

Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT.

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 4, 1949

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 27

Q

Faces Issue of

The delegates to the 1947 Atlantic City convention of the UAW saw fit to hand over complete control over Kutcher Forces the auto union to the Reuther leadership. In the slightly less than two years that have

elapsed, Reuther and his faction Reuther forces, has produced its have enjoyed a monopoly of the natural result: A movement to administration and have been in a suppress democracy and rank and Hear His Plea have enjoyed a monopoly of the natural result: A movement to position to carry through what- file control and install over the ever policies and actions they membership an immovable saw fit.

Two years ago, the exact tional Executive Board has alcharacter of the new leadership ready taken a number of initial ,may have been obscure to many. moves along this line. It threaten-Reuther is so skillful in dema- ed the old leadership of the gogy and so lavish in promises Plymouth local of Detroit with that many sincere militants were disciplinary action because the undoubtedly fooled by his pretences of progressivism and took his promises for good coin. There is no excuse for anyone being fooled today. The Reuther leadership should be judged now not by what it says about itself or what it promises to do in the future, but by its conduct in office in the past two years.

The record proves that the Reuther administration is part cratic privileges, and leave them and parcel of the whole right- with no other rights except to ward, reactionary trend that is

prevalent in the CIO today. Reuther and his lieutenants have been guilty of injecting the poisons of red-baiting into the vigilant to smash any and all UAW. In many districts of the vnion, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists crowd runs the to impose machine rule on the Reuther caucus and pursues without let or hindrance its policy of collaborating with the employers and harassing and hounding all so-called radicals, oppositionists aid and comfort to the witchand militants in general. This witch-hunt, which duplicates in- foolishly done by the recent side the union the anti-union barrage of the Tafts and the where the Reutherites pushed Dixiecrats from the outside, has through a vicious red - baiting assumed such menacing proportions that the UAW Aircraft Director felt free to address a secret meeting of West Coast

Conference to

267

SAN FRANCISCO, June 26 James Kutcher, legless veteran bureaucracy. Reuther's Internawho was fired from his government job as a "subversive" and who is now on tour to broaden the fight for his case, spoke here today before a Stalinist-dominated **Conference Against Thought Con**trol. In spite of the topic of the local paper was printing articles conference, he was able to get "contrary to CIO policy." the floor only after a determined At the same time, a big howl

fight. was set up in the UAW that no All organizations and indivilocal officer or member could say duals interested in combating the or propose anything, or criticize drive toward thought control had anything, that was "contrary to been invited to the conference. CIO policy." This trick phrase But true to form, the Stalinists has become a catch-all to gag the were determined that only their members and officers of the spokesmen should speak. UAW, to destroy their demo-Although the three-hour morning session was taken up mainly with long-winded speeches, Kutvote "Ja" for all proposals of the cher's request for 15 minutes to

top union bureaucrats. report on his test case against The Milwaukee convention has all the "subversive" listings was the duty of being especially denied on the ground there was 'no time on the agenda" for proposals to restrict the demohim. A second request, made by cratic rights of the membership, several unionists when the afternoon session opened, was likeunion, to amend the union conwise refused. Finally, after 21/2 stitution to give dictator's rights hours of more speeches, 20 to Reuther and his International minutes of discussion from the Executive Board, or to give new floor was permitted, and Kutcher got five minutes of this. hunt inside the union, as was Michigan State CIO convention resolution.

WAGES AND CONDITIONS

(Continued on page 2)

tack. His simple, direct appeal The record of the Reuther adistration is equany

UAW Convention Stalinists Refuse to Defend Union Democracy Rights of Political Opponents

A Lesson from American History WANTED! For DISLOYAL & SEDITIOUS UTTERANCES against His MAJESTY'S

GOVERNMENT, & FOR ADVOCATING the OVERTHROW of said Gov'T by FORCE & VIOLENCE!

> SAM ADAMS PATRICK HENRY GEO. WASHINGTON TOM JEFFERSON TOM PAINE

ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY

KING GEORGE III JULY 4, 1776

Gray -TOJ-CIPEID In his speech Kutcher presented the facts of his case and called for a broad united front to fight he Washington in to fight for a broad united front to fight the Washington-inspired witch-hunt, in spite of the political dif-ferences that exist between ferences that exist between

The AFL leaders may claim a | decisive durables - steel, auto- | government economists and busiwon a round of applause from the serious depression is almost im- mobiles, etc. - the pre

Dobbs' Appeal for Support To SWP, Kutcher Voted Down

NEW YORK, June 25 --- The Stalinist-controlled **Conference for Civil and Human Rights today flatly** refused to defend Socialist Workers Party members

victimized by the witch-hunters, **D**thereby proving to the hilt that ing the battle to win the reinthe Communist Party will not statement of James Kutcher, extend to its opponents within legless war veteran fired from the labor movement the same his Veterans Administration democratic rights and privileges it claims for itself.

Handpicked chairmen and committees, together with prerecognize that others besides Stalinists have civil rights which are under attack.

After four hours of Stalinist oratory, Farrell Dobbs, national support to the Stalinist victims chairman of the SWP, finally of the assault on democratic managed to get the floor in the rights, George Clarke, editor of panel discussion on Academic, Fourth International, the Trot-Intellectual and Religious Free- skyist theoretical magazine, subdom. He informed the delegates mitted an amendment calling for that the SWP supports the support to James Kutcher and defense of all victims of the the 18 Trotskyist victims of the witch-hunt, including the Com- Smith Act. munist Party leaders now on trial under the thought control ist hecklers greeted Clarke's at-Smith Act.

Boos and cat-calls from Stalintempt to motivate his amend-Dobbs then reminded the Stal- ment. He persisted nevertheless, inists that they supported the challenging the Stalinists to prove prosecution when the 18 Trot- that the democratic pretentions of their conference were not a

sham and a fraud by supporting

the defense of all labor and lib-

clerical job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

"We defend your members arranged speakers lists, were against the witch-hunters, despite imposed upon the sessions of this our deep - going political difso-called "broad, representative" ferences with the Communist conference without even bother- | Party," Dobbs told the Stalinists. ing to obtain a vote of approval "You should have the same from the delegates. Speaker after attitude toward members of the speaker talked endlessly about Socialist Workers Party. If we civil rights cases involving none stand united on civil liberties but Stalinists. Professor Thomas issues, it will be a compelling I. Emerson and Rev. William demonstration of both the need Howard Melish were the only of- and the possibility of united ficialy scheduled speakers to defensive struggle." CLARKE'S AMENDMENT

When the panel chairman later submitted a resolution calling for

employers and cooperate with the UAW officials as far as improving the wages in weeding out of the plants socalled "fellow-travelers."

The red-baiting, initiated and powered inside the UAW by the

Government Purge Upheld in Outrageous Court Decision

Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff on June 28 dismissed the suit against the government filed by 26 Post Office employees fired or suspended on "disloyalty" charges. The Washington judge's decision

upheld the constitutionality of But he denied that government the government's purge of fedemployees had the right to the eral workers and at the same protection of the Fifth Amendtime brought the full implicament in case of dismissal, or tions of the purge out into the even the right to have their cases oren. reviewed in the courts.

The 26 claimed that the "loyalty" procedure violated their rights to free speech. According to Holtzoff, the government "would have a perfect right, if it saw fit to do so, to get rid of [its employees] for making utterances which they have the right to make under the Constitution."

Under this doctrine, there would be no free speech at all for government employees, because Holtzoff was not referring merely to so-called "subversive" utterances by "disloyal" employees - he included any and all utterances by any and all employees.

As I. F. Stone says, "If Judge Holtzoff's reason is good law, if the operations of the executive branch are as exempt from judicial scrutiny as he says, either of the two major parties is free on taking office to purge the Civil Service of its opponents on the grounds of 'disloyalty'."

OTHER RIGHTS DENIED

The postal workers had complained that Truman's executive order deprived them of the right to a fair trial and due process barrelled strikebreaking powers House and Senate. of law, as guaranteed in the to the president, contains both Fifth Amendment. Holtzoff in the injunction provisions of the effect admitted this when he said:

"If the requirements of due process laid down by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution were applicable to the discharge of a government employee from Taft-Hartley repeal, at least the service, this order [Truman's Executive Order 9835] would not elections. Thus, they have reneged

audience. and working conditions of the STALINIST SLANDERS membership is concerned.

Immediately afterward, a Stal The election of Reuther to the inist was granted special privilege

this.

pathy.

to open a vicious and violent in capitalist "free enterprise" attack upon Trotskyism, throwing in the usual prize assortment of lies and slanders. He ended with the statement that it was according to the survey of econot possible to have a united nomic forecasts published by the front with "stool pigeons." June 25 Business Week. "Major His speech raised sharp protest

from sections of the audience. viewed by Business Week predict When Robert Chester, Bay Area that over-all production will fall Organizer for the Socialist Workfrom last year's post-war peak of ers Party, rose and several times 195 on the Federal Reserve Board 158 by December. requested the right to answer index to between 151 and 166 by these lies, he was refused the December. These are the infloor. Many rank and file Stal- dividual highest and lowest preinists were heard to protest over dictions.

A comparable decline in em-After the meeting the audience ployment would mean from eight and 137; and 259 to between 185 received Kutcher leaflets, that to ten million unemployed by and 190. Minerals - principally were distributed outside, with December - a return to the coal - are expected to drop from "normal" number of jobless in considerable interest and sympre-war 1939.

Industrial production is due for

a further big drop by December,

More revealing than the pre-Kutcher is scheduled to speak at several more meetings in the dictions on over-all production, Bay Area as well as before a are those for each major sector the court appeal of James Kut- number of unions and over the of industry, durable goods, nondurable and minerals. In the

possible." Truman may tell us arc for a drop from the post-war peak of 237 to as low as 157. there is "no crisis" of unemployment. But business forecasters have William Green's blind faith decline, the lower figure appears more probable. nor Truman's Pollyanna spirit. Non-durables, such as textiles,

paper products, chemicals and covered at all. manufactured foods, are expected to drop from a peak of 179 to betwen 148 and 158. This average, jects in the blue-print stage however, is deceptive. It is sushave shown as yet no appreciable are expected not to fall below Textiles, paper products and chemicals, the other major com-

ponents, are expected to fall respectively from 177 to between 120 and 130; 172 to between 135 161 to between 135 and 140. This latter prediction, however, was made before the United Mine Workers proposed a three - day the coal crisis.

In the face of the predictions of the depressed Thirties.

skyists were convicted in the first i, the government has as yet no program against political trial under the same mass unemployment and its Smith Act in 1941. "Now you with 185 the most optimistic attendant suffering other than are suffering the consequences and government economists don't opinion. At the present rate of "states' rights" unemployment in- of that mistake down at Foley surance as low as \$6 a week for Square," he told them. eight weeks in some states, with millions of wage-earners not on, by supporting the fight of the

All state and local governments 18 Trotskyists for restoration of combined have public works pro- their civil rights and by support-

totalling only \$2.5 billion, while government economists" inter- tained by food products, which the federal government has plans decline from their 163 peak, and localities, basing themselves on expected unemployment, have asked for projects that would cost between 30 and 80 billions. But, as Business Week says, "the trouble is that plans for these projects don't exist."

Thus, the workers are heading directly into mass unemployment with no real safeguards. Unless organized labor immediately launches a full-scale fight for adequate public works, unemployment insurance and a lower work week with no reductions in week, indicating the real depth of | weekly pay, this winter may well see mass misery on the scale of

The Stalinists can "begin to correct that mistake," he went

eral victims of the witch 'hunt, regardless of their political views. At this point the chairman tried to cut Clarke down, but he held the floor long enough to drive home the point that many workers and intellectuals today refuse

(Continued on Page 2)



"The freeze principle of rent control is now a thing of the past," said Truman's Federal Housing Expediter, Tighe E. Woods, on June 26. This declaration accompanied

disclosure that weeks ago Woods, without public announcement, | long ago under the rent laws. The four rules announced last had quietly put into effect four week are designed to aid the more rules which, according to landlords in these shady practhe Associated Press, "give local tices and to assure them legal rent directors wide leeway to grant increases" of rents. cover.

The chief new provision is for Since Woods' issuance last rent boosts where the landlord month of new regulations based makes a "major capital improveon the "fair return" to landlords ment" or provides a "substantial section of the so-called Rent increase" in services, furniture Control Law, about a million or equipment. Repairing a leaklandlords have secured applicaing roof, replacing old plumbing tion blanks for increases, the or any number of other necessary latest announcement also revealrepairs landlords are supposed ed. These further "interpretato supply regularly but haven't tions" of the rent law are exare examples of "major capital pected to increase landlord apimprovement.' plications for rent hikes another Thus, under the bill which Tru-

25%, it was estimated by John man signed and called a "crushing J. Pendergast, New York's redefeat for the real estate lobby," gional housing expediter. the Truman Administration up to Last month's "fair return" now has (1) decontrolled more ruling grants rent boosts to landthan 250,000 rental units; (2) lords whose "net operating income"-that is, profit-is below 20% of their "gross income" -

that is, all rents and fees colleaders sought from start to lected - for properties of more than four dwelling units. On city of Truman and the Truman buildings of four or less dwelling units landlords are entitled, according to Woods, to a 25% "net operating income." If landlords make less than the 20% and 25%

of profit - in relation not to operating costs but to their total take — then they will be granted rent boosts to bring their "net

operating income" to 25% and 30% respectively on the larger and smaller buildings.

This was an engraved invitation to landlords to try to qualify He taunted them, in fact, for try- labor struggle have led to the for rent increases by padding ing to put over an "implied pow- inevitable result: The Taft-Hart- their costs or by painting and comply with the requirement." openly on their key election man began to hedge on his Taft- crats in the House were pushing ers" injunction bill while pretend- ley Law-or worse-will remain. repairing they should have done

Where the Blame Rests for Taft's Victory

By Art Preis

Holtzoff's outrageous decision

will be appealed to the Supreme

Court by the postal workers, just

as everything implied in the

decision is being challenged by

JUNE 29-The Truman Democrats in the Senate tried to put over a strikebreaking law withtheir double-dealing "compromise" moves led yesterday to "the Taft- calling for the defeat of the posed a law including "emer-Hartley Act minus the Hartley," as Senator Elbert Thomas leaving the Taft-Hartley Law in "cooling off" period, and bans on of these amendments were so characterized the administration's bill after the Senate, by a 50-40 vote, attached Senator Robert

Taft's amendment to it. More appropriately, it might be called the "Taft-Truman Act." Taft's amendment, giving doublewhat Taft-Hartley Act and the Trumanite proposal for breaking strikes by plant "seizures."

The Truman Democrats promptly announced their virtual abandonment of the fight for until after the November 1950

of the Slave Labor Law. Murray also issued abject declara- Taft-Hartley. In December David FOR the Sims Bill. out the Taft-Hartley label. But tions of virtual unconditional Dubinsky, head of the AFL surrender. They are reduced to Ladies Garment Workers, pro-

> Taft-amended Thomas Bill, thus gency fact-finding" boards, a force and intact. This is the grave situation "secondary" facing labor eight months after "minor" Taft-Hartley provisions the workers, at the behest of were embodied in the Truman-

their union leaders, put Truman sponsored Thomas-Lesinski bill, back in the White House with a promptly backed by the top union Democratic majority in both the leaders. Who is responsible? That is nounced that he didn't mind Conthe American workers gress "spelling out" a law to give mitted that their amendment "imdemand to know. The Trumanite him authority to invoke injunc- plied" injunction powers in case

union leaders lay all the blame on tions against strikes. He just strikers refused to go back to the Republican - Dixiecrat bloc. | thought it "unnecessary" because But they conceal the role of the he already had "inherent powers" Trumanites, who, by their re- to break "national emergency" treats and "compromises," em- strikes by court action. The AFL boldened and strengthened labor's and CIO leaders pretended Tru- game of the Truman Democrats. avowed enemies. Right after the elections, Tru-

By May, the Truman Demo-

Today, AFL President William "modifying" the Wagner Act, in- break strikes. AFL and CIO Green and CIO President Philip stead of unconditional repeal of representatives actively lobbied

> Before the Senate even began debate, the Truman Democrats offered five "compromise" amendments to the Thomas bill. Four

"iurisdictional" strikes and like provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act that Taft himself promptly accepted them. Debate occurred on the key amendment calling for govern-"seizure" instead of injunction. Senator Paul H. Douglas and other Truman Democrats ad-

work after the government "seized" the plants. It was no trick at all for Taft to expose the shabby, shyster

While AFL President William Green openly endorsed the plant "seizure" proposal, CIO President Philip Murray merely assailed the "crippling amendments" proposed by Taft, keeping a cowardly silence on plant 'seizures."

Thus, with a few exceptions like John L. Lewis, the top union finish only to cover up the dupli-Democrats. Instead of mobilizing ment strikebreaking by plant the workers for militant independent struggle for Taft-Hartley repeal, they tried to deceive the workers for the sake of maintaining their dirty alliance with Truman.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." The union leaders' policy of dependence on capitalist politicians like Truman, their retreats and "compromises," their opposition to militant independent granted more than 300,000 rent increases; (3) issued "fair return" and "major improvement" regulations that open the floodgates to millions of rent increases.

Next Week:

What can labor do now in the fight against Taft-Hartleyism? A programmatic article by Art Preis.

A letter from Germany on the Marshall Plan's effects on German living standards.

An answer to new slanders. on the Kutcher case by the People's World, West Coast Stalinist paper.



In February, Truman an-

man had never spoken.

boycotts. These

cher, another victim of the purge. | radio.

Page Two

The following is the text of Farrell Dobbs' speech a the Civil Rights Congress "Conference for Civil and Human Rights." held in New York City on June 25:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: 👁 you that we fully support the aims and objectives of this conference to defend the victims of the witch-hunt now raging in this country.

The Socialist Workers Party defends the educators and religious leaders who are under attack; we oppose the Feinberg Law here in New York and all other assaults on academic freedom; we support the fight against the infamous Ober Law in Maryland and against the flood of anti-democratic legislative bills introduced at Washington and various state capitals.

WE DEFEND CP LEADERS

We defend the federal employees victimized through Attorney General Clark's notorious political blacklist; we support the defense of the Communist Party leaders now on trial under the thought-control Smith Act at Foley Square.

I have more than a passing acquaintance with the Smith Act. I was one of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders framed up in the first political trial under this vicious thought-control law. Just like the present defendants at Foley Square, we were charged with teaching and advocating Marxism - Leninism. Juct as the Marxist classics are being introduced in evidence at the Communist Party trial, the first document introduced by the government in the 1941 trial of the Trotskyists was the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels.

We were convicted and compelled to serve sentences in a federal prison. And to this very day, even after our prison sentences have been served, we are denied the right to vote; to hold public office or to serve on a jury. We are still fighting for a presidential pardon so that we may regain the civil rights so

outrageously taken from us.

SUFFERING CONSEQUENCES The Communist Party made a mistake when we were on trial in 1941, a very serious mistake. Not only did the Communist Party fail to support our defense - IT SUPPORTED THE GOVERN-MENT AGAINST US. Now you that mistake down at Foley ing" on the Attorney General's

Square. The prosecutor contends political blacklist. that the conviction of the Trotinist composition of the panel skyists in 1941 stands as a legal precedent for the present trial and slanders of the panel leaders, of the Communist Party leaders.

Speaking officially for the So-, your Hitler-like blacklist. What cialist Workers Party, as its Na. of it? I demand my right to think tional Chairman, I wish to inform as I please and still be a government employee."

UNITED FRONT EFFECTS You must not permit political hostility to stand in the way of

genuine united front action in opposition to the witch-hunt. In accordance with correct principles in the fight to preserve democratic rights, we defend your members against the witchhunters, despite our deep-going political differences with the Communist Party. You should have the same attitude toward. members of the Socialist Workers Party. While retaining the full right to criticize each other politically, we should neverthe-

less stand together in the struggle against the purgers and prosecutors. Such a united front would give tremendous impetus to the broad movement in defense of democratic rights. Every politically informed person knows that the

Trotskyists and the Stalinists are bitter political enemies. Consequently, if we stand united. on civil liberties issues, it will be a compelling demonstration of both the need and the possibility of united defensive struggle.

NOBODY WILL BE SAFE Let there be no doubt in your mind that there is burning need for broad and firm mass solidarity - regardless of political dif-

the full right of political criticism - where democratic rights are involved. For our part, we pledge that

ferences - in the fight to has in the past, to defend all preserve freedom of thought, victims of the witch-hunt, regardfreedom of speech and freedom of less of race, color or political association in this country. If the belief.

Stalinists Refuse to Defend **Rights of Political Opponents**

(Continued from page 1) I can't read The Militant in here refusal to permit certain long-to defend the civil rights of the because it hasn't been approved shoremen on their docks. Stalinists precisely because the by the committee in charge. But Communist Party has refused to I saw a delegate reading the Daily NEXT ON THE LIST recognize the democratic rights Worker and another one reading Franke Grande, pastor of the

cies opposed to them. The chairman then invited a back he could think of was to American Committee right here slanderously link the Socialist in this conference?" Workers Party with the German-American Bund as "window dress-

Despite the predominantly Stal-

THE MILITANT

N. Y. REGENTS WARNED NOT TO BLACKLIST SWP

NEW YORK, June 27 - In a letter to the New York Board of Regents, the Socialist Workers Party today warned that the Board will be committing a violation of the SWP's constitutional rights if it?

places the SWP on any so-called Tom Clark's infamous political subversive" list on the pretext blacklist.

of a similar designation by Attorney General Clark. The letter, signed by National Chairman Farrell Dobbs, also demanded "a oill of particulars and a public hearing under due process of law before any action is taken against our party." The text of the letter follows:

Gentlemen:

According to June 17 press so-called "subversive" organizations based on Attorney General

> **Kutcher Impresses Seattle Liberal And Labor Circles**

"It is not necessary to threaten a man with prison to silence him; the loss of a job will sometimes silence a man just as effectively and deprive him of his civil rights," asserted James Kutcher at the June 22 protest meeting in Swedish Hall which climaxed legless veteran's answer to those who claimed that no loss of civil rights was involved in his discharge from a government job solely because of his political

Other speakers at this meeting called upon all defenders of civil liberties to unite in a vigorous front against the witch-hunters who have been especially active in the Northwest. Kutcher linked hs own persecution with the suspension of local postal employees in the loyalty purge, the subversive blacklist" used by the company against Boeing strikers, and the Navy's recent

of working class political tenden- the Herald-Tribune and nobody Church of the People, stated that said a word to them. How do you unless the present wave of expect to mobilize people to fight thought control persecutions are CP hack to take the floor in op- the witch-hunt when you use the stopped his own church may be position to Clarke. The only come- tactics of the FBI and the Un- next on the list. Frank Krasnowsky, secretary of the Northwest Kutcher Committee, pointed out

that the Bill of Rights was added THE PLENARY SESSION to the U. S. Constitution only tion' and 'subversion' arbitrarily

turn," a Stalinist delegate was keard confiding to his neighbor. By the time the panels broke

As provided under the equally anti-democratic Feinberg Law, members of the organizations so blacklisted would be unconstitutionally deprived of their right to employment in the New York public school system. The Socialist Workers Party, for whom I speak, has been included in the Clark "subversive"

list. The Attorney General has peated demands for a public hearing to defend ourselves against his dictatorial action.

> Among the Socialist Workers Party members who have already

> > A nationwide search is on for John Giusto (top), 31, on parole, and Benedicto Macri, 36, who have been indicted in New murdered.

will show."

Kutcher and condemning Executive Order 9835 on which the Clark blacklist is based. Dr. Holds Hearing on Harold C. Urey, Nobel Prize winner and famous atomic scient-ist, in discussing the Kutcher Skoglund's Appeal winner and famous atomic scientcase, wrote, "Administrative

A hearing was held before the agencies have been and are deal-Board of Immigration Appeals on ing with government employees June 24 in Washington, D. C., in in procedures which violate the connection with the case of Carl basic decencies of notice and hear-Skoglund, 65-year-old Minnesota ing which are part of our tradiunion leader threatened with deportation because of his political

"People are being fired from views and labor activities. jobs and are being forced to Skoglund's attorney, Stanley H. suffer various indignities, not Lowell, member of the Alien Civil the least of which is impugnment Rights Committee of the Ameriof character," Dr. Urey declared. can Civil Liberties Union, pre-'All of this at the hands of adsented numerous legal arguments ministrative officials and other to the Board requesting a disnon-juridical bodies proceeds from missal of the deportation order. the doctrines of 'guilt by associa-The Board reserved decision on

THE FEINBERG LAW said by Dr. Urey

Lurye's Killers? **Democracy** Issue In Auto Union

turers, behind the scenes, are (Continued from Page 1) residency of the UAW was the agreed on how to fight the union signal for the automobile cor- and resist its demands.

perations to start a campaign to The record of the Reuther reintroduce the speedup in the forces is no better on political shops. This has assumed such action. The UAW lobbyists in dangerous proportions that in Washington are lined up with plant after plant, militant men those sections of the trade union and women were forced to take movement which are going along strike votes, and in many cases with vicious amendments to the were fired for resisting the speed- Thomas labor bill; in other words, 1p. At first, the union's top of- to the passage of a bill which, ficers simply pooh - poohed the although bearing a new name, is problem and strongly implied hardly superior to the present that the protests were simply Taft-Hartley slave law.

As for a new political party of manufactured by trouble-makers for ulterior political purposes. In labor, Reuther has shelved all his a disgraceful statement printed promises of last year to give in the January 1949 United Auto-"my full support, my full energy" mobile Worker, Reuther, Mazey, toward the creation of a new Gasser and Livingstone stated political force. His full energy that the anti-Reuther forces and support now go to Truman have exaggerated the extent of and the Democratic Party, which the speedup as the reports of has piled up as reactionary a local unions to the International record in the 81st Congress as it did in the "worst" 80th Con-

On the test case on the speedup gress. And Emil Mazey, who used to make speeches for a labor issue occuring at Chevrolet Local 659 in Flint, the Reuther leader- party before he got elected to ship left the militants holding the high union office, now goes along bag, refused to authorize strike with Truman and the Democrats. action by the local union, agreed just like the next Reutherite. The Reuther crew rode into to the firing of a key worker in power, on a wave of reaction and the dispute and the speeding up of production schedules. This red-baiting. It has maintained shameful record has since been itself in power because reaction climaxed by its cowardly policies has continued strong in the labor movement. But this is a tem-. in two of the key struggles porary phenomenon, after all. recently engaged in by the UAW. The Ford and Bendix strikes, and In the first instance, the Bendix strike at South Bend, Indiana, the new threats of layoffs and the International brought presunemployment, are setting the UAW members to thinking, and sure to bear upon the local union to permit dies and fixtures to be are producing more progressive trends. The Communist Party removed out of the struck plant, gang, who helped build up and then brought similar pressure to bear upon the Deroit locals to Reuther by their treachery, work on this scab equipment. As duplicity and autocratic misuse a result, the Bendix workers had of power, and who bear the greatest share of responsibility to pound the pavement for two and a half months in their fight for discrediting and ruining the against company speedup and the old Thomas - Addes - Leonard firing of workers who resisted group, are today a negligible force in the UAW.

the speedup. The Stalinist attempt since the In the second instance, in the Ford strike, Reuther maneuvered 1947 convention to reconstitute an opposition headed by Tracy for all he was worth to kid the Ford members out of striking Doll has fizzled. The main body of against speedup. When he could opposition forces is headed by independent militants grouped no longer hold the ranks back, he authorized the strike in order to around the "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW," settle 24 days later for roughly which has a clear-cut and fighting the equivalent arbitration terms trade union program and makes which the Ford workers rejected its appeal to the UAW ranks on when they first hit the bricks.

Reuther's soft policy toward an honest basis. The most important tasks of the corporations on speedup is the experienced militants at this wedded to a cockeyed notion on coming UAW convention are to wage negotiations. According to this super-duper theory, while a mobilize a majority of the deleprogram of industry-wide bargates to stop any Reutherite moves to curtail the members' gaining may be best for the coal. or the steel industries, it is no democratic rights, and to adopt a the plea which will probably not good for the automobile industry. forthright, militant program of be handed down until late in July. Here, the UAW leadership proaction to fight against speedup

The Civil Rights Defense Com- poses the "one - at - a - time" and layoffs, for improved wages trategy. Reuther and his buddies and independent political action. nittee last week announced that it was undertaking a nation-wide have clung to this bankrupt The militants must further recampaign to raise the funds need- scheme, although it proved its solve to build up the opposition ed to, defend Skoglund. \$1,000 is worthlessness in the 1945 GM in the next period into a stronger, required at once to cover the first strike. more coherent and more effective This same Reuther strategy is force. In this way, the opposition steps in the proceedings. Concurrently jeopardizing the UAW will be able to help steer the tributions should be sent to the "fourth round" program for UAW correctly in the trying days Civil Rights Defense Committee, wages and pensions by pitting ahead, and to earn the leadership 19 West 10th St., New York 11, one set of UAW workers against of the UAW ranks when the next another, while the auto manufac- wave of insurgency hits the union. N. Y.



the Socialist Workers Party will continue in the future, just as it views.

FARRELL DOBBS

defendants now on trial at Foley

Square should be convicted, the

Communist Party will, in effect,

be outlawed. Once that happens,

the witch-hunt that is already

dispatches, the New York Board not given a single reason for his of Regents plans to promulgate high - handed procedure against at its July 15 meeting a list of us, and he has denied our re-

LEGALITY CHALLENGED

ist.

been victimized because of the Clark blacklist is James Kutcher, a legless war veteran, who was fired from his clerk's job in the Veterans Administration. Kutcher's case is now in the process of appeal to the federal courts, where he will challenge the con-

tion of due process of law.

defined."

stitutionality of the "subversive" CIO, AFL and independent unions representing millions of members are supporting Kutcher's defense. Numerous organ-



Monday, July 4, 1949

You can begin to correct that voted for the Trotskyist amendmistake by joining now in the ment. fight for a presidential pardon to

restore the full civil rights of "A BAD TURN" the victimized Socialist Workers Meantime, the Stalinists were getting another pounding in the

Party leaders. You can also demonstrate your

panel on Negro Rights and Rareadiness to defend all victims of cial Equality. An appeal by a the witch-hunt by supporting the Negro delegate for support to campaign to force the reinstate- James Kutcher and the 18 Trotment of the legless war veteran, skyist victims of the Smith Act, James Kutcher, who was fired as well as the Stalinist leaders from his Veterans Administra- now on trial at Foley Square, tion clerical job because of his evoked a good deal of applause. membership in the Socialist A second Negro delegate really Workers Party. threw consternation into the

James Kutcher, as a matter of ranks of the Stalinist violators fact, was the first federal em- of elementary democratic princiployee to stand up to the witch- ples.

"What kind of a business is hunters and say, "Yes, I'm a member of a political party on this?" she demanded. "I was told



Do you want the facts about growing unemployment? The Truman depression? The threat of a third World War? Inside happenings in the labor movement? Rising indignation over the witch-hunt and "loyalty" purge? Get the facts in The Militant! America's leading socialist weekly gives you the straight, ungarbled facts about events of vital importance to every working man and woman.

Facts are important. But facts must be correctly interpreted to yield the general truths from which long-range trends can be charted and the future predicted. In this, The Militant has no equal in America. Using the Marxist method, the most powerful tool of thought yet devised, The Militant sifts the raw facts, assesses them, ties them together and fits them into their proper place in the pattern of world history. The Militant helps you to see the big things looming ahead. It offers a program and a course of action désigned to help labor open a way to a world of enduring peace, boundless plenty and the brotherhood of man.

Read The Militant regularly to get the facts and their correct interpretation Send \$1 for six months subscription or \$2 for a full year. Fill out the coupon and mail it today to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name			, 	.		
1					,	
City .			. State .	••••••	••••••	
Fourth	Six months [] Internationa] \$2 Full ye l, monthly	ear 🔲 a magazine	§4 in com e of An	bination perican	n with Trot-

skyism. (Fourth International alone is \$2.50. You save 50c.)

Everything Forty students and a number of up and all the delegates returned and the high-handed tactics, lies up and all the delegates returned professors turned out on June 20 applies with full force and effect to the main hall for the final professors turned out on June 20 applies with full force and effect the plenary session, the Stalinists to hear Kutcher's story at the to the "subversive" list that the about 75 of the 250 delegates had apparently had enough dis- University of Washington campus Board of Regents now proposes cussion. The floor microphones meeting sponsored by the Ameri- to promulgate under the Fein-

set up earlier in the day for the can Veterans Committee. Prof. berg Law - a law that violates use of the delegates had been. Ivan C. Rutledge of the Univer- fundamental democratic rights of sity law school also spoke in freedom of thought and freedom hastily removed. The plenary session was a cut defense of Kutcher's fight, which of expression as guaranteed by and dried, strictly Stalinist show. is supported by 15 prominent the Constitution.

Nobody got in a word unless he faculty members. A reception and farewell dinner was on the platform and there was nobody on the platform but was given for the legless veteran

100%-certified Stalinist wheel by his Seattle supporters on the horses. Not a word was said about the proposals submitted by the evening of June 23, just before Trotskyists. The Stalinist-line his departure for San Francisco, called "subversive" list on the resolutions were railroaded thru the next stop on his West Coast pretext that the Socialist Workin jig time, without discussion. tour. Jimmy Kutcher's firm stand But that didn't stop the buzz has deeply impressed liberal and of conversation among the delegates, many of whom were im- labor circles in Seattle and the pressed by the arguments of the pleasant personality of the soft-Trotskyists. Almost all the rank spoken ex-GI won him many new

and filers seemed pleased that friends. what had been expected to be a

dull, cut-and-dried affair turned into a good old-fashioned floor fight. Nor did the steamroller tactics

the Stalinists had refused to support James Kutcher and the 18 that the Socialist Workers Party had "charged the American Communist Party with favoring civil of July weekend.

ponents.'

wells.

Oil Union Seeks 36-Hour Week

O. A. Knight, president of the CIO Oil Workers Union, heat. last week reaffirmed the union's demand for a 36-hour week at 40 hours pay to bulwark the oil workers against rising unemployment. The industry now works a

40-hour week, but before the war, Knight recalled, the 36hour week was in effect. Unemployment in the industry is rising, partly because of Marshall Plan operations. said Knight. Importations of crude

oil under the plan, he/said, have forced suspension of drilling of "thousands" of

rights for the Board of Regents to place our party on any soers Party is listed as "subversive' by Attorney-General Clark. We demand a bill of particulars and a public hearing under due

For all these reasons, the So-

cialist Workers Party empha-

tically declares that it will be a

violation of our constitutional

process of law before any action is taken by the Board of Regents against our party.

SUCCESSFUL SEASON EXPECTED of the Stalinist gang prevent the N. Y. Times from reporting that FOR MOUNTAIN SPRING CAMP

The first week of the new Mountain Spring Camp at SWP leaders fighting for resto- Washington, N. J., indicates that its initial season should ration of their civil rights, and prove a notable success. A capacity crowd was on hand for the activities of the Fourth D

by George Clarke on "Current The comparative coolness of Trends in American Politics"; supporters, while opposing simi- the camp was one of its princi- and a speech by William F.

lar rights for its political op- pal attractions during this torrid Warde on "Revolutionary Tradispell. Situated 1200 feet above tions and Independence Day." sea level in the foothills of the EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM Pocono Mountains and girdled by The regular weekly educationwoodlands and brooks, the camp al program includes a course on is swept by refreshing breezes at "Historical Materialism: The the hottest hours of the day. This Marxist Interpretation of Social During the first week, according provided welcome relief for the Development" taught by William to Literature Agent Harry Gold, numerous refugees from the city F. Warde, and a study group on the success of subgetters was

Just in time for the holiday in-Manifesto" led by David Weiss. flow of vacationers. the hard-The 83 acres of Mountain who participated. Six comrades working construction crew put Spring Camp offer an ideal and got two subs each and Ruby of the finishing touches on the big inexpensive vacation spot for the Harlem branch chalked up dining and recreation building workers and their families. Re- three. which commands a beautiful view servations are now being taken

of the valley and surrounding for the remainder of July, Augcountryside through its spacious ust and early September. windows. "This is like being on

the deck of a ship!" exclaimed one enthusiastic newcomer. dren up to 12 years. For reserva-

Movement Today"; a discussion receipt of reservations.



New York Campaign **Brings Increase in** June Subscriptions

During June, subscriptions to The Militant registered an increase over May. As can be seen

pay off as well as single sales from the scorehave done." board below for Cleveland is also turning its the branches of attention toward building up subthe Socialist scriptions. Literature Agent Bob Workers Party, Kingsley reports that "We intend New York acto start a minimum of renewal counted for a work. Every active comrade is substantial protaking one renewal blank and portion of the going out to see one person a total.

week. A report will be made on results at every meeting." Boston ordered 50 extra copies of the June 13 issue containing the article about the worldfamous scientist Albert Einstein

sistent work on subscriptions. Flint put on a campaign and calling for the replacement of capitalism by the superior pushed into third place for the system of socialism. "Three commonth.

rades went out to test the sales New York's encouraging total for the month resulted from a of this article in a Jewish neigh-two - weeks city - wide campaign borhood," writes Literature Agent two - weeks city - wide campaign. Rena Breshi. "It sold very well, but many people were not at home, so we broke up and decided "100 Years of the Communist fairly uniform, the average being to return one night during the

week." about one sub for each comrade Among the branches in the zero column of the scoreboard, several have been doing spadework that will undoubtedly pay Los Angeles has been steadily off sconer or later in subscrip-

tions. increasing sales of single copies. St. Louis, for instance, has been This week Literature Agent The rates are \$35 per week for Bert Deck sent through another increasing the number of newsadults and \$20 per week for chil- increase in the bundle order. stands carrying The Militant, and Regular sales are being made at | consistently calling on people A program of special events tions and further information, an impressive number of union who have indicated a sympathetic was scheduled for the Fourth of write to Mountain Spring Camp, meetings. "This important work interest in socialism. Literature July encampment. Among the R.D. No. 1, Washington, N. J. has been sparkplugged by the Agent D. C. writes that although highlights was a talk by Bert Complete instructions on how to energetic work of Ruth and Helen no subs were chalked up in June, Cochran on "The Trade Union get to the camp will be sent upon with noble assists from Mari, "efforts were not too discouraging. Some people, even though I Lou and Fred's car."

they do not take subs, seem closer. to us than formerly." He reports that newsstand sales of Trotskyist literature, including pamphlets, appears to be as good as

The Los Angeles comrades are that of other radical political now planning work on subscrip- parties, if not better. tions. "We will be keeping the

New Britain, concentrating on sub situation in mind from now the sale of single copies, has been on. We are also contemplating doing well in that field.

putting a comrade in charge of Pittsburgh, according to Litesub-getting in the hope that rature Agent Gerry Wolf, plans consistent work in this field will "a more extensive sale of literature for the summer months." It is no picnic getting subscrip-

tions, he writes us, "however, our work is never in vain and the qualitative aspect of the picture must be considered. We are cementing some very important relationships which should aid us in getting subs in the future."

> BRANCH New York Milwaukee Flint Los Angeles St. Paul San Francisco Detroit Oakland Philadelphia Newark Boston Chicago Morgantown Cleveland Reading General Minneapolis Buffalo New Haven Seattle Worcester Youngstown Akron Allentowr Lynn New Britain Pittsburgh

> > Toledo

TOTAL

Rochester St. Louis



SUBS

64

12

11

166

Milwaukee came second maintaining the record

this branch has kept up since the beginning of the year of con-

Page Three

workers - the tragedies of the

Massacre, the Haymarket Mas-

In its senility, its fears of the

er still, and its crimes defy

every strike, savagery against

the Negro people, lynch incita-

tions of the witch-hunters darken

the columns of every newspaper.

its threats extend throughout the

world, as it brandishes the atomic.

bombs and the hideous means of

Far more even than King

George in '76, the American

pacteriological warfare.

description. Police brutality in

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

THE MILITAN THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330) Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN **Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN**

Bundle Orders (5 or m copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent. The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Monday, July 4, 1949

Vol. XIII - No. 27

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

TROTSKY

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



The NMU Ranks Point the Way

All organized labor is indebted to the rank and file of the CIO National Maritime Union for blocking an amendment to the NMU constitution to bar "subversives" from membership. They have dealt a blow not only against an attempted. "loyalty" purge in their own union but against the anti-democratic witch-hunt that has been spreading through the labor movement.

A referendum on the amendment has left no doubt that a majority of the NMU members are opposed to "loyalty" oaths, political discrimination and purges. Although the referendum was invalidated just before the count was completed because of glaring irregularities, the opponents of the purge amendment were 400 votes ahead when the count was stopped.

The strength of this anti-purge vote was all the more significant because the amendment was sponsored and supported by the overwhelming majority of the NMU National Council and President Joseph Curran.

Even more significant is the fact that the great majority of NMU members are bitterly anti-Stalinist. They had voted out the whole Stalinist leadership who had ruled the NMU until two years ago. They had suffered long under the bureaucratic heel of the Stalinists and had good reason to hate them. But they did not allow their hatred of Stalinism to blind them to the meaning and aim of the

purge amendment. They recognized in it a menace to the rights of the membership as a whole and to anyone - not just the Stalinists - who might oppose or criticize the present leadership. They do not propose to fight Stalinism with the reactionary methods of the witchhunters and the enemies of labor.

Red-baiting union leaders who push the witch-hunts and purges claim they represent the sentiments of the members. This NMU referendum is the first chance any sizable body of union members themselves have had to speak on this issue. They have demonstrated that they do not go for "loyalty" oaths and purges.

The witch-hunt inside the unions is part and parcel of the witch-hunt outside the unions. It is inspired by the employers and their political agents who are trying to smash all democratic rights and civil liberties. The union bureaucrats are borrowing from labor's enemies in an effort to tighten their control over the union ranks. This bosses' poison will destroy union democracy and the unions.

There is only one antidote to this witch-hunt disease that has infected the unions. It is the determined, organized resistance of the union ranks. Given a real opportunity to discuss this question and decide for themselves the rank and file of labor, like those of the NMU, will deal a smashing defeat to the witchhunters.

Declaration of Independence. To read it in public today might well be declared an act of "disloyalty." Certainly it "violates" the Smith Gag Act. Its signers would be purged from government jobs if hey were alive today. For the neart of the Declaration of Independence is its proclamation of the people's right to change their government or overthrow it, whenever they so desire.

THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT

"We hold these truths to be self - evident," the Declaration their Creator with certain inalienable human Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and British despots drove them to the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights. Govern-

ments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That the land-owners and the merwhenever any Form of Governnent becomes destructive of hese ends, it is the Right of the port goods only through British People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Governnent, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing ts powers in such form, as to Britain, often far below their them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

This declaration of the right to artisans out of employment. evolution was written by the eaders of the capitalist class of the American colonies in the virile days of their youth. How different from the capitalists' ry of today!

Revolution would not be stopped distributors were burned in tory, these "outlaws" were heroic by shrieks against "force and effigy, their homes destroyed, figures leading a new class to

action.



B[§] Ruth Johnson July Fourth is the time when

heard them from the ruling class the red-baiters will hit the peak of frenzied oratory, proclaiming their patriotism at rostrums draped in flags. They will piously pay their respects to the Declaration of Independence, and hastily move on to prove by each succeeding word that they abhor it. In the name of "Americanism," they will vilify as "subright to exist. When they proudly of the day. versive" any attempt to translate pledged "our Lives, our Fortunes the historic document of 1776 into and our 'sacred Honor" to the a living guide for 1949.

If they dropped the cloak of had been blocked. nypocrisy, the red-baiters would mmediately move to outlaw the

The colonial revolutionists had when the British closed the harbor not intended to take the road of of Boston, threatening this city's revolution; they were driven to entire population with starvait inexorably by the greed and tion, did the Committees call the brutality of their oppressors. For first Continental Congress and years they had peacefully pleaded proclaim a boycott on British with the King, for years more goods they had organized vigorous They were learning from life

demonstrations. They had tried how merciless is every ruling to avoid the final break with class in the fight to keep its Britain. privileges. The attack on Massa-

"All experience hath shewn," chusetts militiamen at Lexington they wrote, "that mankind are in April, 1775, was followed by another bloodletting at Concord more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right Hessian mercenaries in the pay of King George were landed to says: "that all men are created themselves by abolishing the equal, that they are endowed by forms to which they are acswell the forces against customed." Only the violence uncolonists.

> leashed upon the colonies by the COMPROMISE HOPES ENDED The colonial committees that

had taken over increasing powers For decades the capitalist class as British governors fled in of the colonies had been kept in terror, were long considered only swaddling clothes by the nobility, as provisional bodies "to continue only in the present unhappy conchants of England, American flict." But the brutal attacks merchants could export and imupon the men of Massachusetts middlemen, paying British Above the conciliatory voices rose customs and profits. American the clarion calls of Samuel Adams. planters were forced to sell and Patrick Henry, demanding crops at prices arbitrarily set in freedom from the Crown. In place of pacifistic pleas, came the value on the world market. stirring pamphlets of Tom Paine American industry was stifled by and the inspiring writings of restrictions, throwing colonial Thomas Jefferson

The huge signature of John RESISTANCE FLARES Hancock on the Declaration of When the Stamp Act of 1765 Independence symbolized the consaddled the colonists with taxes tempt all the insurgents felt for to pay for Britain's war against their oppressors who kept yowl-France, the first lightnings of ing: "Sedition! Treason!" In the The leaders of the American revolt lit up the skies. Stamp eyes of the colonists and of his-

the revolution as a plague. They bonfires by cheering crowds. government that had tried to hold by the capitalists against the No sooner was this infamous a continent in bondage. eactionary ruling class, in par- the burning of a shipload of tea not bear the onus for the

of Britain, and still defied the Crown. They knew what was decided to save its East India the Crown was courageously The naked force unleashed by Molly Maguires, the Ludlow necessary, and they knew too that Tea Company from bankruptcy answered by the colonists as sacre or the Memorial Day the fountainhead of "force and at the expense of colonial mer- they rose in defense of their Massacre in 1937? violence" - then as in every chants. The famous Boston Tea rights to "Life, Liberty and the revolution in history -/ is the Party of 1773, was followed by Pursuit of Happiness." They do working class have become great-

ticular the one from whom they at Annapolis and the confiscation "violence" that raged over this were forced to wring their own of cargoes in all the major ports land until independence was won. The blame rests exclusively upon

The Committees of Corresponthe oppressors. dence that had been organized by CAPITALIST CLASS TODAY cause of liberty, all other roads the colonists to better address Since this was so in 1776, their grievances to the Crown why do the American capitalists

the

were still just the embryo of THE ROAD OF REVOLUTION colonial self - government. Only today slander the idea of revolution as nothing more than incitation of "force and violence"? Because today Wall Street stands

ruling class today has reason to in the historical place of King fear that the masses will rise in George. discontent and protest. The In their rise to power, the capitalists know full well that oung American capitalists en- their reign of infamy, misery and isted the aid of the broad masses, | terror will one day be pronounced

and fought under the banner of insufferable. democratic human rights. The Lest the workers turn to their aristocracy, the feudal landown Declaration of Independence olders, the capitalists of England the ruling class seeks to outlaw ere the forces of reaction whose free speech, gag the press, imhold had to be broken if the col- pose thought control. The Tories onies were to grow and find a of 1949 hope to destroy our civil happier future. rights under cover of an attack

But today American capitalism on the utterly discredited Stalstands astride the world as the inists whom they accuse of "admost reactionary power. Gone and vocating force and violence." This forgetten are the great days of villainous accusation is really its youth. As it grew older, it aimed not at the Stalinists but at began to write into the annals of the true revolutionists who dare history the oft-told tale of reac- proclaim that for humanity's. tion. It turned against the new sake it is once more necessary to young and progressive force of "alter or abolish" the vested the American working class. Who tycanny.

upon the men of Massachusetts ended all hopes of compromise. HAWAIIAN STRIKERS FIGHT BACK **AGAINST UNION-BUSTING DRIVE**

The Hawaiian longshore strike, called by Local 136 of the CIO International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union for a 32 cents wage increase, remains firm after two months of bitter strug-

gle. The employers' arrogant re- Bar Association which seeks to fusal of the union's June 17 offer smear the strike as a "communist to arbitrate the issues, coupled strategem." The revival of dewith rabid anti-union newspaper portation proceedings against and radio attacks and efforts to ILWU President Harry Bridges unload ships with scabs - all was also timed to aid the this is proof that the "Big Five" Hawaiian employers. corporations of Hawaii are out

Corporation propaganda is to smash the union. To "drive designed to arouse islanders to a the ILWU into the sea" is their frenzied pitch against the union wowed aim. Both sides look upon and the strike. They have orthe struggle as a show-down. ganized a "Citizen's Action Com-The union offered to submit the mittee." They issue appeals for dispute to a three-man board comvolunteers to "physically do the posed of Mr. Sam Kagel, West unloading now." They piously Coast waterfront referee, one claim to favor "good" unions but representative from the union and never explain what a "good" one from the employers. The union is. The workers of the isdecision of this board would be land are not being fooled. The union's demand of 32c an

hour wage increase would bring its rate to within 10c. of the U.S. West Coast longshore scale. In

Results of 'Lesser Evil' Politics

Last fall the top union leaders told us we must elect Truman and the Democrats at all costs. They condemned any talk of independent labor politics through labor's own party and candidates. They said we must ensure the victory of the "lesser evil," the Truman Democrats, or organized labor would be saddled indefinitely with the infamous Taft-Hartlev Act.

class, the dirt farmers, the Negro people. Confronted with this prospect, a Republican majority would not have dared to act as they have in this Congress where they are a minority. They would have been forced to make concessions, to appear more "liberal," from fear of losing any mass support they might have. Although the "lesser evil" policy has

nly led to the victory of the "greater evil" on Taft-Hartley repeal, the top union leaders want to repeat this bankrupt policy. They are telling the workers to wait until November 1950 and elect some more "lesser evil" candidates to Congress. But what kind of appeal can the union leaders make to the people on the basis of the miserable record of the Truman Democrats in the 81st Congress? Do they think they can fool the people all the time? This "lesser evil" theory is wearing mighty thin. Labor would have been far better off today if it had an established party of its own, with a fighting record - even as a small minority — in Congress, that could go to the people next elections with a real labor program and trustworthy candidates from the union ranks. "Lesser evil" politics blocked the launching (f such a party last year and we are suffering the bitter results. Not until a party of labor is built will labor escape such blows as the Senate dealt last week.

Criticism Stifled at Labor Party Conference

binding on both parties. The union LONDON - The annual con- Labor government and what it was sick of all the talks about then dropped this proposal and ference of the British Labor Party has done for the workers of the "achievements" of the Labor agreed to abide by the decision met in Blackpool June 6 under Britain who, he declared at a government when there are no of a five-man "fact-finding" comthe shadow of the railway and pre-conference rally, "have houses for the workers while mittee appointed by Governor dock strikes at various ports, achieved prosperity in excess of luxury buildings are being conthe past few years West Coast Ingram Stainback if the employnotably Liverpool. On the pretext their moral stature." Everything structed. This was too much for longshoremen have obtained severs would agree to do the same. was good in the best of all worlds. the National Executive, of which of the impending general eleceral wage increases. The The employers refused. Meantions, the National Executive did Foreign Secretary Bevin never she had been a member until Hawaiian longshoremen were out while the Governor's committee its best to stifle all criticisms of felt so confident as after the ex- lately. She was not allowed to s proceeding with its "investigathe Labor government at the con- pulsion of the dissidents. He proceed further. ference. Thanks to the standing came straight to Blackpool from Bob Shaw, a railway worker The longshoremen helped to order committee, none of the the Paris Conference. He from Nottingham, demanded unionize thousands of super-exresolutions critical of the gov- described his mission of peace workers' control, of the nation- ploited Filipinos, Japanese and ernment saw the light of day, even with the Soviet Union, and alized railways and dismissal of Hawaiians on the sugar and pineexcept for the motion of Jack was "willing to work with those the old managers and bosses. His apple plantations, in the mills Stanley of the Constructional who were willing to work with speech was widely published and and canneries. Now the employ-Engineers, denouncing the Cripps us." He paid a tribute to the commented upon by all the ers dream of smashing the longbudget and calling for a second Marshall Plan and promised to journals of the right as well as shoremen's strikes as a prelude autumn budget. Most of the time achieve peace for posterity; in the left as an expression of acute for a union-busting campaign was taken up with discussion of fact, he said he would already discontent among the railway against the sugar and pineapple the party's policy in the coming have achieved it but for the unworkers. workers. elections, which was presented in reasonableness of Russia. There On the whole, the conference at was hardly any debate permitted **EMPLOYERS' STRATEGY** the form of a pamphlet entitled men. The union turned this down. Blackpool was characterized by a on foreign policy. No speaker 'Labor Believes in Britain." Their strategy is to center their Describing how the corporadeep-going fermentation inside The highlight of the conference critical of Bevin could get the attack on the union leadership. tions entrenched themselves. the Labor Party. It expressed vas the motion to refer back to floor. M.P. Tom Braddock tried They hope to take advantage of Hawajians say: "They came as the National Executive the ex- to get it but the chairman simply itself not so much on the floor of the red-baiting hysteria whipped missionaries years ago, pointed pulsion of Zilliacus and Solly, the brushed him aside. The bureauthe conference as in other public up by Washington. And they are to the sky to teach us religion two M.P.'s who had consistently cracy really did a smooth job. meetings at Blackpool. M.P.'s, while with the other hand they getting plenty of support from rank and file trade unionists, voted against the government on that quarter. The notoriously antitook our land away." Now the SHARP CRITICISM TOO workers, are restive and trying to foreign policy. No tears were union House Un-American Com-Hawaiian workers are fighting to. But it was not altogether find a way out. The support that shed for the latter and his exmittee arranged on June 14 to keep the filthy hands of the corsmooth sailing. The National Ex-"Socialist Outlook," a left wing pulsion was treated as a "hygienic "investigate" the Hawaii strike porations off their rights as well ecutive, also came in for sharp journal within the Labor Party, operation," presumably because upon request from the Hawaiian as their living standards. criticism. Specially articulate received from a large number of of his undoubted affiliation to the were the representatives of the delegates, clearly shows that a Communist Party. Zilliacus, howfarmers who spoke freely. They, left wing is in the offing. The ever, had some popularity in the Visit your local headquarters of the all without exception, condemned "Socialist Fellowship" movement Labor Party, although the block votes of the mine and the the government for maintaining led by Ely Smith, which is reransport unions in support of the "tied cottage" system. They ceiving a good deal of support, demanded the nationalization of also points to the same direction. he leadership did not leave the land and one of them said: "I The Labor whoreaucracy, by AKRON - 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. ssues in doubt. But the very fact n 1 to 4 p. m. Meeting came as a right-winger and I stifling all criticism, is driving that more than a million votes sunday 2 p. m. go back as a left-winger." That the left-wing elements to orwere cast in favor of giving Zil-BOSTON-Workers Educational Center, 0 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., ocial last Sat. of monh. was the effect of the conference ganize. The conference at Blackiacus a hearing shows that the pool is a turning point in the on some delegates. decision of the National Executive BUFFALO-Militant Forum, 629 Main st., 2nd fl. Phone MAdison 3960. Every ifternoon except Sun. There were other left-wing concrete growth of a left wing in the matter created a feeling of elements: Mrs. Braddock, M.P., inside the Labor Party; in fact, resentment. castigated the leadership on its it has brought the left wing into CHICAGO-166 W. Washington Blvd. Rm. 312-314. Daily except Sun., 11:30 to 3:30; or phone for an appointment. night at 8:30 p.m. CRIPPS' SPEECH . complacency. She said that she being. The speech of Sir Stafford CLEVELAND — Pecks Hall, 1446 E 82nd St. (off Wade Pk. Ave.) Monthly Public Forum, 1st Sun., 8 p.m. Cripps, which he read out in a tone unvarying and monotonous, DETROIT-6108 Linwood Ave. Phon TY 7-6267, Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p.m was a defense of his policy of

The outcome of the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal has put this "lesser evil" theory to an acid test. The "lesser evil" won the elections. Truman got back in the White House and the Democrats captured Congress. Yet today, eight months later, it is the "greater evil" which stands triumphant.

Would labor have been any worse off if, instead of backing the "lesser evil," it had launched its own party and put genuine labor candidates into Congress? Even if they had elected only a handful of labor representatives the first time, with the Republicans holding a majority, would the workers be any worse off?

Even a few labor Congressmen, fighting uncompromisingly for labor's program, could have accomplished more than the Democratic majority that now sits in Congress. By battling every inch of the way, by refusing to retreat and "compromise," the labor representatives would have inspired and mobilized the support of the whole American working

Ku Klux Klan Terrorism

In recent weeks, the newspapers have been reporting an increase of Ku Klux Klan terrorism. Burning crosses are lighting up the skies of the Darkest South. Hooded bands of night-riders are invading homes, flogging and torturing their kidnapped victims in the name of "public morals" and "100% white Protestant Americanism."

Renewed Klan activities began after the war. It was directed almost entirely against Negroes, to intimidate them from voting and exercising other civil rights. But so long as Klan assaults were confined to Negroes, the press, both North and South, had little to say.

In the past few weeks the Klan's terrorism has been increasingly directed at whites, including the flogging of war veterans and women.

These assaults on whites could not be ignored by the press, especially since groups were being formed in parts of the South by private citizens to take their own counter-measures against the Klan hoodlums.

But the capitalist press in general is attempting to minimize the significance

of Klan outrages. We are assured that the "leading citizens" of the South are opposed to the Klan and that state and local governments are preparing laws "with teeth in them" to stop the hooded bands. Thus, Alabama passed a law to make it illegal for adults to wear a mask in public, and now tells us we need no special federal laws to deal with these murderous bigots.

The resurgence of the Klan, however, is no accidental phenomenon. It has taken strength from the very atmosphere pervading America today. Washington has been spreading the miasma of the witchhunt. The white supremacists in Congress have arrogantly trampled all over civil rights legislation. The race-haters, the bigots of all stripes, the enemies of civil rights have been having a field day.

Fascist-like, terrorist organizations like the Klan find fertile soil today. So long as the federal government fails to enact an anti-lynch law and other civil rights measures, so long as witch-hunts and spy scares command the headlines, outfits like the Klan will flourish.

wage freeze, more export and more production. It dwelled on the widening gap between export and import, shrinking of the market, dollar shortage, etc. It held out no hope for the future, which could only be as black as ever. One could sense the simmering discontent among the delegates. No greater disservice to the Labor Party's prospects in the elections could be done than the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Health Minister Bevan with his characteristic demagogy came to the rescue of Cripps. He spoke about the "achievements" of the

International Information Bulletin

JUNE 1949

CONTENTS:

Political Resolutions of Seventh Plenum of International Executive Committee of Fourth International (April 1949)

- 1. The War Danger and Our Tasks
- 2. The Evolution of the Buffer Countries
- 3. "The Third Chinese Revolution"

25 cents

35 pages

NEW HAVEN-For information tel

phone 7-8780.

Order from

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY NEWARK-423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m. NEW YORK CITY (Hq.)-116 Univer-ity Place. Phone GR 5-8149. HARLEM-103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23, Phone MO 2-1866. Open discussion, Friday, 8 p.m. BRONX-Hunts Point Palace, 953 outhern Blvd; Room 25. Every Fri. BROOKLYN-635 Fulton St. Phone ST 3-7433. CHELSEA-130 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488. OAKLAND (Cal.) ---- For information, hone TEmplebar 2-8153 or TEmplebar 2-3735, or write P. Montauk, 906-B Cy-ress St., Oakland 7. FLINT-Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings. PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard ve., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820, open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p.m. PITTSBURGH-1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marrist lass 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Churs., 7:30 p.m. LOS ANGELIES-Militant Publ. Assn. Room 325, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061. SAN PEDRO-Militant, 1008 S. Pacifi SAN FRANCISCO-1739 Fillmore Ave., th fl. Phone FI 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4;30 p.m. LYNN, (Mass.)-Militant Publ. Assn. 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed ST. LOUIS ---- "For information, :30-9:30 p.m. MILWAUKEE-917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 2-5337. SEATTLE-Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., 3. 201, So. & Washington. Tel. Main 9276. Ion. through Sat., 12-5 p.m. Branch MINNEAPOLIS-10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore. neeting, Fri., 8 p.m. Library, bookstore. TOLEDO — Monthly open meeting, ourth Tuesday, 8 p.m., Kapps Hall, 13 Summit, Room 2. NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.) + For nation write P. D. Box No. - For infor mation write phone 3-3287.

WORCESTER, (Mass.) - For informa-ion write P.O. Box 554, Worcester. YOUNGSTOWN - 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1355. Wed., Frl., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

of work in sympathy with the West Coast strikes, but at the time no demands were pressed to raise their wages too. The inflated prices in the islands, which are even higher than on the mainland, have so aroused the longshoremen that their leadership has been compelled to lead a struggle for wage increases. The employers countered the 32c. demand with a 12c. offer that would still leave a 30c. differential with West Coast longshore-

Witch-Hunts and Jim Crow

By William F. Warde

Through bitter experience the Negro people have learned that every move against the freedoms of the American people likewise strikes heavily against them. The loyalty purge of government employees ordered by President Truman gives fresh proof of this fact.

We need not repeat that the hounding and firing of federal workers solely because of their beliefs violates their constitutional rights; that the purge procedures are dictatorial and set aside the most elementary judicial safeguards; that over two million employees are being intimidated by this thought control apparatus; and that the government witch-hunt sets the pattern for similar drives against state, county and city workers. All these aspects of the purge have become fairly well known and aroused condemnation from the AFL, CIO and most organizations and individuals concerned with defending civil rights. But not so much prominence has been given to the ways and means by which Truman's loyalty program serves as a cover for promoting racial discrimination and delivers another weapon

into the hands of the race-baiters. First of all, the execution of this thought control machinery has been entrusted to highlyplaced government officials who are not only subservient careerists and political appointees but also in many cases come from the Southern states. Since the proceedings of the purge are completely secret and take place behind closed doors, these Dixiecrat-minded persecutors feel relieved of restraint and can permit their prejudices full play.

For example, James Wechsler reported in the N. Y. Post that the following was one of the questions asked by members of the Fourth Regional Loyalty Board in Washington, D. C., at the hearing of a 24-year-old woman employee. "The Commission has information to the effect that you frequently stated that the white and colored races should intermarry and you would

charge from a government job. Hundreds of people have been placed under suspicion as "subversive" and hauled up before Loyalty Boards because of their real or alleged participation in anti-Jim Crow struggles.

The butstanding outrage of this kind is the case of the 29 U.S. Post Office Department employees with headquarters in Cleveland who are now engaged in defending their rights and jobs against the purgers. Of the 29 under suspension, 20 are either Negroes or Jews. Several past branch presidents of the NAACP, notably in Brooklyn, Santa Monica and Cleveland, have been singled out as victims of the government witchhunt.

Both as American citizens and as an oppressed minority, the Negro people already have ample cause for demanding a halt to this undemocratic purge and 'extending support to its victims, including the legless veteran James Kutcher, whose court fight will test the legality of the entire purge procedure.

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, JULY 4, 1949

NUMBER 27

Vital Issues Face Delegates not mind marrying a colored man yourself. Do you deny making that statement?" To such reactionaries any advocacy of racial equality or criticism of Jim Crow becomes equiv-alent to "sedition" and provides ground for disonce characterized Stalinism

By Albert Parker

VOLUME XIII

end of the war.

All fighters for Negro equality | members of Congress act as if have a big stake in the 40th an- the Dixiecrats had won last year's nual conference of the National election. Understanding why this Association for the Advancement | happened and what can be done of Colored People, beginning in about it is the duty of every Los Angeles July 12. Because NAACP member.

Hopes were high and there was this conference, by what it does or fails to do, can help to decide much rejoicing among the leaderif there will be progress in the ship of the NAACP after the struggle against Jim Crow dur- Democratic victory last Noveming the coming year, or more of ber. Walter White decided to the disappointments and setbacks | postpone the year's leave of abthat the Negro people and their sence he had been granted and allies have experienced since the concentrated on efforts to push through the civil rights bills

The passage of civil rights promised by both capitalist parlegislation is one of the NAACP's ties. Tens of thousands of NAACP main objectives. But all the dele- dollars were spent on telegrams gates know that absolutely no and letters and trips to congressheadway was made in this field men. The policy favored by the during the entire life of the 81st NAACP leadership was given a Congress and that, in fact, the fair test, and proved to be futile.

New Political Program Needed

Socialized Medicine V — **British Medicine** By Grace Carlson

Chief propaganda target of the opponents of a compulsory health insurance plan in the United States is the British National Health Service, now a year old. Like most other state divisions of the American Medical Association, the Minnesota section is supplying its doctor members with ammunition to bombard their patients.

A friend of mine recently received a six-page leaflet entitled, "John Bull's Medical Binge." Under a cartoon of a crippled John Bull, the patient reads:

"Intoxicated by promises of free medical care, England is now suffering from a billion dollar hangover. Let's not put a government label on our medical system!" But the devastating effect that this propaganda was supposed to have was completely nullified by the fact that it was enclosed with a doctor bill that my friend had been trying to pay off for several months!

In England, there are no doctors', dentists' or hospital bills any more for the vast majority of the population. Not a true system of socialized medicine — certainly not a rounded and adequate medical program - nationalized medicine in England has nevertheless succeeded in wiping out one of the main obstacles to good medical care, the doctor's bill. And under the British National Health Service, millions of English workers and their families have received more medical care in the past twelve months than in the previous twelve years.

Previous to July 5, 1948, when the National Health Service Act went into effect, some 20,-000,000 workers in England and Wales had been covered by a panel system which entitled them to the care of a general practitioner. For this, they paid approximately ten cents a week - a sum which was matched by their employers. Under the National Health Service, some 47,-

500,000 English men, women and children are enrolled - 95% of the population. Twenty-one thousand family doctors (90% of all general practitioners) work under the plan, in addition to some 5,000 specialists. There are 10,000 dentists enrolled; 5,000 optometrists and opticians and 14,-000 druggists. ·

Here is how the English plan works: First, politicians, but that it was Humphrey, Douglas and other the individual chooses a doctor from among those dominated by the "wrong" kind capitalist politicians who know registered under the plan; then, he receives a of capitalist politicians. Because how to get votes by sweet talk medical identity card from this doctor, who be- they thought everything would on the race question? Yet Truman gins to collect \$3.40 per/year from the governe turn out all right if enough never lifted a finger to help the ment for that patient, regardless of how many times he has seen him.

The medical identity card entitles the patient to medical attention at the doctor's office or at telegrams instead of mass action happens to be a member of the the patient's home. The doctor gives prescrip- and determined struggle to put NAACP Board of Directors) took tions for medicine and the druggist fills them without charge. If the services of a specialist are needed or if X-rays or laboratory tests are required, the general practitioner may order them without charge to the patient.

Hospitalization is provided - without charge - in one of the 2,957 hospitals which the Minister are aided and abetted by their made. of Health took over last July. Glasses, hearing aids, and dentures are also provided free of charge. For all of this, the working man has approximately 15 cents per week deducted from his pay check. The rest of the cost is borne by general taxes.

What the British National Health Service has done for the British people - and what it has failed to do - will be discussed in future articles in this series. But the American Medical Association to the contrary notwithstanding, the failures of British nationalized medicine are not due to a lack of private enterprise, but to an excess of it!

Why? Because their whole ap- | political representatives, who in proach to the problem was wrong. clude "liberal" Democrats and Because Walter White and his Republicans as well as Dixiecrats. colleagues felt the trouble with Remember how jubilant most of the 80th Congress was not that the Negro leaders and press were it was dominated by capitalist about the election of Truman, "liberal" capitalist politicians fight against the filibuster, and were elected. And finally, be- the super-liberals (Humphrey, cause they relied on words and Douglas and Wayne Morse, who the lead in beating down antipressure on Congress. But the truth is that the segregation amendments to the

capitalist class benefits from the housing and education bills in maintenance of the Jim Crow the Senate. As long as any consystem, and will not give it up fidence is placed in such poliunless compelled to. In this they ticians, no lasting gains can be

How to Win Civil Rights

Fighting Jim Crow is a poli- | conference can take the first step tical job, and it cannot be done in this direction by discarding right if you keep one hand tied the "non-partisan" policy.

behind you. But that is just the The "polite" mehod of trying to persuade the capitalist poliposition the NAACP is in because of its "non-partisan" policy ticians to pass civil rights bills on political action. By refusing is also outdated and inadequate. to take a stand against the elec- Lobbying is all right, but it tion of politicians hostile to the cannot achieve much unless it is struggle for Negro equality, the backed up by rank and file mili-

NAACP permits them to get into tant action. There is nothing office. Then, after they have come | wrong in letters to congressmen Jim Crow Violence



Knocked to the ground by youths armed with clubs, a young Negro is about to be kicked in the head at a St. Louis swimming pool. Young white hoodlums attacked Negro youths who took seriously an order lifting Jim Crow in the city's public pools. Mayor Darst immediately reinstated the illegal segregation policy, despite NAACP protests.

We criticize Congress - with the cold when it comes to justification --- when a small determining policy. Related to this problem is the minority assumes the power to hold up or countermand decisions question of how the Board of by the majority. Why should the Directors is chosen. Most organ-NAACP permit within its own izations elect their executive circles the same practices it boards at their conventions, but condemns elsewhere? This leads the NAACP still employ a clumsy to the jibe so often heard, that system of electing its board by

the NAACP wants democracy referendum, and only a part of everywhere in the country - the board each year. While supexcept inside the NAACP itself. porters of this method claim it Even worse, it demoralizes the is democratic, the fact is that it rank and file members and dis- permits the board to be virtually courages them from greater ac- hand-picked by the national oftivity by making them feel they fice because of the dismally small are welcome when it comes to number of members who par-doing work, but they are out in ticipate in the referendum voting.

Internal Life of the Organization

branches.

also take steps to see that the

policies are carried out by the

NAACP leadership in the spirit

Several other important resolu-

tions have been introduced. One

of these is the Jamaica resolu-

and the Atlantic Pact, which it

tion against the Marshall Plan

correctly calls devices to permit

the European nations to con-

ntended.

colonials.

Efforts to correct the situation | NAACP should take a bold stand inspire and arouse the Negro will come before the conference against the witch-hunters. as the result of resolutions sub- Finally, there is the question mitted by the South Bend, Ind., of what attitude to take to the leadership to meet the needs of

as "the syphilis of the labor movement" - and the same term could be used to describe its effect on Negro and other movements. In every organization the Stalinists are guided by a rule-orruin policy. Whatever they do is determined not by the interests of the working class they claim to represent, but by the interests of the dictatorial Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

When it suits the foreign policy of Stalin, they put on a show of militancy in the fight against Jim Crow, as they are doing today.

But when Stalin's line changes, as it did during the recent war, then you will find the Stalinists advising the Negro people to "subordinate" and "postpone" the struggle for equality. What makes them particularly insidious is that they know how to misuse for their own purposes such popular issues as the resentment against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' dismissal from his NAACP post, how to exploit the just grievances of the Negro rank and file and how to take advantage of the weaknesses and cowardice of conservative Negro leaders.

So far the NAACP has wisely abstained from the shameful practice of "loyalty" oaths and political witch-hunts against its own members, and it has reason to be proud of this. The way to fight the Stalinists and defeat them is not by expulsion or political discriminaiton but by exposing their record of betrayals and countering their program with a superior program for the

.

8

Negro .struggle. The problems facing the NAACP and the Negro people are complex, but they can be solved. The NAACP does not have much of a future if it limits itself to serving as a legal aid society and confines its major activity to battles in the courts, necessary as these are. It does have a bright and glorious future if it will seize the opportunities knocking at its door, map out a program of struggle that will people and their allies, and adjust its internal structure and

Hook Finds a Friend

By Joseph Keller

The witch-hunt against academic freedom in schools and colleges has its liberal and intellectual apologists and advocates, chief of whom is Sidney Hook, head of the Philosophy Department of New York University and a contributing editor of the Social Democratic New Leader, Last Feb. 27, the N. Y. Times Magazine featured Hook's article which has become the hand-book of "liberal" arguments for barring "communists" from teaching posts.

Hook considers himself the chief disciple of John Dewey, the country's most respected educator and a life-long fighter for academic freedom. As reported in last week's Militant, Prof. Dewey's letter in the June 21 N. Y. Times took sharp issue with those, like Hook, who propose to place political restrictions on teachers and professors. In essence, Prof. Dewey repudiated the position of his most publicized disciple.

But if Hook's proposed restrictions on academic freedom are disavowed by his eminent teacher, they have won praise from a different quarter - namely, Frank B. Ober. Ober is the Baltimore lawyer who headed the committee that drafted the Ober Bill which became law in Maryland last March. The Ober Bill is the most far-reaching and vicious law against civil rights now on the statute books of any state government. It not only requires a "loyalty" oath by all public employees and teachers, but makes membership in any "subversive" organization a felony subject to \$10,000 fine and 20 years in jail.

As an alumnus of Harvard Law School, Ober recently wrote Dr. James B. Conant, Harvard president, that he would not subscribe to the Law School Fund because of the university's "apparent attitude. . . toward extra-curricular activities. of professors giving aid and comfort to communism.

Specifically, Ober cited the activities of two Harvard professors. One was "an appeal made by one Prof. Ciardi at a so-called 'Progressive' rally for funds to fight laws directed at communism proposed by a Maryland commission of which I was chairman." The other "is, of course, the New York peace meeting of which Prof. Shapley was chairman." Ober protested Harvard's refusal to oust, professors Ciardi and Shapley "encourage communism," which Ober defined as especially, and set up a new poli- resolution from the New Britain, and any others who might attend meetings that "not a political movement - but a criminal conspiracy."

On the question of academic freedom involved, Ober, the professional witch-hunter, did not lack "liberal" authority for his own views, citing none other than - Sidney Hook. The author of Maryland's notorious "subversive" law wrote:

"As to academic freedom, I agree with Hook as against Meiklejohn in the recent N. Y. Times Magazine debate. . . "

Ober's reference to Hook did not impress Dr. Conant. The latter wrote Ober that Harvard would not change its traditional position on academic freedom and the "extracurricular activities of its professors." He stated that he had asked Grenville Clark, senior member of the Harvard Corporation, to answer Ober in detail.

Clark's reply pointed out that to decide what meetings a professor might or might not attend must logically lead to a "university licensing board," to censorship of radio speeches and writings and finally to moves to "restrict, censor and discipline the students also." If Harvard went down the Ober road, Clark said, "it would, I think, not require six months to destroy the morale of both our teachers and students" and "make a mockery of a long tradition of Harvard freedom for both its students and its faculties."

to power, the NAACP tries to either. But if you want to put and Jamaica, N. Y., influence them to do the right pressure on a congressman you These proposals deserve the most thing. This is as bad as locking can do it a hundred times more careful consideration by the deleeffectively if you let him know the stable after the horse is gates for the plain and simple that five or ten thousand people gone. reason that in addition to work-

in his district had held a mass ing out good policies, they must The NAACP is in politics whether it likes it or not, and demonstration at which they failure to recognize this fact only threatened to run him out of Congress if he didn't vote for the weakens its political effectiveness. The thing that has to be bills they want enacted.

A proposal for the NAACP to done now is for the NAACP to get together with organizations undertake such militant activity having similar goals, which means has already been submitted to the the trade union movement conference in the form of a tical party, democratically run Conn., branch (printed in the June and dedicated to taking political Crisis, along with other branch power away from the representa- resolutions). Pointing out that the tives of the capitalists and plac- present Congress has offered ing it in the hands of the repre- "nothing but procrastination and sentatives of the workers, the filibuster," it asks the conference Negro people and the others who to call for "a special session of Congress this summer to give

work for a living. Such a party would be a Labor ample time for action on all civil Party, and its goal would be a rights bills not enacted at the Workers and Farmers Govern- time of adjournment." This timely ment, under which there will be demand has been raised by other no exploitation of labor and op- NAACP branches and trade union pression of minorities because bodies. It also appears to have labor and the minorities will do the tentative support of the the governing. The 40th NAACP NAACP National Office.

Mass Action in Washington, D. C.

Another provision in the New | year's conference unanimously Britain resolution is at least as adapted a resolution directing the Africa, Asia and elsewhere to important as the call for a special national office to call a conference session of Congress. It askes the of all Negro organizations to annual conference to "instruct its inaugurate a nation-wide mass executive officers to convene a campaign against Jim Crow in united Negro and labor con- the armed forces. No action could hunt raging against the civil ference, representing Negro and be taken on the resolution until rights of the American people, labor organizations in all parts the Board of Directors had taken of the country, to meet in Wash- it up in the fall and decided ington simultaneously with the whether or mot it approved. It so special session of Congress to happened that the Board did appress for the passage of the civil prove that resolution, but nothing was ever done about it anyway.

This raises a vital question, not only about any resolutions the carry on if it intends to get civil conference may vote for, but about the entire structure and internal life of the NAACP.

pening at the thought control Whatever excuse there may have Representatives has also defeated amendments to such methods, unleashed a great been for having an all-powerful wave of enthusiastic struggle by Board of Directors in the early the Negro people and their allies. years of the organization, there Today the NAACP can do the certainly is none now. What good

is there, really, in having conby the branches cannot have the them by mobilizing the people for final say on the policies of the of Directors have greater autho-

way of knowing the attitude of gathered in assembly?

refuse to give support to white threatened by 'an accident' by 100

ommunist Party which, as the this struggle. To the delegates of NAACP leadership warns, has the 40th conference, we of The made capture of the NAACP a Militant and the Socialist Workmajor target since the well- ers Party offer our best wishes deserved death of their National for success and our collaboration in the fight to destroy Jim Crow Negro Congress. Leon Trotsky, the great Marx- wherever it exists.

YOUNGSTOWN PAPER INCITES **VIOLENCE AGAINST NEGROES**

YOUNGSTOWN, June 25-For the last week Youngstown's only daily paper, the Vindicator, has been systematically trying to incite race hatred and violence.

tinue to hold their empires and The city's swimming pools help finance the armies which failed to open June 20, as continue the oppression of the scheduled, when some of the white African people and other life-guards refused to comply The NAACP is the most influential colored organization in pool set aside by custom for Nethe world. It thus bears a heavy groes only. The Vindicator responsibility to Negro and seized this opportunity to print and he chatted with them and colonial peoples everywhere, a race-hating editorial against had a good time." No one which it can discharge only by non-segregated swimming, in- threatened them, Lee said, exacting against imperialism and sisting that the Board's decision all its methods of subjugation. "could only be interpreted as Specifically, that calls for con- giving public sanction to the and Marshall Plan and the adop- swim together." Assailing the Buckeye Review, a Negro weekly, and the Intergroup Goodwill Council, the editorial threatened, "If trouble develops at the swimming pools because of what is

done in secret to bring about mixed swimming, the fault will be with these people."

In a paid advertisement printed on the Vindicator's financial page, the NAACP denounced the editorial for "attempting with and general disturbances" and plainly involve race discrimination. Such a view is short-sighted financially and morally to combat this insidious propaganda." When democratic rights in gen-

A DIFFERENT REPORT

When the pools opened on June trial of the Communist Party 22, several Negroes went to alleaders in New York and in the most every city pool as part of

victimization of James Kutcher, the NAACP campaign. The Vinthe Socialist Workers Party leg- dicator, still trying to provoke less veteran. - it becomes harder violence, ran a headline on the hearts of the capitalist politicians | ferences if the delegates elected | and harder for the Negro people | front page: "NEGROES MENto protect their own rights. ACED, PARK POOL CLOSED -Moreover, the NAACP would MAN, 2 BOYS AND GIRL FACE seriously weaken its own appeals MOB ACTION." The story said: for support from white workers "The Negro man, Nathaniel Lee As this is written, there is no rity than the chosen delegates for Negro struggles if it would and three Negro children were

to recall, however, that last accurately be called democratic. as well as in solidarity, the different. "We went into the pool

about 3:40 P.M. and had no trouble whatever in purchasing tickets. . . We stayed in the pool with the Park Board's new policy about an hour without being requiring them to work in the one molested by anybody. The boy who was with me was a schoolmate of several of the kids there, cept "three men who came from outside in their street clothes' and told him, "You get your gang attempt to force both races to out of here within half or an hour or else I'm going to drown you." When Lee told a policeman about this, the pool was closed. "There were about 200 people there who had come out of the pool: Nobody made any move of violence against me, or the children with me."

In spite of the Vindicator's inflammatory comments, no "incidents" have occurred at any of the pools, although the NAACP is requesting all Negroes to cunning adroitness to stir up riots swim at their nearest neighborhood pool. The NAACP's campromised the NAACP would "use | paign is getting the cooperation every means at its command of the labor movement. Locals 1330 and 1462, CIO United Steelworkers, voted full support to the NAACP in "its fight to abolish all forms of segregation" and asked all union members to "protect the Negro race in its right to use all public facilities."

SAN FRANCISCO

Marxism and the Problems of the American Working Class Seventh Lecture: Capitalist Theory of the Social Welfare State * 1739 Fillmore, 4th floor Friday, July 15 8 PM

> admission free Refreshments

Notes from the News

WHERE YOUR MONEY GOES - Among other eye-opening practices of the FBI disclosed in current trials it has been revealed that FBI agents offered a \$200 bribe to a former employee of Alger Hiss if he would get them a typewriter they wanted for their case.

WEAR AND TEAR - Under the new rent regulations, a greater number of children causing greater "wear and tear" on a dwelling may now be grounds for granting higher rent to the landlord.

* * * PROTESTS BRING RESULTS - The New Jersey Supreme Court has ordered a new trial for the six Trenton Negroes condemned to the chair in the notorious Northern Scottsboro case.

NO WONDER DEPARTMENT - Judge Holtzoff, whose decision upheld the government purge (see story on Page 1), was an official of the

State Brack 11

Department of Justice for 21 years before his appointment to the bench and a legal adviser to FBI Boss Hoover. * * *

ly the footsteps of the U.S. Senate, the House of Movement, by threatening to use bar segregation in federal housing.

INCREASE IN STRIKES - More strikes -450 — began in May, 1949, than in any month since the spring of 1947, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports. This compared with 400 in April. Man-days lost in May were 3,200,000 against 1,800,000 in April.

* * *

* * * * ADA EXECUTIVE - Charles M. LaFollette, cratic Action as its national director.

rights bills."

That is an example of the kind of activity the NAACP must

rights laws passed. Eight years AS GOOD AS SENATORS - Following square- ago the March On Washington

same; it can strike fear into the and force real concessions from

ington and elsewhere.

action on a mass scale in Wash- NAACP? Why should the Board

liberal Republican and ex-Congressman, last week the national NAACP leadership Such a set-up can be called by victims of the ruling class that to 1000 white swimmers." began full-time work for Americans for Demo- to this proposal. It is necessary any other name, but it can never oppresses both. In self-interest Mr. Lee's account was totally

demnation of the Atlantic Pact tion of a forthright program to help the oppressed people of achieve full, immediate and unconditional independence.

Another issue requiring action by the conference is the witchwhite and colored. Some Negro leaders think they can evade this issue and maybe curry a little favor with the authorities by refusing to take a stand on any civil rights cases which do not

as well as criminal.

eral are curtailed - as is hap-