pact. This assurance is leadership and does not make weekends at straight time pay. simply a diplomatic maneuver. clear their attitude toward the Among the most urgent griev-The capitalist press has revealed Tito opposition in Yugoslavia; ances of the operating employees, that while bases will not be but does declare that "the gatherasked and received permission to motormen and drivers and women granted openly, still adherence telephone his own lawyer for cashiers is the existence of 'swing' ing is not to be confused with to the North Atlantic Pact will the Trotskyists." runs and shifts. A "swing run" is mean construction of air fields When he returned to the wit- a day's work divided into two Another interesting report, inand harbor facilities in Norway ness stand he stated that he is a parts. They either work several dicating growing anti-Kremlin designed to meet Washington sentiments among Stalinist ranks hours in the morning, and the specifications. appeared in the Feb. 6 Germanbalance in the afternoon, with an Consequently, U. S. warships language Cincinnati Free Press. interval of anywhere up to six and U.S. atomc bombers would hours' "swing"; or they work the "The postal administration of the find the Scandinavian beachhead biggest portion in the morning Soviet Sector of Berlin," says this already fitted out on the day the paper, "decreed a postal prohibiand one or two trips during the cold war changed to a shooting evening rush hours. Despite contion against the Communist Party war. stant protest by the union and

that would grant bases in Cuba, Mexico and both sides of the Panama Canal to Russian submarines and atomic bombers while Soviet generals openly

Monday, February 21, 1949

discussed plans for pulverizing the gun barrel of American im- American industry with a lightning atom bomb war. What would Washington's reaction be? One military writer, Col. R. tion under the North Atlantic Ernest Dupuy, frankly admits in provision barring "communists, Pact or suffer the consequences. the Feb. 12 Christian Science Monitor that "From the Moscow viewpoint, Norway's inclusion in tionally-neutral countries, par- the Atlantic Pact immediately establishes a definite and intolerable danger spot, at the very doorstep of the Soviet Union itself."

That is why the capitalist press is speculating on the possibility of Moscow moving forward to occupy Finland as a defensive military measure if Norway joins the North Atlantic Pact.

The Kremlin, however, would find such a drastic move highly distasteful, for it would provide fresh grist to Wall Street's warmongering propaganda mill. The Stalinist bureaucracy is endeavoring to keep Scandinavia out of the North Atlantic Pact through diplomatic and economic pressure. The Norwegian shipping and fishing interests, for in-

stance, plying a profitable trade with the Soviet Union, can be touched where it hurts most, in the pocketbook.

The answer of the Swedish rovernment to the squeeze from Washington and Moscow is a proposal to form a regional Scandinavian Neutrality pact. Whether Washington will grant the Scandinavian countries a breathing spell by easing its opposition to such a pact or press relentlessly for early adherence to the North Atlantic Pact remains to be seen. A tactical concession would seem in order. But

up to now the Truman Administration has steadily stepped up the tempo of its war preparations and, as in the case of the Rio Pact, has displayed little patience with the grumblings, fears, hesitation, procrastination and maneuverings of the small countries it is lining up for the slaughter of another war.

#### **Dissident European Stalinists Meet** In Switzerland portance in the war plans that contemplate saturating Soviet

The Socialist Leader, newspaper of the British Independent Labor Party, reports in its Jan. 29 issue that dissident Stalinists from

NORTHERN BEACHHEAD Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden and Norway's evident hesitation at signing up with the imperialist Switzerland recently held a congangsters for protection has ference in Switzerland to plan a



socialism but of "disloyalty" which disqualified him to work as a file clerk for the VA.

#### "DANGEROUS THOUGHTS"

What does the New Leader mean by "intellectual commitments?" It obviously cannot mean mere beliefs, All teachers, to one degree or another, more or less consciously or firmly, must have some beliefs in theories or systems of ideas. If they don't, they are hardly fitted to teach anything. Take Professor James Burnham, for example. A rabid propagandist for American imperial-

for

skyists

That is why Davis attempts by misleaders who deserve nothing fense charges. vicious lies and slanders to incite the Negro people against Moon. "Why," Davis demands, "does he national office of the NAACP maintain Trotskyist and pro-Trotskyist gnats on its staff, while firing such heroic giants as Dr. DuBois, an historic leader of the Negro people?" Dr. DuBois, by the way, is at present collaborating with the Stalinists.

What Moon exposed was the fight against every Stalinist with representatives of the rich, tion. Stalinist sabotage of the fight to frameup, so the Negro people before whom no worker or Negro defend civil rights when the Trot. and the whole working class will can get a fair trial. He has inskyists were convicted and im- recognize the Stalinists for what structed the government to proprisoned under the Smith Act. they are-vicious and dangerous ceed with its answer to the de-

ACT.

VICTED UNDER THE SMITH

The last witness for the debut contempt. It is equally necessary to op- fense was Doxey A. Wilkerson, pose the thought-control prosecu- director of the Stalinist Jeffertion of the Stalinists, because their son School, who submitted many conviction would be used by the tables, charts and maps to show capitalist government for new systematic rigging of federal jury thought-control attacks on broad- panels.

In cross-examining Wilkerson, er sections of the population. For that reason, the Trotsky- the chief prosecutor, John Mcists, in accordance with correct Gohey, demanded to know if he

swer if he feared self-incrin Stalinist lie and slander, and to federal jury panels are packed

Wilkerson started to say, "As a Negro American . . ." But the judge cut him off sharp, ordering a yes or no answer or the invoking of his constitutional right to refuse to answer. Wilkerson then

advice. member of the Communist Party. McGohey then went after Wil-

kerson as though he was preparing to demand that he be included in the thought-control indictment under which the 11 Stalinist de-

fendants are now on trial. The prosecutor demanded to proof that these runs could be now when Wilkerson joined the shortened, the PTC Schedule De-Communist Party, if he is a mempartment refuses to improve these ber of the CP national committee, conditions. For these hours a man and if he was a delegate to the receives an average of eight hours Stalinist convention in 1944. pav. Wilkerson invoked his constitu-

Here is one example: A man tional right to refuse to answer reports at 7:29 AM, works to any of these questions on the 8:43 AM. He goes off and has ground that he believed the prosto be available again for work at ecutor was trying to incriminate 1:06 PM to work until 7:10 PM, him. He must leave home at 6:30 AM

**Methodist Minister On Mindszenty Case** Acknowledging that the Mindszenty trial may be a "flagrant work at 1:06 PM. He can't do as injustice" and that there is little he pleases. These operating em-

tleman,"

'authentic" information about it, ployees all work a six-day week. I hitch-hiked across the city the Rev. Dr. F. Howard Callahan of the Methodist Church of St. just in time to catch a demonstration at the Callowhill Depot. The Paul and St. Andrew in New strikers' children, most of them York said: under ten, were on the line with

"But we do have plenty of in-formation about the great world Adjust His Hours" and "PTC Must Adjust His Hours" and "PTC Unpower which has leaped to his fair to My Daddy."

defense. The Roman Church never The Callowhill Depot think only found it necessary to excommuni- "poor management" would make a cate Hitler. The Roman Church fare hike necessary if they won managed a modus vivendi with their demands. They pointed out that in Pittsburgh, where the Mussolini, This church trusts transit workers get an average of Peron and his regime in Argen- \$1.50 an hour as compared to the tina. This church has supported \$1.35 average of PTC motormen Franco from first to last. And here, the Pittsburgh company the American spokesman for on a 13c fare.

Catholicism who is now calling It is not the official position America to a holy war in the name of the union, but the consensus of democracy is the same Spell- of opinion among the strikers at man who came back from Spain the carbarns, garages and depots few years ago to tell us that I visited was that the PTC could

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past week.

transportation. lines and in-

dustrial complexes with atom

came out with wall posters in the Moscow's alarm at these open past few days, in which they preparations for attack is thus accuse the SED functionaries not without justification. We can (Stalinist) of the Soviet Zone get an idea of the Kremlin's and their bosses in the Soviet emotion by imagining the Truman Union of betraying the working Administration in a comparable class. Moreover, the SED leadersituation: Suppose the Soviet ship was called upon to express Union stockpiling atom bombs, themselves on the fate of two the USA without the secret of leading functionaries of the old tapping atomic energy and Mos- Communist Party of Germany cow deliberately 'organizing a who disappeared without a trace Gulf of Mexico Security Pact in the Soviet Union."

Opposition (KPO). The KPO



The New York SWP is taking be complimented. Through prompt ts Militant and other literature payments on bundle orders and work very seriously these days. clearing up of old debts the Harry Gold, a hard working and branches can help relieve the politically experienced comrade, financial burden produced by the has been assigned to the post of recent fire. city literature director. Already

Comrade Gold has organized James Connery, one of the Militant sales at New York hardest - working Militant sales-University, New School for Social men we know of, writes from Research, Brooklyn College and Kewanee, Illinois, enclosing a one n the needle-trades area. In line year sub. "I had to work three with this expanded program New weeks for this subscription before York has increased its bundle I got it. I will do all I can but I don't get out very much now that

While we are writing about the ice is like glass on the side-New York we have to mention walks." Comrade Connery is an the excellent efforts of John elderly but vigorous man. He Eager. John has sent in two new certainly is an inspiration and a six months subscription obtained guide to all socialists, young and from workers in his shop in the

> \* \* \* John Fredericks of Pittsburgh,

Again we hear from Rena sent in two renewal and one new Breshi of Boston: "I am sending subscriptions last week. Detroit a money order for \$16 as part sent in four renewals. Lynn, very undemocratic Francisco grant them the increase they are payment of our Militant bill. I Massachusetts sent in one new Franco was a fine Christian gen-tleman." asking from the extra profit they hope to get this bill cleared up and four renewal subs. Akron and four renewal subs. Akron

THE ROLE OF DUBOIS BENEFIT, Davis is caught suppressing an CONCERT mportant fact to create the miseading impression that the 'giant," DuBois, gave no support to the Trotskyist defense. He JAMES KUTCHER seeks thereby to bolster his slanderous attack on the "gnat." Harriet Salerno, piano Broadus Erle, violin Seymour Barab, cello Akron ERNEST DRAKE Tuesday, Feb. 22, 8:15 P. M Active unionist and fighter for CARNEGIE RECITAL HALL Negro rights, will speak in 154 W. 57th Street commemoration of: Tickets \$1.20, at NATIONAL NEGRO Kutcher Civil Rights Comm. HISTORY WEEK 19 W. 10th St., N. Y. 11, N.Y. Sun., Feb. 27 - 7:30 PM Night of concert - tickets at Donation 50c 4 S. Howard St. box-office. SUBSCRIBE TODAY THE MILITAN1 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y. **\$2 \$1 One Year** Six Months \$4 one year of The Militant and 12 monthly issues of Fourth International Address ..... City .....



Page Three



THE MILITAN THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9380) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

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Monday, February 21, 1949

Bundle Orders (5 of more

LENIN



TROTSKY

D

already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian: dictatorial, Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with ten-fold force. Under these conditions the support by a workers' party of 'its' national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell means the renunciation of an independent policy and the chauvinistic demoralization of the workers, that is, the destruction of the only factor which can save humanity from disaster."

"The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has

-Leon Trotsky, War and the Fourth International, 1934.

### Why They Can't Answer Taft

At the Senate Labor Committee hearings, the union spokesmen wriggle like worms on a hook when the Republicans ask them how they square their objections to legally-sanctioned use of injunctions with Truman's claim to unconstitutional "inherent powers" to enjoin strikes.

The union leaders reply evasively because they are still trying to keep up the pretense that the debate between the Trumanite Democrats and Taft Republicans is over the principle of government use of injunctions in labor disputes. Truman and Taft, however, are in 100% agreement on this score. Truman has said he "would have no objection" to "spelling out" an injunction clause. He just thinks it "unnecessary" inasmuch as he claims "inherent powers" to invoke court action against strikes.

So vulnerable are the union leaders on this point, that they are trying to avoid all mention of Truman's statement. For instance, the Feb. 14 CIO News, which devotes whole pages to the debate on pending labor legislation, manages to omit even a reference to Truman's momentous declaration of autocratic powers to intervene against unions and strikes.

The weakness of the union leaders on this, as on the whole question of labor laws, is that they agree with the underlying principle. Truman's labor program and Taft's rest on the same foundation, namely, the right of the capitalist government to intervene in unionaffairs and to limit the union's freedom of action.

Because union leaders accept this principle, their arguments sound feeble when they object to what the Republicans call "putting teeth" into the labor law. How can they accept the basic principle of government intervention and oppose the power of the government to enforce intervention?

This is the issue on which the Republicans have pounded the union leaders. They have not answered it because to do so means to oppose the principle underlying Truman's program. They would have to declare to Taft: "We are against any interference with the unions or their freedom of action by the government. This is a capitalist government. It is nothing but the executive committee of the employing and propertied class, and to accept its intervention is to accept the intervention of the class it serves.'

Union leaders who believed this would be capable of putting up a real fight on the crucial issue of labor legislation, as on all other crucial issues. But the incumbent union leaders believe in capitalism and in the capitalist government. That is why they are incapable of putting up a real fight. That is why they compromise; retreat and, in the end, capitulate.

## Take Away Their War-Making Powers!

In both World War I and World War II, Congress plunged America into the slaughter without consulting the people. Today the capitalist ruling class is preparing to take America into a third world conflict, thus once again raising the life and death question, who shall have the power to decide on war or peace?

The Socialist Workers Party has long advocated that the war-making powers be taken away from Congress and placed in the hands of the people where they belong. The record shows that Congress, representing the interests of Big Business, cannot be trusted to keep America out of war. Only the great mass of people, those who do the fighting, the sacrificing and dying, have a vital interest in maintaining peace. Therefore, the Socialist Workers Party advocates that the final decision on war or peace be made through a referendum vote of the people.

any of the signatories to the war alliance was under "attack." However, the Senate could not approve such an alliance without violating the Constitution, for it clearly commits America in advance to enter the projected new war without action by Congress. The actual decision and time of entry would lie within the discretion of the White House.

It is reported that to get around the obvious violation of the Constitution, the secret gathering of war plotters changed the clause to read. military or, other action. Last week Secretary of State Acheson after consulting with leading Senators indicated that he favors dropping the word "military." This is merely to facilitate speedy passage of the war-making alliance. As Wall Street's mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times cynically observed in an editorial Feb. 14: "No doubt, whatever the wording, it is the intent that counts, and the present intent of the North Atlantic Pact is self-evident.' That intent is to knit together a world-wide alliance for imperialist war and to commit the United States to that war in advance, by-passing Congress and leaving the fatal décision in the hands of one man-the occupant of the White House. Against this ominous attempt to give Truman dictaorial war-making powers, the labor movement must respond by organizing to take these dangerous powers completely away from the political representatives of Big Business and restoring them to their rightful possessors, the people.

Nevertheless, workers concerned about the

welfare of their families and the need for

steady work at adequate wages can draw little

comfort from news items like these. The

most prudent course is to prepare for the

eventuality that the capitalist system may

be near another depression with its accom-

Union militants must start right now to pre-

pare security measures. They must act in

advance in order to safeguard their livelihood.

For example, in the union contracts that are

up for negotiation in the coming months, a

clause might well be included providing for

or any cuts in weekly take-home pay.

down mass unemployment.

panying mass unemployment.

## **Issues in Washington's Time and Ours** THE STRUGGLE TO WIN **COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE**

#### By Joseph Hansen

#### When the peoples of Indonesia and Indo-Ghina struck out

the American people and eventual

success against the British Em-

pire, at that time the mightiest

on the road to independence at the close of World War II, they expected sympathetic understanding and aid from the United States in their struggle. Weren't 9-

the thirteen American colonies fought their way to leadership of the first in modern times to achieve their freedom from imperialist rule?

power in the world. The Indonesians and Indo-Chi-Washington's perseverance ese reminded America of its against stiff odds expressed on heroic past. They recalled how the the military field the iron resolufounding fathers had been led to tion and determination of political battle by George Washington in leaders such as Sam Adams and defense of the inherent right of the ranks of the rebels headed the people to overthrow an unby the Sons and Daughters of just and oppressive government. Liberty. Through eight bitter But the pleas of the Indonesians years in their struggle against and Indo-Chinese for help against the "legally-constituted" governthe tyrannical rule of foreign despots were not heeded. America's rulers today are the spiritual descendants of the Tories who upheld foreign tyranny. They hold ritual services in honor of George

Washington, while they violate all the democratic principles for which the first American Revolu- Revolution gave heart and contion was fought. Those colonial freedom-fighters

war.

tice.

of our time who think they might no little role in the great French receive assistance from capitalist Revolution that broke out a few America in view of its own revo- years later. And for decades afterlutionary past are quickly disilusioned. Today the rulers of spired peoples throughout Latin America seek to estalish a colon- America seeking freedom from ial empire of their own. They project conquest of the entire world, even at the cost of atomic In Washington's time, America

"All this has been changed was the inspiration of the oppressed masses throughout the world. The democratic ideals of the American Revolution were not new or peculiar to the western shores of the Atlantic. They were imported from Europe. They had cee imperialism. been worked out long before by

revolutionary - minded European thinkers. America's contribution

Derided as "crack-brained," despots. At this very moment Truabused as "subversives," the tiny man's administration continues to groupings of revolutionaries send dollars, goods and arms to scattered along the seaboard imperialist France and the Neth-

## Kutcher Case Is Attracting Wide Attention in Schools

The Case Of The Legless Veteran is attracting the attention of many ex-GI's and other students on university campuses in longer the home of freedom and different sections of the country.

On Feb. 4 Waldo Byrne, the holding of meetings on the the main powerhouse of reaction, Washington asked him to write a cynical pretender to the crown secretary of the Minnesota Kutcher committee, debated the Kutcher's case. George Blackwood End of George Blackwood Chiang Kaing and foul dictators like King Roul of George III. He deliberately overrides the Constitution and

**RESISTANCE TO THE USE OF ARBITRARY POWERS** 

#### By Ruth Johnson

With hypocrisy gained in long practice, the capitalist politicians this week will proclaim their devotion to George Washington and the program of the War for Independence. Without

a blush, Harry S. Truman will 9for.

The American Revolution was a struggle against arbitrary power tion. Far from it. exercised by the head of the government. The Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the colonists' determination to be free, was a ringing answer to King George III who claimed the lecree.

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct bject the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. .

"He has refused to assent to aws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. . . He has made judges dependent on he thirteen colonies and the Amer his will alone. . . "He has combined with others

ican Revolution might have been to subject us to a jurisdiction In the resplendent afterglow of foreign to our constitution and 776, the victims of persecution unacknowledged by our laws . . and bigotry in other lands turned depriving us, in many cases of to America as a haven and these the benefits of trial by jury . . refugees were welcomed. taking away our charters, abolish-NO LONGER A HAVEN ing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms

That has been changed. Today of our government." the victims of barbarism abroad This was the despotism they are barred entry by cruel immiorganized against and overthrew gration laws. These laws hit hardest at those most in need of ref- by force of arms. Their grievances against George III are not so uge, for the age-old right of asydifferent from many the workers lum is denied refugees whose might well write against Truman views do not conform to the reactionary specifications of the today! Truman's decrees, his two parties holding government "subversive" lists denying a fair and open trial for the accused. power.

are as autocratic and as danger-The Statue of Liberty is no onger a symbol of America, welous to the people's liberties as were the English king's. coming the oppressed of the world. That figure, expressive of

PAINE'S INDICTMENT the democratic ideals that gave Hatred of such tyranny was intellectual fire to the first Amerthe life-blood of the American ican revolution, has been replaced by the sinister symbol of the atom revolutionists, inspiring the cold bomb, threatening death to tens and tattered armies of "Conof millions and the destruction of tinentals" to fight on through the grant improved living conditions bitterest hardships. The burning civilization.

in other lands, America is no are immortal attacks on autothe champion of independence; it cratic rule.

is the home of Wall Street and

member in the last analysis cap-

italism is the cause of Jim Crow

lead their chant of "American. | yoke of the despot in England, ism" while his arrogant claim intend to set the stage to a soil. of "inherent powers" still rings Despite the fact that the merin the public ear. This is a cynical chants and planters succeeded in denial of what the American putting over a conservative Conrebels of the 18th Contury fought stitution, the powers which Truman claims for himself today are not granted by the Constitu-

Under the provisions of the Constitution, the President is the chief administrator, with strictly limited powers to make recommendations to Congress. As executive he has no right to make "divine right" to rule them by laws, and no judicial rights whatsoever.

Moreover, Article 10 of the Bill of Rights, passed by the first Congress under pressure of popular demand, specifically forbids him to usurp other authority. It declares in unmistakable words:

"Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Nowhere will you find in it a

hint of "inherent" powers of the President, or the granting of absolute rule to any individual. The young American republic, born in the struggle against British autocracy, was founded on the desire of the colonists for democracy. So long as American capitalism expanded and prospered, the American people were able to preserve most of the

democratic righs they had conquered through struggle and even extend them.

#### CYNICAL PRETENDER

Today, capitalism is senile and confronted with unsolvable problems. Since it cannot go forward, it reverses the pattern and falsifies the traditions of its youth.

Step by step, capitalism now attempts to restrict and wipe out the rights of the people-freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, the right to a fair and public trial. Unable to to the masses and thus to hold In the eyes of working people words of Thomas Paine, great their support, it turns toward pamphleteer of the colonial cause, despotism in a vain scheme to halt their demands.

**Twin Cities** 

"THE COMING AMERICAN

**REVOLUTION**"

And the chief executive of the In the Crisis papers which



fidence to resisters against opthe American revolutionaries. Had pression in other lands, playing France followed a course like that of Truman today, then it would have helped George III put down the "subversive" movement in ward, the American victory in-

drowned in blood. the empire of Spain. As these countries won independence they found protection under the shield of America from the imperialist designs of the European powers.

America herself has become an imperialist power and the shield over Latin America has been changed to a yoke. No power is so hated by the poor people south of the Rio Grande today as Yan-

No longer does the American government offer aid and comfort was a practical demonstration of to colonial rebellions anywhere how to put these views into prac- on earth. American capitalism stands on the side of the colonial

The Truman Administration is pushing in the opposite direction. It wants to take the war-making powers away from Congress and lodge them-in the White House.

How to do this without amending the Constitution or appearing to violate it is now being argued in the capitalist press. On the surface, the issue is the wording of a crucial clause of the secretly-negotiated North Atlantic War Pact.

As first formulated, this clause would require the United States to take "military and other action forthwith" if it was decided that

## Silver Lining for Loan Sharks

Here is a grim bit of news from the world's largest city: A survey of New York's 130licensed pawnbrokers reveals a sudden boom in business since Labor Day.

The parade to the pawn shops has increased cash loans 10 to 25 percent over last year, according to the N. Y. Times, and the trend is still up.

Most of the demand for extra dollars comes from workers unable to get by on wages that have not risen in proportion to the skyrocketing cost of living. How much of the demand is from unemployed workers was not reported.

Some of the loan sharks fear that the boom in their business portends a general business depression. "They say they know the signs from last time." Others hold that nothing is indicated but a return to prewar normalcy.

To this straw in the economic wind should be added a Feb. 13 survey of the Associated Press estimating the total number of jobless railroad workers at 100,000. Most of this unemployment, according to AP, "is related to declines in business."

Other indications of the same type could be cited; yet it is still too early to say that we are already in the first phase of a major economic collapse.

issues in the Kutcher case with was elected Chairman and Miriam Everett Fraser, Dean Emeritus of | Baraks, Secretary. Minnesota Law School, before a

large audience at a panel discussion arranged by the Civil Liberties club. Dean Fraser, taking Calvin S. Hall, head of the Psythe Truman administration side, chology Department, as saying: contended that "no man has a "Injustice has been done when a right to employment in the government of the United Statesthe loyalty program."

ized for them, as Kutcher has mittee.

been. He pointed out that not only was Kutcher being deprived of his civil rights but that the Socialist Workers Party was being discriminated against by its inclusion on the Department of Justice blacklist without a hearing.

#### CHICAGO UNIT

On Feb. 11 a branch of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was successfully launched on the University of Chicago campus at Andrews shows that Negroes are meeting called by the local not afforded complete equality in chapter of the American Veterans Committee. Representatives of the Americans for Democratic of his remarks, I feel it necessary Action, Young Progressives of to point to the fact that today, America, the Committee On Civil Rights, the Politics Club and other ordanizations which have endorsed the case were present. Plans were made to secure adiitional supporters from the fac-

ulty and the student body through the circulation of petitions and

#### West Coast Unions **Help Legless Veteran**

a sliding scale of hours. If slashes are made A number of CIO unions on the in company work schedules, let the total avail-West Coast have rallied to James have more of a Victor Rieselian able hours of work be spread among the total Kutcher's defense in recent weeks. air to it. The San Francisco branch of the number of employees without any lay-offs CIO Marine Cooks & Stewards Union unanimously endorsed the A measure like this will help insure every case at its last meeting. This action took on added significance about, but rather, it flows from worker against loss of his job. The 30-hour week can likewise prove effective in cutting

the Stalinists.

On the other hand, nothing at all can be gained by deferring action in hope that the blind forces of capitalist economy will somehow not jell in a depression for a while yet. It is necessary, we repeat, to act in timebefore the disaster of unemployment strikes. Transport Workers Union.

Paul of Greece and Chiang Kaishek.

The profiteering capitalists and The Reserve Tribune, student their political stooges have sucpaper at Western Reserve Uniceeded in monopolizing the govversity in Cleveland, quotes Dr. ernment so that it no longer genuinely represents the people. America needs to be cleansed. A new generation shaped in the man with a record of so great revolutionary tradition of Sam loyalty to his country is dismissed it's a privilege" and declared that because of political affiliations. Paine, Patrick Henry and George "civil rights are not involved in The case represents part of a Washington and expressing the pattern of suppression of civil lib- needs and desires of the Amer-In rebuttal Mr. Byrne pointed erties in this country." Dr. Hall, ican masses is needed to lead the out that every government work- like Dr. Donald C. Barnes, head revolutionary struggle against the er has the right to his political of the History Department, has Tories of our time and to guide beliefs and should not be penal- joined the local Kutcher com- America into the full democracy

of socialism.

### Workers Forum

#### **Criticizes** Article **On Negroes and CIO** Editor:

boss on this score can best serve to expose Murray's relationship to In his article on Negroes and him. the CIO (Jan. 31 Militant) Joseph

the CIO, as we are led to believe. ED. NOTE: We think Comrade While I can support the validity Williams is trying to break through an open door. Andrew's article did not in any sense acamongst the workers in the shop cuse the labor bureaucrats of originating Jim Crow, which, as virtually all of our readers know, is a product of the capitalist system. Its purpose was to show that on the whole the labor

bureaucrats, despite fine words to of Andrews to expose Philip Murthe contrary, tolerate inequality ray on this question, especially in for the Negro instead of fighting view of his professed intentions, to abolish it. In our opinion believe that what should have Andrews' article was a real con-

been more firmly established is tribution to the fight against Jim that Murray is acting in the in-Crow. Progress in this fight canterests of capitalism, not the CIO. not be made unless the workers Otherwise, the article tends to learn to recognize that words are

not enough, and that rank and file pressure is needed to mobilize The Negro is not receiving full the unions for consistent struggle equality in the CIO today not so against all forms of discriminamuch because of Murray's partion wherever they exist. ticular desire to help bring it

The Militant has received since the local is dominated by the fact that Murray, in the number of interesting letters and epoch of imperialist decay, draws book reviews from its readers in Other Bay Area locals coming closer to the interests of the recent weeks. Lack of space to Kutcher's support include the bosses, and, in order to maintain sometimes makes it necessary to Joint Board of the CIO Textile his position (which he no doubt hold up the publication of such greatly enjoys) he feels the need material for a week or two, but of defending the society that is those on hand will soon be printattempting to prolong his power, ed. Meanwhile, we urge all read-In this respect, it is quite cor- ers to continue sending their com-

rect to attack Murray, but re- ments and questions.

ed the King's "inherent" or discards the cherished traditions "divine" power. Only the whole of democracy in a brazen effort people, he said, have any "in- to usurp rights belonging to the herent" rights; all rulers by American people. decree are base usurpers.

"Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey." Paine warned. "soon grow insolent . . . their minds early poisoned by importance." His words apply just as well to the chief executive today, who arrogantly claims the right to

A Marxist analysis of Amerdecide that men must work regardless of conditions, and to ican history. Six classes to be break strikes by injunctions and held every Fri. night, at 8 PM fines. starting Feb. 25. Lectures to

NO LEGAL AUTHORITY "Independency," Paine wrote 'means no more than this, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the King, the greatest enemy this continent hath or can have, shall tell us there shall be no laws but such

and that an attack against the as I like." (Emphasis in the original.)

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Main 7781. Dally except Sun, 10 a. m., 6 p. m. Library, bookstore. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)-Militant Dis-cussion Group every Fri. 7:80 p.m. Mili-tant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

Workers Union, representing Locals 71 and 158 which have en dorsed the case, and Carmen's Union, Local 250 of the CIO

#### with the speed-up being the order cf the day, it is a common practice to blame the union for an oppressive condition rather than to blame the company. Although it was quite correct

## **A Late Christmas Story**

#### - By Theodore Kovalesky -

It's late for a Christmas story, but this isn't like "A Christmas Carol," and it's not about peace on earth and good will toward men. In fact, it's hardly what you'd call a Christmas story at all. It happened in one of those big, sprawling factories with stained, dirty windows that have been slowly and surely gathering filth year after year until they get so gray and rusted that the workers can't look out into the street. And when they get broken (as factory windows always do, even though you never see anybody break them) the management sends a maintenance man to stick a piece of tin or sheet iron into the frame, and that gets all rusted over too.

This factory made electrical appliances, and hired over a thousand men and women for as little as they could pay them. There was a union there, and a pretty good one, but wages and con-ditions were still bad.

But when the snow came down and covered the factory roof and the sidewalks and drifted white into the sides of the gray and rusted windows, and when radios began to play Christmas carols and the 25th day of December drew close, the factory began to blossom out with Christmas spirit.

The union negotiating committee went in to try to get a Christmas bonus. Management was full of Christmas spirit but not that full. They couldn't afford to pay it, they told the committee. They just couldn't do it. But they didn't mind if the workers had a little fun.

So around the 20th, the fellows and girls in the shop began putting up red and green streamers over the old, rickety machinery. On the 21st some of them brought in little trees and set them up in the middle of the departments. By the twenty-third most of the aisles were turned into gay red and green tunnels with crepe paper overhead. There were silver stars and red and silver letters saying "Merry Christmas" fastened to the wire netting around the tool room, and the girls on production lines had already drawn names out of a box to see who would buy gifts for whom.

The company couldn't give a bonus. They couldn't pay decent wages or ease off on the speedup or improve conditions, but they didn't mind if the workers celebrated a little. They didn't even mind if there wasn't much work done on the 24th and the workers paraded around wishing each other Merry Chritmas, the fellows kissing the girls and drinking a little whiskey smuggled into the plant.

There was one worker, a guy named Ray, about 40 years old with a wife and three kids. Ray didn't get any bonus, and he didn't have any fun either. He didn't kiss any of the girls, and fun either. He didn't kiss any of the girls, and he didn't have any whiskey, and he didn't even wich anybody. Marry, Christman, Because on the wish anybody Merry Christmas. Because on the 23rd of December he was working at his punch press trying to bang out his quota. He wasn't careless. His machine was supposed to be safe. But you know how punch presses are. The press repeated while Ray was taking out a piece. And Ray's right hand was completely crushed.

They grabbed him and put him on the platform of an electric truck, and one of the other fellows held on to him as they rode through the red and green tunnels, past the wide-eved girls who were all prepared for their Christmas party the next day, under the hanging silver stars and past the silver words, "Merry Christmas" on the wire screen of the tool room, and down to the first aid room. They tied up his arm to stop the bleeding, and an ambulance took him out past the gray and rusted windows of the plant and on to the hospital.

I never heard about Ray's wife and kids and their Christmas, and I didn't hear any more about Ray, except that he isn't back at work yet.

VOLUME XIII

**States Plot Own** 

State laws to outlaw "com-

# THE MILITANT

#### MONDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1949

NUMBER 8

## Weinstock Uses Lie-and-Run **Technique to Dodge Debate**

**Veterans Picket Landlord** 

#### Witch-hunts Grow munism" are sprouting like OPG MERT partie rines and a poisonous weeds in the heat of he government's anti-red drive. 111 M 111 na u 🕼 praices i In Maryland the Ober Bill, the DOWN nost farreaching of those under consideration, would impose 20year prison terms and \$20,000 ines for the "crime" of memberhip in any organization labeled 'subversive." The law would also et up powerful thought-control machinery to "assemble any and all information about communsm" and initiate persecutions hrough a grand jury indictment. The Ober Bill further demands "loyalty check" of all public

Members of the American Veterans' Committee picket a Chicago landlord, William Schmidt, who voices his rage from a second-story window. The ex-soldiers protested the landlord's scheme to convert his apartment building into "just another flop-



#### By E. Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 13-Four thousand members of CIO International Longshoremens and Warehousemen Local 10 Morris ("Filthy-Mouth") Davis, The union leaders wrote as folhere have rejected by a three to one vote the proposal of ILWU

ment in the West Coast stevedor-In Oklahoma the State House ing industry by kicking approxithe industry. The stormy three-hour Local 10 meeting was completely dominated by the rank and file. Other than Bridges, only Germain

terest in having men laid off from the industry and proposed that the union fight to get unemployment benefits for its members. The leaflet said: "Brothers: got an unemployment compensation act. We are entitled to the eral professors, and 1,500 of the supporters of Bridges kept quiet ployment compensation into which to spokesmen for "revolution" in forgotten the treacherous Stalin-University's 12,000 students have or tried to straddle the issue, as we have paid millions of dollars. Palestine. The mimeographed libel ist role in the teamsters strike The employers are using the pres-

#### **By George Clarke**

In recent weeks we have had an exhibition of the slanderand-run technique of Stalinism in the New York District Council 9 of the AFL Painters Union. When the Stalinist trial under the Smith Act began, Louis Wein-

campaign given to the 18 Trotskystock, former Stalinist secretary ists by unions comprising 5,000,of the Council, was reminded by The Militant and other papers of 000 organized workers, non-Trotskyist and non-Stalinist. But who the scabby role he had played in controlled the Minnesota CIO the case of the 18 Trotskvists induring the war? The Stalinists! dicted and convicted in Minneapo-And who controlled the Minnesolis under the same law. ta AFL? Daniel Tobin, chief in-

Weinstock stormed into the stigator of the prosecution against Council not to deny the charges the Trotskyists and the Minneadocumentary evidence of his correspondence with the Department polis teamsters! But that isn't all that "Filthy-

of Justice and the prosecutor, approving the Minneapolis convictions, made that impossible. Nor to honestly admit his crime against the principle of labor solidarity and try to explain it that would be too much to expect from a Stalinist hack. What and demanding the restoration of Weinstock wanted to know was why Martin Rarback, present secists. Realizing the enormity of retary of the Council, had released the information to the press - that is, why Rarback didn't cooperate in suppressing the truth!

The last thing Weinstock wanted was to be obliged to publicly defend his treachery. That's why the indictments of the 18 Minhe turned down Rarback's challenge for a debate with an SWP representative on the Stalinist and the Trotskyist trials under the Smith Act. Failure to accept the challenge was a plain admission of guilt and for anyone else would have been a cause for silence.

But not for the Stalinist hacks. This was the time for the slanderand-run strategy - for abuse, not only fought Olson's martial mud-slinging, vilification, confussion, distortions and half-truths. military stockade for violating it. Stalinist secretary of painters' Local 848, was given the job of meeting by a group of longshore- striking from cover without fear the local labor movement to demen exposed the shipowners' in- of being brought face to face with clare a general strike against the accused and substantiating "military tyranny": his charges and lies in a public

debate.

Two mimeographed leaflets strikebreaking by military forces signed by him are now circulating been witnessed. A dastardly blow in the painters union. They are a has been struck at the very heart We've got a contract and we've compendium of every Stalinist of the labor movement under the slander against Trotskyism since command of Floyd B. Olson, Gov-1924, ranging from charges of ernor of Minnesota." tion act. We are entitled to the benefits of each. We are being connections with "international back to 1934 because he is count-

against labor solidarity during the war, the CIO Council confessed that "such indictments have in the past been prosecuted for lack of a united mass protest of the labor movement as witness neapolis ' CIO-Socialist Workers Party members in 1941." 2. Now take a downright lie. Davis says that "the Trotskyites" who advocated in 1934 to play ball with Governor Olson of Minnesota and hailed as a victory the sending in of troops to break the strike. . ." The facts are just the contrary. The Trotskyist Dunne brothers and other strike leaders

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Mouth" Davis omits. On Aug. 16,

1948, the Hennepin County CIO

Council, the Minneapolis affiliate

of the state CIO body, completely

reversed its former position by

adopting a resolution protesting

the indictment of the 12 Stalinists

the civil rights of the 18 Trotsky-

the crime it had committed'

law but they were thrown into a lows in the Northwest Organizer on Aug. 4, 1934, in an appeal to

"Never before in our time has such a direct and outright act of

limited to the contract and are fascism"; from "5th columnists ing on short memories. But this being cheated out of our unem- for Franco, Mussolini and Hitler" is just a reminder that we haven't

## **Spies, Spies, Everywhere!**

#### By Henry Walsh

Don't trust your neighbor. Suspect your friends and relatives. Keep an eagle eye on your brother, sister and wife and especially on your mother-inlaw. One of them - the most innocent of the lot, the least open to suspicion — is likely to be a Russian spy. This isn't the jittery squealing of some nervous nellie in the Hearst papers.'It's the reasoned judgment of the most safe-andsound institution in the country — the United States Army. And don't get the unpatriotic idea that the Army is running off at the mouth in a fit of hysteria. The Army speaks from experience - sad experience.

One year ago MacArthur's sleuths tracked down the "most successful and complete" spying operation in Japanese history. On Feb. 11 the N. Y. Times printed the release as a "story of espionage, intrigue, passion and betrayal." A Soviet spy ring, led by one Richard Sorge, who was reputed to be a grandson of a secretary of Karl Marx, worked its way into the inner sanctum of the German legation in Tokyo and the Japanese government, ferreting out highly confidential information which they forwarded to Moscow. Sorge himself was so successful as to be eventually appointed press officer of the Nazi embassy. His collaborators, says the Times, were "a clever, well-informed group of agents of several nationalities and a variety of protective colorations." "Writers, artists, journalists, a soldier, a seamstress: . . the group worked in the best tradition of fictional spies. Members arranged meetings through code words, established contact by matching serial numbers on currency, and exchanged notes in cigarette packs."

The sinister operations of the ring were as nothing compared to the information they forwarded to the Kremlin. Truly outrageous! Stalin was notified (1) that the Japanese cabinet would not enter an alliance with Hitler against the Soviet Union and Great Britain; (2) that Japan would center its attack on South' Asia rather than the Soviet Union; (3) that Hitler was planning to hurl an army against Moscow on June 20, 1941; (4) that Japan would push southward against Indo-China and not north to Siberia.

You can readily see what a heinous, horrible crime was committed and how grateful we should be to the Army for making it public. True, the Soviet Union was the ally of the U.S. in the war, and Hitler and the Mikado its foes. True, Sorge's messages led to a withdrawal of the Red Army's troops from Siberia to the Western front thus engaging the Wehrmacht, weakening their resistance to the Allied offensive, shortening the war and saving American lives, as Roosevelt used to say. True, Moscow notified Washington about Sorge's discovery of the impending attack on Pearl Harbor.

But don't be soft-headed. There's a great principle involved. Spies are spies. And such superclever spies are positively a menace. Hirohito's government, properly alert, apprehended the ringleaders, hanged Sorge and a Japanese collaborator by the neck and sentenced a couple of others to life imprisonment. Take a leaf from their book. If you want to safeguard country, God, fireside and family - Be Vigilant! Your daughter's diary may not be so innocent as it appears.

At Albany, the New York State Legislature is considering a bill to bar "all Communist Party members" from holding public office, and force all city and emfurther demands that the use of versive by the Attorney Genera of the United States."

state aid.

North Carolina has proposed imilar bill making it a felony to elong to any party "which advocates overthrow of the govern ment by violence." It also establishes "loyalty oaths" for state President Harry Bridges to employees and candidates for solve the problem of unemployoublic office.

of Representatives has already mately 1000 union members out of passed a bill requiring a yellowlog oath from all students and faculty members of the University of Oklahoma. The bill is now before the State Senate.

Strong opposition to the Maryand bill has already been regist. Bulke, ILWU International Exeered by the State CIO Council cutive Board member, and two and many other organizations, speakers from the floor sup-Nine campus organizations, sev- ported the plan. Most Stalinist

ward the fight that must be made

#### mployees, an anti-red oath from any candidate for public office, and a report from all private educational institutions on what hey are doing to "combat communism" as a qualification for

### **National Heart Week**

#### **By Grace Carlson**

Starting on Valentine's Day and continuing until Feb. 21, we will observe National Heart Week in the United States. This is the period set aside by the National Heart Association to acquaint the public with heart disease and to raise funds for research in this field.

Heart disease is the nation's number one killer, but, contrary to the popular belief, it takes its victims among the young as well as the old. Heart disease causes more deaths among children between the ages of 10 and 15 than any other disease. In this age range, it is usually rheumatic fever — a disease of poverty — which strikes down young victims.

After the age of 45, one out of every two deaths is caused by diseases of the heart and blood vessels. In fact, heart disease takes a greater toll than the five other leading causes of death combined — three times as many deaths as cancer; six times as many as accidents; seven times as many as pneumonia; ten times as many as tuberculosis.

During the last 50 years, great advances have been made by medical science in the understanding of and treatment of cardiac cases. Electrocardiographic methods, roentgenography and fluoroscopy have been developed as aids in diagnosis and treatment. Surgical techniques have been evolved for the relief of certain congenital malformations of the heart, such as that found in "blue babies."

parin and dicumarol have been found to be great aids in clinical treatment of cardiac patients. Yet much remains to be learned by medical scientists. As yet, the causes of the three most important cardiovascular diseases - hypertension, arteriosclerosis and rheumatic fever - are unknown.

Much remains to be done by social scientists, too! Overwork and overworry are the twin evils, which aggravate cardiac conditions and shorten lives by 10, 15 or 20 years. Physicians, who have a fine understanding of the physical, emotional and social maladjustments of the cardiac cripple cannot tell him how to end overwork and overworry in this cut-throat capitalist society.

I think that the best way to observe National Heart Week is to re-dedicate one's self to the cause of socialism. In a Socialist United States of America, the billions now spent on atomic bombs could be devoted to research into the causes and treatment of heart disease, as well as the many other diseases that disable human beings and drive them to early graves.

And in a Socialist United States, we could do away with overwork and overworry for our cardiac patients. The National Heart Week of towould be expanded to all 52 weeks of the day socialist year. Under Socialism, we would put through the finest heart program of them all: "From each according to his abilities: to each according to his needs."

on a far greater scale against the menace of federal, state and New drugs such as penicillin, streptomycin, helocal laws threatening the democratic rights of all Americans.

bill.



HARRY' BRIDGES

## **29th ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED** BY LEAGUE FOR MUTUAL AID

NEW YORK - Twenty-nine years of continuous service to men and women in the labor, liberal and progressive movements facing emergencies will be celebrated by the League for Mutual Aid at a dinner in the - illness, accidents, and other unforeseen difficulties arise. Un-

employment insurance provided by law is not enough to give National in scope, the League families food, shelter, and medical and other essential protection. "The tight pinch of personnel cuts is being felt not only by

manual workers, but by many persons who lately have been pushed out of executive jobs. overcoats, helps individuals in a Repeatedly this winter we have had occasion to help war vet-

erans whose allowances have been Steady increase in applications | inordinately held up in Washfor loans and aid in finding new ington. Conscientious objectors jobs in recent months is report- coming out of prison are among those we have served. And often

we have aided displaced persons

kind said today. "We first began

far signed petitions urging an enraged rank and file took over the meeting. Late in the ent hiring hall set-up as a subthe Senate to kill the Oklahoma meeting when Bridges attempted terfuge to evade the unemploy-These are heartening steps toto defend his plan he was round-

ly booed and told to sit down.

A ROTATION PLAN

ment compensation act."

Member after member took the floor to denounce the plan as "union-busting." One speaker stated that the proposal was absolutely unprecedented in the trade union movement and that if anyone should be kicked out it should be the makers of the proposal. RANK AND FILE PROTEST shoremen outside the union. rotation. As the leaflet put it: One Negro member said, "The |"The employers' responsibility for 95-day strike to preserve itself. ends after 26 weeks. However, if To end up by taking orders from the men are laid off but remain would mean that the strike won time as there is adequate em-"ployment." nothing." A leaflet distributed to the

industry the union controls hiring. Through its hiring hall, it fills the employers' orders. Through all union members.

When work becomes slack, a | tions. member's share of the work falls as low as \$25 or \$30 a week. He is partially unemployed, but un- for this cowardly action: "There fered the following legal pretext able to draw compensation, be- is much doubt as to the right of cause he makes more than \$25 a the council to submit to the week on the weekly rotation sys- electorate an ordinance under

tem. This amounts to a "hidden these circumstances. . . someone lay-off." Each man gets two or might bring this into court." three days a week and is unem-The decision to place the FEPC ployed (laid off) the rest of the issue on the ballot, made at the Council meeting of Jan. 6, was time.

If available work is rotated obviously a sop thrown to the over a four-week period, however, tense, attentive crowd of more so that one quarter of the union is laid off every week, the "hidworkers would become eligible for blow they agreed, eight to one, unemployment compensation. people of the city.

READ

The League's office is at 104 Fourth Internationa

of "Filthy-Mouth" Davis follows when the Daily Worker condemnthe same pattern as the Proto- ed the strike leaders as "counterto overthrow capitalism.

in such a way that each member pick two examples - one a half- to send Trotskyists to prison. would be temporarily laid off one truth and one a downright lie -

benefits. Under California law, if treachery by quoting from war- Foster because it certainly is not money paid by the employers into time resolutions of the Minnesota us or even the leaders of the Others pointed out that it would unemployment insurance funds is CIO and AFL conventions, both painters union. Get out from beplay into the hands of the em- not used, the employers get a of which refused to support the hind your smokescreen and let the ployers by furnishing them with kickback. The employers there- struggle against the government's workers judge your charges and a large group of trained long- fore will oppose a four-week job persecution of the Trotskyists. The aim here is to find partners-in-crime in the labor move- demned as liars, scabs, and frameunion has just gone through a men cut off from the industry ceal the support to the pardon ingmen to associate with! up artists unfit for honest work-

cols of Zion, which denounces the revolutionists" and "played ball" Jews both as "international fin- with Tobin who denounced the anciers" trying to uphold capital- | Trotskyists as "communists and ism and as revolutionists trying radicals." The Stalinist leaders The leaflet also offered a de- Lack of space prevents us from Tobin — and with Roosevelt continued to "play ball" with tailed plan of how work could be dealing in this article with all of in obtaining the first conviction rotated among the union members | Davis' falsehoods. We will only | under the Smith Act by helping week in three or four, in order to obtain unemployment insurance which are typical of the whole totten stew. 1 Davis institute whole 1 Davis entitles his second leaf-let "I refuse to be gagged." Who is gagging you, "Filthy-Mouth" Davis entitles his second leaf-1. Davis justifies Weinstock's Davis? It must be Weinstock or those made against you in fair and open debate! Or stand con-

## the employers and turning our backs on our own union brothers in the industry the employers' Oakland City Council Knocks In the West Coast stevedoring FEPC Ordinance Off Ballot

#### By William Gorman

OAKLAND - Without any prior announcement, the the same hall it rotates all work Oakland City Council has taken the city FEPC ordinance off on a weekly basis equally among the ballot, where it had been placed for a decision by the voters in the coming municipal elec-

the City Council felt it had to prevent a direct vote on the issue City Attorney John Collier ofby the people.

The FEPC fiasco is filled with important lessons for all opponents of discrimination in Oakland. First, the milk-and-water FEPC ordinance was limited to discrimination in city employment only, which considerably reduced the amount of support it would get.

Second, it was presented by Mayor Smith's hand-picked "Civic than 300, Negroes who jammed Unity Committee." When its the Council chambers. The Counspokesman was asked by a councilman if discrimination existed den layoff" comes to light and the the ordinance and to soften this in city employment, he replied cil had voted five to four against there was no discrimination thus wiping out at one stroke the to put the question up to the whole need for an anti-discrimina-

But the financial and political tion ordinance! bosses of the city undoubtedly And finally, the four "probecame alarmed at the prospect gressive" councilmen voted unof a vigorous campaign over this animously with the reactionaries explosive question, which would to take the FEPC ordinance off undoubtedly expose the whole the ballot. This shows how little scandal of Jim Crow in Oakland the liberals can be depended on and put the finger on those in the fight against discriminaresponsible for it. That was why tion.

## Notes from the News

CLEARED, BUT - The Loyalty Review Board has cleared William W. Remington, Commerce Department official, of the "communist spy" charges made by Elizabeth Bentley. Remington was put on a new job, however, so that his work won't touch the "dramatic issue of national security."

MODEST DEMAND — The editors of the New Republic say they "support in principle a North Atlantic pact," but they won't feel 100% happy about it until they get "a joint declaration from Congress of the ends to which our blood and treasure are to be used."

\* \* \* **RESISTANCE MOVENT** — A group of postal workers from six cities has organized to get an injunction in federal. court to test the constitutionality of the "loyalty" purge.

\* \* \*

YES. BUT - The Turkish government is reported to have received a questionnaire from the editors of Information Please Almanac, asking "Do you permit workers to strike?" The answer was: "Yes, but not collectively."

INSCRUTABLE JUSTICE - On the same day that a Newark, N. J., judge was sentenced to prison for 10 to 15 years for embezzling \$633,000, a fourth offender in Newburgh, N. Y., was sentenced for 15 years to life because he stole \$35 worth of chickens.

CANDID LIBERAL - Paul A. Porter, former 'OPA chief and administration supporter charged that the government purge was political in origin, designed to show "in an election year that the executive would do a better job of witch-hunting than Congress." Describing it as "a competition between bureaucrats and politicians as to who

can find the most Communists," he advocated the abolition of the whole "loyalty" program.

ALIVE AND THRIVING - The House Un-American Committee, which Truman called a dead duck, has received the largest appropriation in its in the United States," Miss Schulhistory — \$200,000.

BLOOD ON COAL - 1,015 miners were killed last summer. As always, layoffs made at the dinner, which is to and 54,100 others were maimed in the produc- in industry bring emergencies begin at 6.45 P.M. Reservations tion of coal in this country last year.

King Arthur Restaurant, 405 West 23rd St., on Friday, March 4. for Mutual Aid is non-political,

non-partisan and draws no line of color or creed in rendering service. It grants loans without interest or red tape, finds jobs

without a fee, wangles needed great variety of economic

roubles.

ed by Adelaide Schulkind, the League's eexcutive secretary.

"Our office is in effect a tem- from war-torn countries, not yet perature chart of unemployment adjusted to their new life here." Fifth Avenue.

to notice the present trend early No appeal for funds will be for workers and their dependents are \$3.75, including gratuities.

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